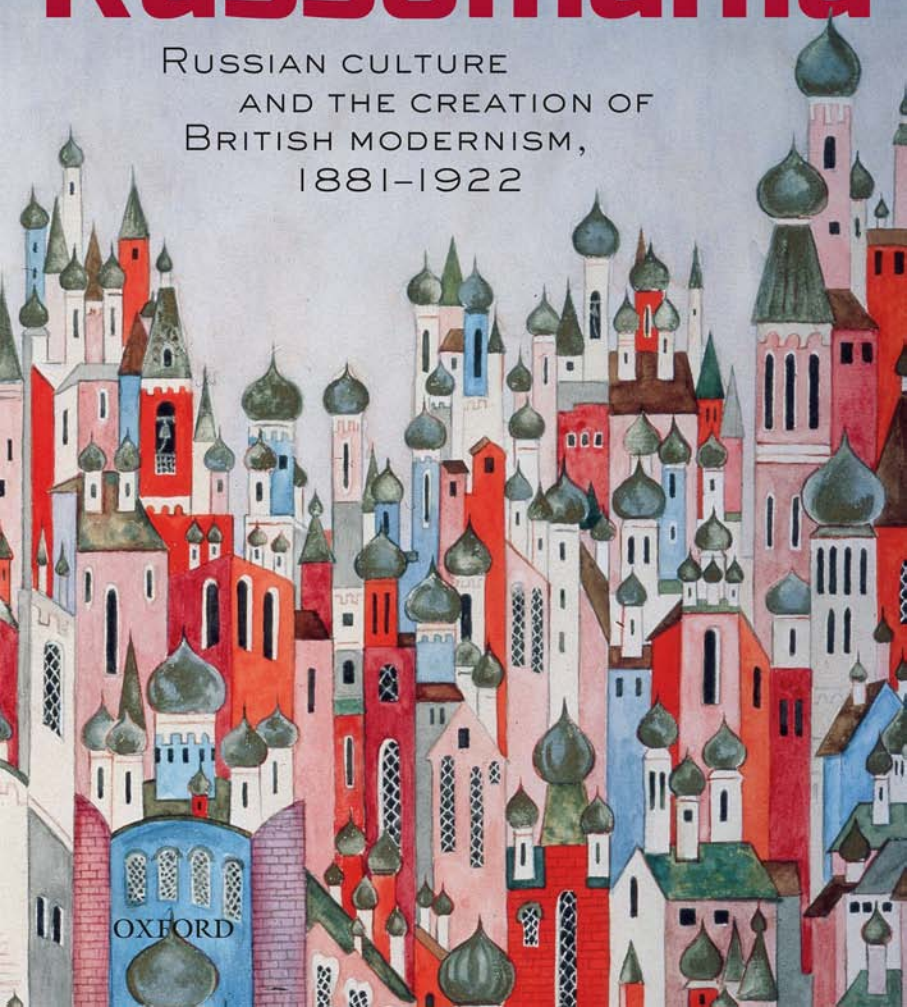


REBECCA BEASLEY

Russomania

RUSSIAN CULTURE
AND THE CREATION OF
BRITISH MODERNISM,
1881-1922



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RUSSOMANIA

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For Markman

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Note on Transliteration, Names, and Dates

All Russian words have been transliterated according to British Standard 2979 (1958), omitting diacritics and using –y to express –й –ий and –ый at the end of personal names, to produce Gor'ky, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy, for example, rather than Gor'kii, Dostoevskii and Tolstoi. In a departure from many works in Slavonic studies, which relax their chosen transliteration system in order to render names in the form familiar to readers, I have followed mine almost without exception, both in order to be consistent, but also to deliberately maximize the difference between the Russian names and the variety of English (and French and German) versions that proliferated during Britain's early engagement with Russian culture. This decision has produced names that range from the unusual—Dyagilev, rather than Diaghilev, Kotelyansky, rather than Koteliensky—to the absurd, where for example Russians with non-Russian names have their names transliterated not back into the original non-Russian name, but into a third name dictated by the transliteration system. For example, the Russian family descended from the French Benois family, whose name is transliterated into Cyrillic as Бенуа, find themselves transliterated here back into Latin script as Benua. In two cases, this unwillingness to depart from the transliteration system has produced a further oddity. When Juliet Soskice (née Hueffer) and Ethel Lilian Voynich (née Boole) married their Russian and Polish husbands, David Soskis and Michał Wojnicz/Mikhail Voinich, they used the transliterated form of their husbands' Cyrillic names that their husbands used outside Russia, which differs from the British Standard system used in this book. Their husbands' names have been transliterated according to the British Standard system, but since Juliet Soskice and Ethel Voynich did not live in Russia (bar Soskice's sojourn 1906–1908), it seemed incorrect, and misogynist, to attribute a Cyrillic name to them that was used by their husbands, but not by them. As in these examples, the transliteration system has often produced names that were not the ones chosen by their bearers. In such cases, I have included the chosen or more familiar name in parentheses, and the index also gives both the familiar name and the one used in the text.

Titles of non-English works are given first in the language in which they are written, followed by the English title in parentheses. When a translation is being referred to, however, the title of the particular translation is given: so, Dostoevsky wrote, and C. J. Hogarth translated, *Zapiski iz podpol'ya*; but D. H. Lawrence read Hogarth's translation entitled *Letters from the Underworld*. Every attempt has been made to trace the particular translations that are under discussion by *Russomania's* protagonists. Dates of source text publication and, if substantially different or relevant, composition, are given in the text following the first reference, but unless they initiate a major discussion they are not repeated—the first reference to a title can easily be found using the index. The reasons for what may seem an excessive and intrusive provision of dates and variant titles are multiple: it makes clear the

lack of chronology and often belatedness of British encounters with Russian texts; it restores the work of individual translators to the record; and it enables future researchers to find more easily the Russian source texts for English translations, which often appeared under quite different names or as composite works.

Dates are given according to the Gregorian ('new style') calendar throughout. Russia used the Julian ('old style') calendar until midnight on the 31 January 1918 (OS); the next day became 14 February (NS). Old style dates are given in addition to new style dates only when their provision aids understanding and correlation to other sources, as, for example, in the discussion of the Russian revolutions in chapter four.

Introduction

DESPAIR IN THE DRAWING ROOM

On 8 February 1929, Constance Garnett wrote to her friend H. E. Bates,

I was told yesterday of a very fine picture of Duncan Grant's called "Crime and Punishment"—a girl sitting on a sofa with her head in her hands, apparently quite overwhelmed, with a book lying open face downwards beside her. I forget whether you have read 'The Karamazovs' & 'The Idiot'—both of them finer to my mind.¹

Grant's 1909 painting of his cousin Marjorie Strachey (Fig. 1) and Garnett's letter about it twenty years later bring into focus several issues central to the British reception of Russian culture. The painting has two titles, neither of which, in fact, is 'Crime and Punishment'. Grant's title for the painting, on which he reportedly 'insisted', was *Le Crime et le châtement*, a title that alerts us to the fact that Russian literature in Britain was mediated not only through English translations—including Garnett's own translation of Fedor Dostoevsky's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (1866) in 1914—but through other languages, cultures, and literary traditions, especially those of France.² Despite the fact that Frederick Whishaw's English translation for Vizetelly had been available since 1886, Grant's depiction of the book's cover makes it clear that it is Victor Derély's 1884 translation for Librairie Plon that Strachey has been reading (Fig. 2).³

Grant's positioning of this French translation of a Russian novel on the chintz of an English sofa literalizes the layering of cultures through which Dostoevsky's words have passed to reach Strachey. The sofa also draws attention to the comfortable domestic setting in which much of the English encounter with Russian literature took place: we might read the William Morris-style wallpaper as both harking back to the progressive potential of that encounter in its connection with turn-of-the-century socialisms, and looking forward to the ease with which its progressiveness would be absorbed and neutralized in the 1920s. In the style of painting we might see a reference to the chronology of Russian literature's reception: Grant's twentieth-century painting takes the mid-Victorian genre of the subject picture and treats it

¹ Constance Garnett, letter to H. E. Bates, 8 February 1929, H. E. Bates Papers, HRC.

² Richard Shone, *Bloomsbury Portraits: Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, and their Circle* (London: Phaidon, 1976), p. 61, n. 2.

³ Fedor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel*, [trans. by Frederick Whishaw] (London: Vizetelly, 1886), Th. Dostoevsky, *Le Crime et le châtement*, trans. by Victor Derély, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1884).



Fig. 1. *Le Crime et le châtement/Despair* (1909) by Duncan Grant (1885–1978), Tate. ©Tate, London 2019.

to the looser brushwork and darker palette of later nineteenth-century paintings, such as Edgar Degas' *Intérieur* (1868–69), which Grant admired, and Fernand Khnopff's *En écoutant du Schumann* (1883), which he surely knew.⁴ Fedor Dostoevsky, Lev Tolstoy, and Ivan Turgenev were contemporaries of Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and Anthony Trollope, yet they were first read in the 1880s as naturalists or new realists, and subsequently appropriated by certain modernist writers, including those associated, like Grant and Strachey, with the Bloomsbury group.

The tone of Garnett's letter, and the fact that she has only just been 'told' of the painting (she has not seen it), registers quite precisely the limits of her own connection with the Bloomsbury group. Garnett was a generation older than the writers and painters we think of as modernists, and she was not part of their social

⁴ Richard Shone, *The Art of Bloomsbury: Roger Fry, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1999), pp. 14, 65, Frances Spalding, *Duncan Grant* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1997), pp. 60–1. The similarities between Khnopff's and Grant's paintings are striking, though I have found no evidence that Grant knew *En écoutant du Schumann*: Grant left Paris before the 1907 Salon d'Automne at which Knopff's painting was shown, but it was reproduced in Léonce Bénédict, 'L'Exposition de l'École belge', *Art et Décoration*, 22 (November 1907), 137–48 (p. 145), which Grant could have seen.

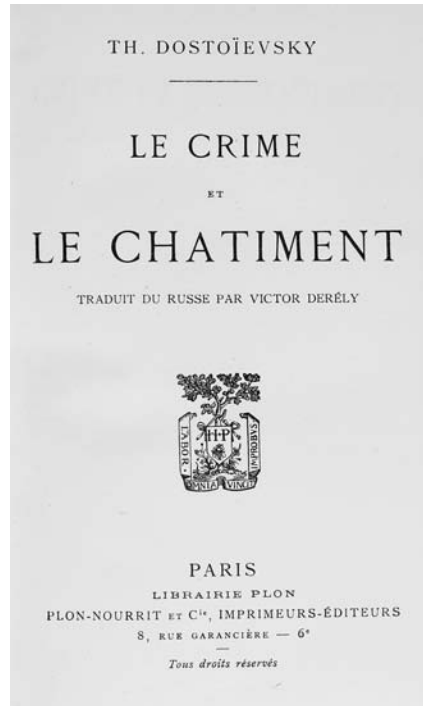


Fig. 2. Th. Dostoïevsky, *Le Crime et le châtimement*, trans. by Victor Derély, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1884), title page. Shelfmark REP.F.11970, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

circle, even though her husband Edward had worked for the publisher Gerald Duckworth (the half brother of Grant's partner, Vanessa Bell and Bell's sister Virginia Woolf), and her son David had had a four-year affair with Grant himself.⁵ That the recipient of Garnett's letter is the novelist H. E. Bates is also pertinent: born in 1905, Bates was part of the third generation of British writers who read Garnett's translations of Russian literature, finding in them not the call to social action the first generation (including Garnett) had found in Tolstoy, nor the encounter with 'the Russian soul' the second generation (including Grant and Strachey) found in Dostoevsky, but lessons in literary technique found, above all, in Chekhov. Indeed, Bates responded to Garnett's letter that compared to 'Turgenev or dear Tchekhov', Dostoevsky 'is a mere amateur with words'.⁶

But of course the most striking thing about this painting is the physical attitude of the subject, Marjorie Strachey, in relation to Dostoevsky's novel, which she has, we presume, just finished. This is a painting of a psychological response to literature, and Russian literature was strongly associated with both the depiction of psychology, and the opening up of new terrains of psychological experience in its readers: 'the

⁵ Spalding, *Duncan Grant*, pp. 159–66, 216–17.

⁶ H. E. Bates, 10 February 1929, container 1.5, Constance Garnett Collection, HRC.

Russian novel was to become a synonym for the psychological novel', remarked D. S. Mirsky, one of the most important interpreters of Russian literature to the British in the 1920s. That remark appears in *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain*, Mirsky's caustic study of his former social world published in 1935, after his conversion to communism and his ill-fated return to the Soviet Union. The Bloomsbury group are described there as 'theoreticians of the passive, dividend-drawing and consuming section of the bourgeoisie, they are extremely intrigued by their own minutest inner experiences, and count them an exhaustible treasure store of further more minutious inner experiences. They have a high opinion of Dostoievsky and of Freud'.⁷ Strachey's younger brother James was the translator of the Standard Edition of Freud. He was also the school friend of Duncan Grant.

Grant's depiction of Strachey's response to *Crime and Punishment* bears out the warning given by an earlier interpreter of Russian literature to the West, the French diplomat and critic Eugène Melchior de Vogüé. In his 1886 study, *Le Roman Russe*, Vogüé remarked (in the words of his English translator, Herbert Sawyer) that *Crime and Punishment* 'is, moreover, highly dangerous for the female reader or for any impressionable nature', because 'the author's power of frightening the reader is far superior to the power of resistance in the average nervous system. The latter is often overcome, and suffers inexpressible agony'. The source of this agony is the 'peculiar national disease' that Russian authors both suffer from and depict:

Nothing can better distinguish these writers [Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy], so different in themselves, than when they meet on the common ground of this chapter, and lay themselves out [*se complaisent*] to ascribe this mental disturbance to that untranslatable word *otchayaniye* [*l'otchaïanié*]. A dictionary will show you that its equivalent is 'despair' [*désespoir*]; but the dictionary is a poor money changer at any time, and never gives the exact value, handing over the foreign coins in return for yours without reference to their own intrinsic fiscal value. As a matter of fact, to give that word its true value, one ought to smelt down twenty others, such as: despair, fatalism, savagery, asceticism, and what not.⁸

Translating *otchayanie* into French or English may highlight the difficulties of semantic equivalence raised by any translation, as Vogüé points out, but Grant's representation of Strachey nevertheless suggests Dostoevsky has translated the emotion itself effectively. Through these inevitably obscuring layers of cultural mediation, through French words, French paper, through English drawing rooms and preconceptions, Grant's painting argues that *otchayanie* has been transmitted. Grant's first title for this painting was 'Despair'.⁹

⁷ Dmitri Mirsky, *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain*, trans. by Alec Brown (London: Victor Gollancz, 1935), pp. 104, 113–14; D. Mirsky, *Intelligentsia* (Moscow: Sovetskaya literatura, 1934), pp. 60, 66.

⁸ E.-M. de Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, trans. by H. A. Sawyer (London: Chapman and Hall, 1913), pp. 242, 281–2; E. M. de Vogüé, *Le Roman Russe* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit, 1886), pp. 246, 291.

⁹ Spalding, *Duncan Grant*, pp. 91, 94.

‘THE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE’

This book explores the role Russian literature played in the creation of British literary modernism. To claim that it had a role is not new. In 1915, Rebecca West wrote that ‘Russia is to the young intellectuals of to-day what Italy was to the Victorians; as their imaginations, directed by Turner and the Brownings, dreamed of the crumbling richesses of Rome and Venice, so we to-day think of that plain of brown earth patterned with delicate spring grass and steel-grey patches of half-melted snow and cupped in a round unbroken sky-line, which is Russia’.¹⁰ Many of her contemporaries agreed. Perhaps the most famous testimony to the importance of Russian literature is Virginia Woolf’s in the essay that first appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1919 as ‘Modern Novels’, and was revised in 1925 for *The Common Reader* as ‘Modern Fiction’. Towards the end of that essay, Woolf writes that:

The most elementary remarks upon modern English fiction can hardly avoid some mention of the Russian influence, and if the Russians are mentioned one runs the risk of feeling that to write of any fiction save theirs is a waste of time. If we want understanding of the soul and heart where else shall we find it of comparable profundity? If we are sick of our own materialism the least considerable of their novelists has by right of birth a natural reverence for the human spirit.¹¹

However, there are difficulties in defining ‘the Russian influence’. In one of the earliest overviews of Russia’s literary impact in Britain, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction* (1956), Gilbert Phelps complained: ‘when one looks back over the volume of comment, a curious fact emerges: that however enthusiastic it may be, it rarely goes beyond the vaguest of generalizations’.¹² His solution was to trace a genealogical narrative of the British novel that provided a longer literary history than had been allowed by what he saw as the excessive critical attention paid to the ‘Dostoevsky cult’. But even if he expanded on Helen Muchnic’s meticulously researched study *Dostoyevsky’s English Reputation* (1939), his own focus on the influence of Turgenev replicated her methodology.¹³ Subsequent critics and editors built on those early studies, which also included Royal Gettmann’s *Turgenev in England and America* (1941) and Dorothy Brewster’s historical overview *East-West Passage* (1954).¹⁴ Almost twenty years ago the ‘Anglo-Russian Affinities’ series edited by Anthony Cross, as well as including a volume by Cross on eighteenth and nineteenth-century Anglo-Russian relations, produced books on Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy (edited by Patrick Waddington, W. J. Leatherbarrow, and

¹⁰ Rebecca West, ‘The Barbarians’, *New Republic* (9 January 1915), 19–21 (p. 20).

¹¹ Virginia Woolf, ‘Modern Fiction’, in *The Common Reader* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925), pp. 184–95 (p. 193). The passage is almost identical in ‘Modern Novels’, *Times Literary Supplement* (10 April 1919), 189–90 (p. 190): ‘Woolf substituted only ‘elementary’ for ‘inconclusive’.

¹² Gilbert Phelps, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction* (London: Hutchinson’s University Library, 1956), p. 12.

¹³ Helen Muchnic, *Dostoyevsky’s English Reputation, 1881–1936*, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 20.3/4 (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 1939), p. 63.

¹⁴ Royal A. Gettmann, *Turgenev in England and America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1941); Dorothy Brewster, *East-West Passage: A Study in Literary Relationships* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1954).

W. Gareth Jones respectively), which gathered important accounts of the reception of these authors in Britain and added a distinctive body of new research that widened the study of literary influence.¹⁵ Waddington and Glyn Turton have contributed further studies of Turgenev's impact on English fiction, and Patrick Miles and Laurence Senelick have examined the performance of Chekhov in Britain.¹⁶ The effect on individual British modernist writers has been documented in many essays, and more recently in books by Neil Cornwell (on James Joyce), Roberta Rubenstein (on Virginia Woolf), Joanna Woods (on Katherine Mansfield), George Zytaruk (on D. H. Lawrence), and Peter Kaye (on Dostoevsky's influence on Lawrence, Woolf, Arnold Bennett, and Joseph Conrad).¹⁷ In the last ten years, four edited collections by Anthony Cross, A. V. Kobak and O. L. Kuvaldina, Nataliya Makarova and Oksana Morgunova, and myself and Philip Ross Bullock—the latter two books derived from papers delivered at the 'Russia in Britain' conference organized by myself and Bullock in 2008—have examined the British reception of Russian culture across the arts. In addition, Caroline Maclean has examined the importance of Russian culture to the modernist interest in the unseen, occult, and mystical, Ol'ga Kaznina has detailed the experience of Russian figures (not only writers) in Britain after 1917, and David Ayers and Matthew Taunton have explored the impact of the 1917 revolutions and the early years of the Soviet Union.¹⁸

These more recent studies and collections have made available a wealth of detail about the British encounter with Russian culture, and indicated how our understanding of cultural exchange has been, especially in literary studies, somewhat

¹⁵ Anthony Cross, *Anglo-Russica: Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Berg, 1993); Patrick Waddington, ed., *Ivan Turgenev and Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1995); W. J. Leatherbarrow, ed., *Dostoevskii and Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1995); W. Gareth Jones, ed., *Tolstoi and Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1995).

¹⁶ Patrick Waddington, *Turgenev and England* (London: Macmillan, 1980); Glyn Turton, *Turgenev and the Context of English Literature, 1850–1900* (London: Routledge, 1992); Patrick Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and *Chekhov on the British Stage, 1909–1987: An Essay in Cultural Exchange* (Cambridge: Sam & Sam, 1987), Laurence Senelick, *The Chekhov Theatre: A Century of Plays in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁷ Neil Cornwell, *James Joyce and the Russians* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1992); Roberta Rubenstein, *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2009); Joanna Woods, *Katerina: The Russian World of Katherine Mansfield* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001); George J. Zytaruk, *D. H. Lawrence's Response to Russian Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971); Peter Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism, 1900–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Anthony Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude: British Responses to Russian Culture* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012); A. V. Kobak and O. L. Kuvaldina, eds, *Rossiia-Velikobritaniia: Pyat' vekov kul'turnykh svyazei* (St Petersburg: Institut Petra Velikogo/Evropeskii Dom, 2015); N. V. Makarova and O. A. Morgunova, eds, *Russkoe prisutsvie v Britanii* (Moscow: Sovremennaya ekonomika i prava, 2009); Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock, eds, *Russia in Britain, 1880–1940: From Melodrama to Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Caroline Maclean, *The Vogue for Russia: Modernism and the Unseen in Britain, 1900–1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015); O. A. Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii: Russkaya emigratsiia v kontekste russko-angliiskikh literaturnykh svyazei v pervoi polovine XX veka* (Moscow: Nasledie, 1997); David Ayers, *Modernism, Internationalism and the Russian Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), Matthew Taunton, *Red Britain: The Russian Revolution in Mid-Century Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

straitened by its attempts to trace direct lines of influence.¹⁹ Certainly, Woolf's comments on Russian literature stop short of defining 'the Russian influence' in any detail. From her essay we understand that it has to do with the representation of the mind: Russian literature, in the form of Chekhov's story 'Gusev', appears in the essay as evidence of her argument that 'for the moderns . . . the point of interest lies very likely in the dark places of psychology'. And she endorses the opposition that had been fundamental to Vogüé's book, that Russian literature offers a spiritual corrective to the materialism of late nineteenth-century French and French-influenced realist novels. She also agrees with Vogüé and Grant about the psychological effect of Russian fiction: 'The conclusions of the Russian mind, thus comprehensive and compassionate, are inevitably, perhaps, of the utmost sadness . . . It is the sense that there is no answer, that if honestly examined life presents question after question which must be left to sound on and on after the story is over in hopeless interrogation that fills us with a deep, and finally it may be with a resentful, despair'. But she stops short of describing how reading Russian literature has affected British writers:

But any deductions that we may draw from the comparison of two fictions so immeasurably far apart are futile save indeed as they flood us with a view of the infinite possibilities of the art and remind us that there is no limit to the horizon, and that nothing—no 'method', no experiment, even of the wildest—is forbidden, but only falsity and pretence. 'The proper stuff of fiction' does not exist; everything is the proper stuff of fiction, every feeling, every thought; every quality of brain and spirit is drawn upon; no perception comes amiss.²⁰

The only general lesson Woolf is prepared to draw from comparing British and Russian literature is a negative one: Russian literature teaches us that "the proper stuff of fiction" does not exist', that fiction can admit everything.

Perhaps this is a more useful statement than it seems at first, and it might indicate how Gilbert Phelps's frustrated remark, that writers' discussion of Russian literature 'rarely goes beyond the vaguest of generalizations', also draws attention to a critical point. If we look for an influence in 'methods' or stylistic 'experiment', we may be looking in the wrong place. Russian literature, Woolf seems to be saying here, refutes the fundamental presumption of literary criticism, the idea that there is a 'proper stuff' in literature that literary critics can find, compare, and evaluate. What a comparison of Russian and British literature tells us is not how one literature has responded to another, but that the terms of that evaluative, critical project themselves are faulty. Donald Davie made a related point in the astute introduction to his 1965 anthology *Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction*, when he

¹⁹ See Muchnic, *Dostoyevsky's English Reputation*, pp. 171–2, Brewster, *East–West Passage*, pp. 195–7, and Part II in general. Kaye's study is interesting in relation to this point, because its aim to delineate what happens when 'when novelist meets novelist', and to offer 'an explanation of Dostoevsky's power that accommodates form as well as content' is theorized not through Anglo-American formalist criticism, but the rediscovery of Russian formalism, in the guise of Bakhtin, that began in the mid-1980s (pp. 27–8).

²⁰ Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', pp. 192, 194–5.

described the impact of Russian fiction as not primarily 'a *formal* influence', but rather 'a challenge presented to Anglo-American literary culture'.²¹

The formalist critical approach has always been profoundly inappropriate to explain the impact of Russian literature on British culture—not least because it was an impact mediated through translation. As Woolf wrote in *The Common Reader*'s other discussion of Russian literature, 'The Russian Point of View', 'we have judged a whole literature stripped of its style'.²² But, in spite of this, from the mid-nineteenth century, Russian literature was read as a peculiarly unmediated account of contemporary history, an account characterized by immediacy and lack of style. These qualities would become fundamental to the role Russian literature played in early twentieth-century debates about the future of the novel. But, before that, they also did particular political work during a century in which Britain's diplomatic relationship with Russia underwent considerable change. To connect the two it is necessary to turn back, for a moment, to the earliest encounters between British readers and Russian literature.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE IN BRITAIN

Russian literature entered British culture under the aegis of the Enlightenment. Bibliographers record that the first example of 'imaginative Russian literature' to be translated into English was a story by Ekaterina (Catherine) II for her grandsons, *Skazka o tsareviche Khlore* (1781). It was translated by Matthew Guthrie, the Scottish Chief Medical Officer to the Russian Noble Land Cadet Corps, as *Ivan Czarowitz, or The Rose Without Prickles that Stings Not*, first published in 1793 in the Edinburgh weekly, *The Bee*, and subsequently as a pamphlet in London by Robinson & Sons.²³ Ten years later two volumes by Nikolay Karamzin appeared, following their success in France and Germany: *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika* (1797–1801), translated as *Travels from Moscow, through Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, France, and England* (1803), and a collection of stories, *Russian Tales* (1803), containing 'Bednaya Liza' (1792), 'Frol Silin: blagodel'tnyi chelovek' (1791),

²¹ Donald Davie, 'Introduction', in Donald Davie, ed., *Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 1–13 (p. 9).

²² Virginia Woolf, 'The Russian Point of View', in *The Common Reader*, pp. 219–31 (p. 220).

²³ Maurice B. Line, *A Bibliography of Russian Literature in English Translation to 1900 (Excluding Periodicals)* (London: Library Association, 1963), p. 16; E. A. Osborne, 'Early Translations from the Russian: I—Before Pushkin', *Bookman*, 82 (1932), 216–18; Her Imperial Majesty [Ekaterina II], 'Ivan Czarowitz, Or the Rose Without Prickles, That Stings Not', [trans. by Matthew Guthrie], *The Bee*, 17 (September 1793), 41–7, 82–7, 124–8; Her Imperial Majesty [Ekaterina II], *Ivan Czarowitz, Or the Rose Without Prickles, That Stings Not*, [trans. by Matthew Guthrie] (London: Robinson, 1793); Anthony Cross, 'Articus and *The Bee* (1790–4): An Episode in Anglo-Russian Cultural Relations', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, ns 2 (1969), 62–76. *Ivan Czarowitz* was preceded by two non-literary works: [Feofan Prokopovich], *The Russian Catechism, Composed and Published by Order of the Czar. To which is annex'd, A Short Account of the Church-Government, and Ceremonies, of the Moscovites*, trans. [from German] by J. T. Philips (London: J. Downing, C. King, Mr. Stokoe, W. Meadows, 1723), and Michael Lomonossov, *A Chronological Abridgment of the Russian History*, trans. by J. G. A. F. [Georg Forster] (London: T. Snelling, 1767).

‘Natal’ya, boyarskaya doch’ (1792), and ‘Yuliya’ (1796).²⁴ In the second edition of the stories, *Tales from the Russian* (1804), the translator, probably the Danish writer Andreas Feldborg, suggests that Karamzin’s ‘genius... seems to owe its formation in no small degree to that familiarity and acquaintance with British authors so evidently conspicuous throughout his works’, and discusses the influence of Laurence Sterne in particular.²⁵ When Aleksey Evstaf’ev, an employee of the Russian embassy in London, translated Aleksandr Sumarokov’s play *Dimitry Samozvanets* (1771) as *Demetrius, the Imposter* in 1806, he also emphasized the continuity between Russian literature and that of Western Europe, comparing Sumarokov to Racine and Shakespeare.²⁶ And in the ‘Advertisement’ to his translation of Faddey Bulgarin’s *Ivan Vyzhigin* (1829), *Ivan Vejeeghe; or, Life in Russia* (1831), George Ross, like Feldborg and Evstaf’ev, justifies publication on the basis of the popularity of the work in Russia, France and Germany: ‘The first edition, which came out in the beginning of 1829, was sold off within three weeks after it issued from the press; it has been translated into the French and German languages; and, in its own country, its fame has extended itself to the lowest ranks of society’.²⁷ As Anthony Cross has discussed in detail, during this period shorter translations and quotations, including the first translation of Aleksandr Pushkin’s poetry, appeared in survey articles in several periodicals (the *Annual Register*, the *Monthly Review*, the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, the *Foreign Review*, *Fraser’s Magazine* and the *Westminster Review*), and Russian literature was discussed in a number of popular histories and travel accounts, such as William Coxe’s *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark* (1784), and the third edition of William Tooke’s *Life of Catharine II* (1799).²⁸

²⁴ Nicolai Karamsin, *Travels from Moscow, through Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, France, and England*, [trans. from German by Andreas Feldborg], 3 vols (London: J. Badcock, 1803); Nicolai Karamsin, *Russian Tales*, trans. [from German] by John Battersby Elrington [pseud. Andreas Feldborg?] (London: G. Sidney, 1803). On the identities of Elrington and Feldborg, see A. G. Cross, ‘Karamzin and England’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 43.100 (December 1964), 91–114 (pp. 110–11), and Jørgen Erik Nielsen, *Fra Neva til Øresund: Den Danske Modtagelse af Russisk Litteratur, 1800–1856* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1998), pp. 18–19, 122.

²⁵ [Andreas Feldborg?], ‘Translator’s Preface’, in Nicolai Karamsin, *Tales from the Russian* (London: J. Johnson, 1804), pp. v–xii (pp. vi–vii).

²⁶ [Aleksey Evstaf’ev], ‘Advertisement’, in Alexander Soumarokove, *Demetrius, The Imposter: A Tragedy*, [trans. by Aleksey Evstaf’ev] (London: J. Booth, 1806), pp. iii–vii (pp. iv, vi).

²⁷ [George Ross], ‘Advertisement’, in Thaddeus Bulgárin, *Ivan Vejeeghen; or, Life in Russia*, 2 vols (London: Whittaker, Treacher; Edinburgh: H. Constable, 1831), 1: v–vii (p. v).

²⁸ Pushkin was first translated in [William Henry Leeds], ‘Art. I: *Opuit Kratkoi Istorii Ruskoi Literaturui, &c. A Sketch of Russian Literature*. By Nicholas Ivanovich Grech’ (review), *Foreign Review*, 2.3 (September 1828), 279–309: on the attribution to Leeds, see Anthony Cross, ‘William Henry Leeds and Early British Responses to Russian Literature’, in Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude*, pp. 53–68 (pp. 53–7); William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, 3 vols (Dublin: S. Price, R. Moncrieffe, W. Colles, T. Walker, C. Jenkin, W. Wilson, L. White, R. Burton, J. Cash, and P. Byrne, 1784), 11: 418–61; [William Tooke and Jean-Henri Castéra], *The Life of Catharine II. Empress of Russia*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: T. N. Longman, O. Rees, and J. Debrett, 1799), 111: 394–439. Tooke’s biography was ‘an enlarged translation from the French’ of Jean-Henri Castéra’s *Vie de Catherine II, Impératrice de Russie*, 2 vols (Paris: F. Buisson, 1797), and the chapter on the ‘State of literature, arts, and sciences at St. Petersburg, during the reign of Catherine II’ was an unacknowledged translation of a chapter of Heinrich Storch, *Gemählde von St. Petersburg*, 11 (Riga: Johan Friedrich Hartknoch, 1794): see Anthony Cross, ‘The Reverend William Tooke’s Contribution to English

What is noticeable in these early discussions is that the Russian literature that was first introduced to British readers was not understood, as it was by Woolf, as 'so immeasurably far apart' from British literature, but rather as part of a pan-European Enlightenment.²⁹ It is true that Russia was considered to be at an earlier stage of that Enlightenment than its neighbours to the West, but it was nevertheless understood as being on the same path, and its literature was cited as evidence. For example, Tooke—or rather his source, Heinrich von Storch—remarked that under Petr I, 'the national genius expanded itself under the genial breath of a more mild and prosperous age: the language was depurated, enriched, and formed; authors of talents appeared and produced works which excited the enthusiasm of the nation, and the esteem of foreigners'; more recently, the progress Ekaterina II had made 'in emulating her more cultivated neighbours, is worthy the attention of the rest of Europe'.³⁰ Coxe, too, praised 'the spirit with which the empress [Ekaterina II] protects and encourages learning', and expected her reforms to produce many more writers of 'great eminence in literature'.³¹ And in the first collection of Russian poetry in English translation, *Specimens of the Russian Poets* (1821), John Bowring reported that 'a middle class, as yet neither numerous nor powerful, is withal growing up in Russia; by and by, they will form the link between the oppressor and the oppressed ... Russia, full as she is of the materials out of which great minds are formed, may yet perhaps take her stand in intellectual eminence among the nations of Europe, at no distant period'.³²

There was a strong political rationale for such a narrative, of course. As M. S. Anderson pointed out in his pioneering account of Britain's early engagement with Russia, ignorance of pre-Petrine culture and an attitude of superiority distorted 'the whole conception of the course of Russian history current in Britain'. Its over-emphasis on the impact of particular events and individuals attributed Russia's progress almost entirely to particular rulers, notably Petr I and Ekaterina II. As the first two of the quotations above make clear, Ekaterina came to embody the politically progressive, intellectual, and cultured ruler, a reputation she assiduously cultivated. Admiration for Ekaterina II's patronage of the arts supported the improvement in Anglo-Russian relations over the course of the eighteenth century, and the increasingly confident view of Russia as a natural ally for Britain against France.³³

Knowledge of Russia at the End of the Eighteenth Century', *Canadian Slavic Studies*, 3.1 (Spring 1969), 106–15 (pp. 111–12). The fullest and most reliable bibliography of the translations during this period is A. G. Cross and G. S. Smith, *Eighteenth Century Russian Literature, Culture and Thought: A Bibliography of English-Language Scholarship and Translations* (Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners, 1984). For a detailed overview, which is especially useful for its discussion of translations and reviews in periodicals, see Gilbert Phelps, 'The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature, I', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 36.87 (1958), 418–33, and 'The Early Phases of British Interest in Russian Literature, II', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 38.91 (1960), 415–30.

²⁹ Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', in *The Common Reader*, p. 193.

³⁰ [Tooke and Jean-Henri Castéra], *The Life of Catharine II. Empress of Russia*, III: 396–7.

³¹ Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark*, II: 440, 458.

³² John Bowring, ed. and trans., 'Introduction', in *Rossiiskaya antologiya: Specimens of the Russian Poets*, 1, 2nd edn (London: R. Hunter; Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1821), pp. vii–xxxv (p. xxxv).

³³ M. S. Anderson, *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553–1815* (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 89, 102–3, 124.

Yet Russia's increasing 'civilization' could not be viewed without qualms in Britain, for it was accompanied by its growing imperial power. Though Ekaterina II's expansionist foreign policy was raising concerns by the end of the eighteenth century, before the defeat of Napoleon and the treaties of Vienna in 1815 Russia and Britain were largely united against their common enemy, France. But after 1815, Russia could no longer depend on an Anglo–French rivalry, and Britain founds its interests in the Middle East threatened by Russia's expansion through Central Asia. These growing tensions are evident in Bowring's introductions to the two volumes and different editions of his anthology. Bowring was a businessman and a Benthamite, who would later move into parliamentary politics and diplomacy—he was Consul of Canton, then Governor of Hong Kong from 1848 to 1859—and his introductions emphasize the political relevance of translating Russian poetry into English. In the expanded introduction to the second edition of the first volume, Bowring acknowledges British disquiet at Russia's expansion, but suggests that that knowledge of Russian literature might ease such anxieties: 'The immense political influence which Russia has acquired, and seems likely to maintain, will be less appalling, at all events, to the moralist, if not to the statesman, than if wholly unaccompanied by a spirit of literature', he writes, adding, 'on the other hand, it is consolatory to remember that every instance which Russia affords of the advance of knowledge, is a pledge that the blessings of freedom and good government, which follow in the train of intellectual distinction, cannot be for ever shut out'.³⁴ In the second volume of the anthology, published two years later, he is more forthright: he dedicated the volume to Aleksandr I, reminding him that 'when the delusions of conquest and the records of political changes shall have passed away, the purer and nobler triumphs of civilization and literature will be remembered'.³⁵

In 1854 these tensions brought Britain and France into the Crimean War in support of Turkey against Russia. British interest in Russia increased, creating a fertile market for fiction, poetry, drama, and art about Russia and the war, as Rachel Bates, Stefanie Markovits, and Laurence Senelick have discussed.³⁶ It also prompted new translations of Russian literature. During the war, Mikhail Lermontov and Turgenev were both translated into English for the first time, and Nikolay Gogol's

³⁴ Bowring, *Rossiiskaya antologiya*, 1: viii–ix. It should be noted that, despite Bowring's comments on translating from Russian in his introduction, he was in fact translating from English, French, and German versions of the Russian sources, provided by his friend Friedrich von Adelung: see Anthony Cross, 'Early English Specimens of the Russian Poets', *Canadian–American Slavic Studies*, 9.4 (Winter 1975), 449–62 (p. 454), and Philip Bowring, *Free Trade's First Missionary: Sir John Bowring in Europe and Asia* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), pp. 27–8; see also John Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring*, ed. by Lewin B. Bowring (London: Henry S. King, 1877), pp. 120–3.

³⁵ John Bowring, ed. and trans., Dedication, in *Rossiiskaya antologiya: Specimens of the Russian Poets*, 11 (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1823), pp. iii–iv (p. iii). Aleksandr I responded to Bowring's dedication by sending him 'a large amethyst ring surrounded with diamonds' (Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections*, p. 123).

³⁶ Rachel Bates, 'Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict', PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2015; Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Laurence Senelick, "'For God, for Czar, for Fatherland': Russians on the British Stage from Napoleon to the Great War", in Beasley and Bullock, eds, *Russia in Britain*, pp. 19–34.

work first appeared in book form. But, in contrast with their predecessors, few of these translations were presented as evidence of Russia's civilization or a shared European culture: they appear instead as sources of information about an emphatically foreign enemy. In place of the cosmopolitan world of St Petersburg these novels introduced a provincial Russia that was less recognizable, and far less admirable, to British readers. Gogol's *Mertvye dushi* (1842) (*Dead Souls*) was published in 1854 as *Home Life in Russia*, with a preface in which the 'editor', the Polish writer and academic Krystyn Lach Szyrma, described the book as an 'exposé', whose author aimed at 'ameliorating the condition of his fellow sufferers in Russia'.³⁷ Lermontov's *Geroi nashego vremeni* (1840) (*A Hero of Our Time*) was published in three different translations. In 1853 it was translated as *Sketches of Russian Life in the Caucasus* by an unknown translator, and it appeared twice in 1854: as *A Hero of Our Own Times*, translated by J. H. Wisdom and Marr Murray, and as *The Hero of Our Days*, translated by the Viennese writer, Theresa Pulszky.³⁸ Pulszky commented that, but for the war, she would not have published the book 'since it is wanting in moral depth', but she invited her readers to judge 'the moral and intellectual life of a nation' from its 'literary flowers and fruits... should they even be withered or rotten'.³⁹ Turgenev's *Zapiski okhotnika* (1852) (*A Sportsman's Sketches*) was published in 1855 as *Russian Life in the Interior, or The Experiences of a Sportsman*, translated by James Meiklejohn from the 1854 French translation by Ernest Charrière, and sections of a different translation (also from Charrière) had appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* the year before, where it was characterized as 'a Russian Uncle Tom's Cabin' that showed the 'iniquity of serfdom as an institution'.⁴⁰ The change in attitude was not only a response to wartime Russophobia, but also to changes within Russia itself. Both the view of Russia's intellectual stagnation and the focus on the system of serfdom echo Petr Chaadaev's criticism of Nikolay (Nicholas) I's reign in his *Lettres philosophiques* (written 1828–31), and Vissarion Belinsky's more recent 'Pis'mo k N. V. Gogolyu' ('Letter to Gogol') (written 1847). Though neither critic was well known in Britain during this period, their ideas made their way into British thought through Aleksandr Gertsen (Herzen), who had been resident in London since 1852, publishing the arguments of the *zapadniki* (Westernizers) through his Free Russian Press and his journals *Polyarnaya zvezda* (the *Polar Star*) (1855–68), and *Kolokol* (*The Bell*) (1857–67).⁴¹ Thus it was

³⁷ [Krystyn Lach Szyrma], 'Preface', in *Home Life in Russia*, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), 1: i–v (p. iii).

³⁸ [Mikhail Lermontov], *Sketches of Russian Life in The Caucasus. By a Russe, Many Years Resident Amongst the Various Mountain Tribes* (London: Ingram, Cooke, 1853); [Mikhail] Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Own Times* [trans. by J. H. Wisdom and Marr Murray] (London: David Bogue, 1854), pp. 1–3 (pp. 3, 1); Michael Lérmontoff, *The Hero of Our Days*, trans. Theresa Pulszky (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1854).

³⁹ Theresa Pulszky, 'Preface', in Lérmontoff, *The Hero of Our Days*, pp. v–vii (p. v).

⁴⁰ [Ivan Turgenev], *Mémoires d'un seigneur russe, ou tableau de la situation actuelle des nobles et des paysans dans les provinces russes*, trans. by Ernest Charrière (Paris: Hachette, 1854), [John Duke Coleridge], 'Photographs from Russian Life', *Fraser's Magazine*, 50 (1854), 209–22 (p. 211).

⁴¹ See, for example, 'Young Russia', *Chamber's Journal*, 30 (1854), 66–9; 'Art. VII: *Home Life in Russia; Gogol, Pokhozhdeniya Chichikova ili Mertvuiya Dushi*; Herzen, *Du Développement des Idées Révolutionnaires en Russie*' (review), *Eclectic Review*, 9 (1855), 199–219 (pp. 206–12).

Russian discontent as well as British Russophobia that led Wisdom and Murray to comment on Nikolay I's 'hostility to literature', and forced even the tsarist translator of the first English version of Lermontov's novel to admit that Nikolay I had introduced 'the most rigorous measures' to keep the country 'safe from foreign propagandism'.⁴²

The combination of wartime propaganda in Britain and the nationalism promulgated during Nikolay I's reign established a view of Russia and its literature as emphatically different that would persist even during the First World War, when Britain and Russia were culturally and politically closest. It is significant that this critical framework takes form at just the point when Russian fiction, and specifically the nineteenth-century Russian realist novel, began to be systematically translated and disseminated in Britain, for the realism of Russian literature was central to the British conception of its distinctiveness and difference. Modern critical studies routinely remark that the first translations of Gogol's, Lermontov's and Turgenev's works were marketed not as fiction but as factual representations of Russian life.⁴³ Lermontov's name does not appear on the title page of *Sketches of Russian Life in the Caucasus, by a Russe, Many Years Resident amongst the Various Mountain Tribes*, nor Gogol's anywhere in *Home Life in Russia, by a Russian Noble*, and if 'Ivan Tourghenieff of Moscow' is credited as the author of *Russian Life in the Interior, or The Experiences of a Sportsman*, his 'Photographs from Russian Life' had been introduced in *Fraser's Magazine* as

the more interesting, inasmuch as he is not a professed writer; he has not sought effects, but has transferred to paper, with the vividness of a daguerreotype, the impressions produced upon him by the various personages and scenes he describes. Nature has given him a fine perception of the beauties of scenery, and of the peculiarities of the human character: he paints them with the simplicity and ardour of a lover, and he is none the less an artist because a practised eye will detect the absence or even the want of art. Of all descriptive works, those which are produced by men of this stamp are the most valuable and the most lasting, because they are necessarily stamped with the fidelity of truth.⁴⁴

In fact, it was only Gogol's text that was deliberately misrepresented as documentary, portrayed in the translator's preface as 'written by a Russian nobleman, who offered the MS. in English to the publishers', but, as Carl Lefevre discussed, this deception was swiftly exposed in the periodical press by a reviewer familiar with Russian and French essays on *Mertvye dushi*.⁴⁵ And British readers could hardly

⁴² [J. H. Wisdom and Marr Murray], 'Brief Notice of Michael Lermontof', in Lermontof, *A Hero of Our Own Times*, pp. 1–3 (p. 1), 'Introductory Review of Russian Literature', in [Mikhail Lermontov], *Sketches of Russian Life in The Caucasus. By a Russe, Many Years Resident Amongst the Various Mountain Tribes* (London: Ingram, Cooke, 1853), pp. 1–34 (p. 24).

⁴³ Davie, 'Introduction', in Davie, ed., *Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction*, p. 1, Rachel May, *The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1994), pp. 14–15.

⁴⁴ [Coleridge], 'Photographs from Russian Life', p. 210.

⁴⁵ [Lach Szyrma], 'Preface', in *Home Life in Russia*, 1: i. See Carl Lefevre, 'Gogol and Anglo-Russian Literary Relations during the Crimean War', *American Slavic and East European Review*, 8 (1949), 106–25 (pp. 114–16).

have been confused about the status of Lermontov's *Geroi nashego vremeni*: the edition was published in Ingram, Cooke, & Co's series 'The Illustrated Family Novelist' and the narrative was preceded by a thirty-four page 'Introductory Review of Russian Literature'. Nevertheless, critics certainly highlighted the documentary aspect of these fictional works. British political interests were intersecting with aspects of the 'Westernizers' ideas: the British market for condemnation of Russia and its social system had found apt source material in the works generated by the strongly realist agenda Belinsky and the *natural* 'naya shkola' ('natural school') were setting for Russian literature from the 1840s.⁴⁶ As the quotation from *Fraser's* above makes clear, this literature was represented as 'Russian life', not 'art'.

RUSSIAN AND FRENCH REALISMS

Russian literature entered a decisively new phase of its reception in Britain in the 1880s, when it began to play an important role in British literary politics. This was due to three factors. First, there was a steep rise in the number of translations published: Richard Lewanski's, Rissa Yachnin's, and David H. Stam's bibliographies list a rise from eleven translations of Russian literary works in the 1860s to thirty-six in the 1870s and over fifty in the 1880s, though the actual number is certain to have been greater.⁴⁷ In the 1870s Turgenev was the most frequently translated Russian author, finally receiving the renown he had already gained in France and the United States.⁴⁸ In the 1880s Pushkin, Lermontov, and Gogol' were all published multiple times, but it was the works of Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and, by the end of the 1880s, Tolstoy that were most numerous, championed especially by the publishers Henry Vizetelly and Walter Scott. The second factor in making Russian literature central to British literary politics, which I will discuss in chapter one, was the arrival of Russian émigrés who were effective translators, interpreters, and promoters of their literature. The third factor was the publication of the first popular surveys of Russian literary history.

Four such surveys appeared in the 1880s: Charles Turner's *Studies in Russian Literature* (1882), William Morfill's *Slavonic Literature* (1883), Ernest Dupuy's *Les Grands maîtres de la littérature russes au dix-neuvième siècle* (1885), and Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's *Le Roman russe* (1886). In 1890, Charles Turner published *The Modern Novelists of Russia*, a sequel to his first study, which had focused on the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. While Morfill's book dealt with the even

⁴⁶ See Victor Terras, *Belinskij and Russian Literary Criticism: The Heritage of Organic Aesthetics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), pp. 202–5.

⁴⁷ Richard C. Lewanski, *The Literatures of the World in English Translation: A Bibliography*, 11: *The Slavic Literatures* (New York: New York Public Library/Frederick Ungar, 1967). Lewanski's is still the most comprehensive bibliography of English language translations of Russian literature, but it has many mistakes and omits much, so should be supplemented by author-specific bibliographies, such as those used here: Patrick Waddington, *Turgenev and England* (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 308–15, Patrick Waddington, 'A Bibliography of the Writings of W. R. S. Ralston (1828–89)', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 1 (1980), 1–15, Rissa Yachnin and David H. Stam, *Turgenev in English: A Checklist of Works by and about Him* (New York: New York Public Library, 1962).

⁴⁸ Waddington, *Turgenev and England*, pp. 136, 154–60.

earlier period of old Russian (and other Slavonic) literature, concluding his study at the point Petr I began his reign, Dupuy, Vogüé, and Turner focused on an overlapping canon of modern authors. Vogüé devoted chapters to Gogol', Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy, Dupuy to Gogol', Turgenev, and Tolstoy, and Turner to Ivan Goncharov, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and the short story writers, Vsevolod Garshin and Vladimir Korolenko.⁴⁹

Vogüé's substantial study, first published as five articles in the *Revue des deux mondes* between October 1883 and May 1886, was particularly influential in outlining the terms in which Russian literature would be understood in Britain. D. S. Mirsky called it 'the main landmark in the history of the penetration of Russian literature into western Europe' in his own landmark study for the next generation, *A History of Russian Literature*. F. W. J. Hemmings, no less accurately if rather less charitably, called Vogüé 'the vulgarizer that the hour required'.⁵⁰ Although an abridged translation by Jane Loring Edmands was published in Boston in 1887, the book was read in French by most British readers, until a translation by Herbert Sawyer was published in 1913.⁵¹ *Le Roman russe* gave the most thorough account of Russian literature to date, beginning with two chapters of historical survey, followed by chapters on the four principal authors that discussed their biography, thought, reception, and individual works, many of which had not yet appeared in English or, in some cases, French. But the most distinctive feature of Vogüé's book was that it was a sustained comparative account, which set the Russian novel against its English and French contemporaries. While Dupuy and Turner provided straightforward introductions to the novelists, they stopped short of arguing for the contemporary significance of the Russian novel. In contrast, Vogüé argued that the Russian novel offered a moral and spiritual corrective to the materialism of French literature.

This argument is made most powerfully in the 'Avant-Propos', described by Gilbert Phelps as 'one of the outstanding manifestos of the anti-Naturalist Movement'.⁵² There, Vogüé argues that in the realist novel of the last forty years, Russian literature

⁴⁹ Charles Edward Turner, *Studies in Russian Literature* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882); W. R. Morfill, *Slavonic Literature* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1883); Ernest Dupuy, *Les Grands maîtres de la littérature russe au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: H. Lecène & H. Oudin, 1885); Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*; Charles Edward Turner, *The Modern Novelists of Russia* (London: Trübner, 1890).

⁵⁰ Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, 'Ivan Serguievitch Tourguénief', *Revue des deux mondes*, 59 (15 October 1883), 786–820; 'Les Écrivains russes contemporains: Le Comte Léon Tolstoï', *Revue des deux mondes*, 64 (15 July 1884), 264–301; 'Les Écrivains russes contemporains: F. -M. Dostoïevsky', *Revue des deux mondes*, 67 (15 January 1885), 312–56; 'Les Écrivains russes contemporains: Nicolas Gogol', *Revue des deux mondes*, 70 (15 November 1885), 241–79; 'De la Littérature réaliste, a propos du roman russe', *Revue des deux mondes*, 75 (15 May 1886), 288–313; a sixth article on Pushkin that formed the basis of *Le Roman russe*'s second chapter was published in the *Revue Bleue*: Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, 'Littérature russe: Pouchekine', *Revue Bleue*, 37 (29 May 1886), 685–90; D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Dostoyevsky (1881)* (London: Routledge, 1927), p. 371; F. W. J. Hemmings, *The Russian Novel in France, 1884–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 21.

⁵¹ E. M. de Vogüé, *The Russian Novelists*, trans. by Jane Loring Edmands (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1887); Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*.

⁵² Phelps, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction*, pp. 32–3. Sawyer's 1913 translation omitted the section of Vogüé's 'Avant-Propos' that elaborates on the distinctions between French and Russian realism 'as it has an interest for French critics only' (Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, p. 12).

has finally discarded the 'borrowed elegance' derived from French, English, and German imitation, and 'for the first time passed in front of the West instead of following her. She has at last found an aestheticism and shades of thought which are her own'. In Vogüé's opinion, the contemporary French realist novel has been degenerating over the course of the nineteenth century, and Gustave Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, published five years before, represents 'the last word, the inevitable culmination of realism, without faith, without emotion, without compassion'. Born of the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment, the French novel 'by strictly studying life as it is... fulfils an important duty, but it insults and deceives our innate instincts when it ignores the possibility of a Divine Power governing and directing what is beyond our understanding'. Dismissing contemporary believers in art for art's sake, Vogüé insists that 'morality and beauty are synonymous terms in art', and concludes that 'the influence of the greater Russian writers will be beneficial to our exhausted art... Already some novels show a better moral tendency'. While French novels have failed to offer the solace and direction required after the Revolution and the Franco-Prussian War, Vogüé argues that in Russia, novels are providing moral leadership that is transforming the country: for example, when Turgenev's *Zapiski okhotnika* (*A Sportsman's Sketches*) was published 'Russia, seeing itself in the mirror of serfdom now exposed, was horror-struck... she was touched down to Emperor Nicholas's very heart and serfdom was doomed for ever!'. Dostoevsky, similarly 'writes to cure', comments Vogüé, and '*The Memories of the House of the Dead* became for transportation what the *Hunter's Tales* [i.e. *Zapiski okhotnika*] had been for serfdom—the tocsin of reform'.⁵³

Although Vogüé recommends Russian literature primarily on moral and religious grounds, he also hints at its contemporary political relevance. In his first paragraph he gives his reasons for writing *Le Roman russe* as follows: 'For literary reasons, which I shall refer to later, for reasons of another kind—which are obvious—I believe it to be advisable to bring these two countries nearer to each other by intellectual interchanges'. Sawyer, a generally literal but sometimes incorrect and unperceptive translator, provides a footnote to Vogüé's 'reasons of another kind': 'The author married a Russian'. Indeed, in 1878 Vogüé was married in the Winter Palace to Aleksandra Annenkova, maid of honour to the tsarina. But it seems more likely that Vogüé did not have his wife in mind here, but his country. 'Between two peoples, as between two individuals,' he writes in the next sentence, 'there can be no close and solid friendship until after they know each other's minds'.⁵⁴ Vogüé's knowledge of Russia and its literature had been gained during his tenure as secretary to the French Embassy in Saint Petersburg between 1876 and 1882. The Franco-Prussian War had demonstrated the military power and political danger of Prussia, and during the period Vogüé was employed by the Embassy France was courting Russia as an ally: the Treaty of Alliance was finally

⁵³ Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, pp. 51, 4, 10, 11, 23–4, 21–2, 170–1, 234; Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*, pp. 28, xii, xxxiv, xxiii–xxiv, liii, xlix, 164–5, 237.

⁵⁴ Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, p. 1; Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*, pp. vii–viii; Hemmings, *The Russian Novel in France, 1884–1914*, p. 27.

signed in January 1894.⁵⁵ Vogüé's diplomatic connections clearly shape his arguments. Though emphasizing the liberal influence of Russian authors, he is at pains to dissociate them from radicalism: *Fathers and Sons* is an unequivocal critique of nihilism in his account, and in commenting on Dostoevsky's membership of the Petrashevsky circle, he remarks, 'The only political matters that interested him were those connected with mysticism and compassion. His incapacity for any active participation made him a mere harmless metaphysician'. There is even more explicit revisionism in his remark that 'the repulsive scenes' Dostoevsky depicts in *Zapiski iz mertvogo doma* (1860–62) (*The House of the Dead*) are 'ancient history. Flogging is abolished, and the prison system in Siberia is on as humane lines as in our own country'. Tsar Nikolay I is characterized by Vogüé as 'a sensible and humane man. He did violence to himself when he had to refrain from being merciful'.⁵⁶

Vogüé's and Dupuy's books were well received in Britain. Dupuy's, the first book on contemporary Russian literature to be published in English when it was translated in 1886, was advertised as 'The Looked-for Guide in the Recent Literary Furore', and praised in the *Morning Post* as 'keenly analytic, as well as feelingly perceptive'.⁵⁷ In *The Athenaeum* Gabriel Sarrazin pronounced Vogüé's book 'the work of a critic and a poet', its chapters 'brilliantly written and full of solid information'. William Morfill commended Vogüé's 'excellent criticisms' of Russian novels in *The Academy*, and the reviewer for the *Saturday Review* noted Vogüé's expertise, remarking that 'the great interest which has recently been excited in Muscovite fiction should make this book very welcome'.⁵⁸ The extent to which their account of contemporary Russian literature formed that of British readers is well summarized by the paraphrase in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* of a paper given to the Worcester Students' Association on 'Russian Novelists' by a local Russophile, Mrs Rowland Berkeley, on 6 October 1894:

She explained that literary development in Russia had been recent, the most noteworthy books being all written within half a century... Both poetry and prose had obtained a high position in Russian literature this century. The poetry had been essentially imitative and prose essentially creative. Mrs Berkeley pointed out that it was only in the form of fiction that questions touching on politics could be thoroughly treated

⁵⁵ Hemmings, *The Russian Novel in France*, pp. 8–10. To my knowledge, there is no comprehensive Russian account of Vogüé's influence, though there is a short biographical entry by Semen Vengerov in *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauza i Efrona*, ed. by I. E. Andreevsky, K. K. Arsenov, and F. F. Petrushevsky (Leipzig and St Petersburg, 1890–1907), xii: 705–6. However, Vogüé's work was acknowledged by Russian critics during the period. See for example, 'Ocherk Mel'khiora de-Vogüé', in *Inostrannaya kritika o Turgeneye* (St Petersburg: Tip. V. Demakova, 1884), pp. 66–139, and F. I. Bulgakov, *Graf' L. N. Tolstoi i kritika ego proizvedenii russkaya i inostrannaya* (St Petersburg: Izd. tovarishchestva M. O. Vol'ff, 1886), p. 18. An abridged translation of *Le Roman russe* was published as *Sovremennye russkie pisateli: Tolstoy-Turgenev-Dostoevsky* (Moscow: Izd. V. N. Marakueva, 1887).

⁵⁶ Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, pp. 178–83, 234, 218; Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*, pp. 173–9, 237, 219.

⁵⁷ 'J. & R. Maxwell's New Books' [advertisement], *The Athenaeum*, 3104 (23 April 1887), p. 533; 'The Great Masters of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century' (review), *Morning Post* (8 June 1887), p. 2.

⁵⁸ Gabriel Sarrazin, 'France', *The Athenaeum*, 3088 (1 January 1887), 10–14 (p. 13); W. R. Morfill, 'Russian Lyrics in English Verse. By the Rev. C. T. Wilson' (review), *The Academy*, 32.805 (8 October 1887), 231–2 (p. 231); 'French Literature', *Saturday Review*, 62.1601 (3 July 1886), p. 35.

in Russia. But in spite of all the drawbacks, and in consequence of the drawbacks, Russia was for 20 years, and might be again, a great power in the literary world. Such a number of first-class works could hardly be matched in any other country. Tourgenieff she characterised as one of the greatest prose writers in the world. In one of his novels, she incidentally mentioned, the term Nihilist was first used.⁵⁹

Turgenev did not coin the term nihilism, but Dupuy had indeed written ‘This word, invented [‘créé’] by Turgénief, and spoken for the first time in “Fathers and Sons,” has in short space gone all over the world’. And he had begun his book by remarking that ‘it may be said that the emancipation of literature in Russian dates back scarcely fifty years. All the Russian writers, whether of poetry or prose, with the exception possibly of one or two satirists, were little more than imitators’.⁶⁰ Although Vogüé had summarized developments in Russian literature before Gogol’ in his first two chapters, he too argued that it was only forty years before that Russia had finally created ‘something original and spontaneous. With the realistic novel, the national spirit has become conscious of its own entity’; of the literature before, even the ‘brilliant selection of poesy’ of romanticism was ‘the product of an imported culture’, he wrote.⁶¹ By the late 1880s British readers believed that, to quote a review of Dupuy’s book, ‘Russian literature begins with Gogol; for Pushkin was a Byronic poet, whose chief claim on his countrymen is that he predicted Gogol’s greatness, perhaps inspired his early efforts’.⁶² Even Matthew Arnold, in his famous 1887 article on Tolstoy, remarked that ‘the Russians have not yet had a great poet’.⁶³

While this abbreviation of Russia’s literary history had a major source in Russian criticism—notably in the writings of Chaadaev, Belinsky, and their fellow *zapadniki* (Westernizers)—it also served Vogüé’s and Dupuy’s aesthetic focus on the Russian realist novel, and contributed to Vogüé’s political purpose by representing Russian literary culture as emerging into maturity at the point it was required as an ally.⁶⁴ But as well as obscuring Russian culture before Petr I’s reign and undermining the originality of Russian romanticism, this narrative also disregarded non-Russian influences on the Russian novel, notably the influence of the British nineteenth-century novel.⁶⁵ Although Vogüé remarks that ‘as with their inspirations,

⁵⁹ ‘Worcester Students’ Association’, *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* (6 October 1894), p. 2.

⁶⁰ Ernest Dupuy, *The Great Masters of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Nathan Haskell Dole (London: John and Robert Maxwell, 1886), pp. 4, 173; Dupuy, *Grands maîtres*, pp. 1, 184.

⁶¹ Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, p. 27; Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*, p. 2.

⁶² ‘The Reader’, *Graphic*, 919 (9 July 1887), p. 43.

⁶³ Matthew Arnold, ‘Count Leo Tolstoy’, *Fortnightly Review*, 42 (December 1887), 783–99 (p. 784).

⁶⁴ Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism*, trans. by Hilda Andrews-Rusiecka (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979), pp. 138–9.

⁶⁵ See M. P. Alekseev, ed., *Ot klassitsizma k romantizmu: iz istorii mezhdunarodnykh svyazei russkoi literatury* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1970); M. P. Alekseev, ed., *Epokha Prosveshcheniya: iz istorii mezhdunarodnykh svyazei russkoi literatury* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1967); Catherine Brown, *The Art of Comparison: How Novels and Critics Compare* (London: Legenda, 2011); Donald Fanger, *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); W. Gareth Jones, ‘George Eliot’s “Adam Bede” and Tolstoy’s Conception of “Anna Karenina”’, *Modern Language Review*, 61.3 (1966), 473–81;

their literary methods are similar to the English', he attributes this to their belonging to the 'northern races', and to the impact of Christianity, rather than direct literary influence.⁶⁶

For all its popularity and influence, this French narrative sat somewhat awkwardly in the context of a British readership. Unlike France, Britain did not view Russia as a potential political ally—tensions between Britain and Russia over Central Asia were at a height during these years—and as the Russian realist novel had been introduced to Britain during the Crimean War, British readers were more inclined than their French neighbours to read the novels for criticism of Russian autocracy. British critics who formed their views of Russian literature independently of Dupuy and Vogüé were also less likely to neglect earlier periods of Russian literature and Russian poetry and drama: Turner's *Studies in Russian Literature* had consisted of chapters on twelve eighteenth and early nineteenth-century writers, including five chapters on Pushkin. Morfill focused on literature up to the seventeenth century, characterizing the early period as rich in national songs, legends, and popular poetry, and noting the importance of the oral tradition to Russian romanticism, which directly contradicted Vogüé's argument that the movement was 'the product of an imported culture'.⁶⁷ The British Museum's Slavonic specialist, William Ralston, was renowned as a translator and critic of Turgenev, but also made highly important studies of Russian folklore: *The Songs of the Russian People* was published in 1872 and *Russian Folk-Tales* in 1873.⁶⁸

But perhaps the most important difference between Britain and France, for the story this book tells about the Russian influence on modernism, is that Britain did not have an indigenous naturalist movement against which the Russian novel could be set as a corrective. Although by the mid-1880s there was an anti-naturalist discourse in the British press as there was in France, naturalism in Britain was perceived as a foreign, mainly French, movement for which the moral corrective was not another foreign literature, but an earlier English literature. Arthur Tilley, discussing naturalism in the *National Review*, invoked Jane Austen, Frances Burney, Elizabeth Gaskell, Anthony Trollope, and, above all, George Eliot as moral and aesthetic exemplars: 'May it not be said that while George Eliot elevates the commonplace, the new school vulgarises it? And if so, is this true realism? Is it not rather the sin of Zola—the sin, to borrow Goethe's distinction, of being naturalistic instead of natural?'⁶⁹

In fact, as foreign works appearing in British literary debates in the same decade, Russian and French realist novels were frequently seen as part of the same movement

I. M. Katarsky, *Dikkers v Rossii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966); Rachel Polonsky, *English Literature and the Russian Aesthetic Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 24–5; V. E. Vatsuro, *Goticheskii roman v Rossii* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2002); A. N. Veselovsky, *Zapadnoe vliyanie v novoi russkoi literature sravnitel'no-istoricheskie ocherki* (Moscow: A. Gattsuka, 1883).

⁶⁶ Vogüé, *The Russian Novel*, pp. 19, 12, 14–15; Vogüé, *Le Roman russe*, pp. xlvi, xxxviii, xl–xli.

⁶⁷ Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*, pp. 46–7.

⁶⁸ W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People* (London: Ellis & Green, 1872); W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales* (London: Smith, Elder, 1873).

⁶⁹ Arthur Tilley, 'The New School of Fiction', *National Review*, 1.2 (April 1883), 257–68 (p. 264).

of 'new realism' or 'new fiction' to be distinguished from, on the one hand, earlier British realisms and, on the other, the adventure romance genre of contemporary British writers such as Rider Haggard and Robert Louis Stevenson. A number of factors contributed to this conflation. First, British readers initially encountered Russian novels in French, even when English translations had become available: 'The great majority of our translations, even the more faithful and skilful, are intolerable reading', complained a reviewer in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1888, 'no one who knows French will willingly read a Russian novel in English'.⁷⁰ Second, in the second half of the 1880s, the leading publisher of Russian fiction was Henry Vizetelly, known chiefly as the publisher of the most notorious French naturalist, Émile Zola. Third, Zola's essays defining naturalism first appeared not in French, but in Russian, in the St Petersburg magazine *Vestnik Evropy* (*Herald of Europe*), for which he was the Paris correspondent.⁷¹ When he reprinted them in book form, he expressed his gratitude to

the great nation which welcomed me so warmly, and adopted me, at a time when not a journal in Paris would accept what I wrote and everyone was my enemy in my literary battle. Russia, in one of my hours of pain and discouragement, revived my faith in myself, renewed my strength, and gave me a public, and that the most critical and impassioned of publics. Her criticism of my writings made me what I am to-day.⁷²

Accordingly, when one reviews nineteenth-century British criticism of Russian novelists, one finds that Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were discussed as new realist or naturalist novelists by both supporters and detractors. Edmund Gosse, for example, wrote in an important article of 1890 that Turgenev was 'a great deal too romantic to be a pure naturalist', but he found *Le Crime et le châtement* 'the strongest book that the [naturalist] school has yet produced in any country'.⁷³ It is telling that Gosse refers to *Crime and Punishment* by the title of its French translation, even though an English translation had been available since 1886; indeed, the *Bristol Mercury's* reviewer of that translation had called Dostoevsky 'a Russian Zola' who 'paints the squalid misery of the poorest quarters of St. Petersburg with remorseless realism. He idealises nothing'.⁷⁴ Gosse agrees:

It is to Zola, and to Zola only, that the concentration of the scattered tendencies of naturalism is due. It is owing to him that the threads of Flaubert and Daudet, Dostoiefsky and Tolstoi, Howells and Henry James can be drawn into anything like a single system. It is Zola who discovered a common measure for all these talents, and a

⁷⁰ 'A Norwegian Trilogy', review of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *Sigurd Slembe: A Dramatic Trilogy*, *Pall Mall Gazette* (29 December 1888), p. 3.

⁷¹ See for example Emil Zola, 'Parizhskie pis'ma: Eksperimental'nyi roman', *Vestnik Evropy*, 14.9 (1879), 406–38.

⁷² Émile Zola, 'Introduction', in *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, trans. by Belle E. Sherman (New York: Cassell, 1893), pp. v–vi (p. v); Émile Zola, [Introduction], in *Le Roman expérimental*, 2nd edn (Paris: Charpentier, 1880), i–ii (p. i). British awareness of Zola's connection with *Vestnik Evropy* is indicated in G. Monod, 'Paris Letter', *The Academy*, 15.353 (8 February 1879), 122–4 (pp. 123–4).

⁷³ Edmund Gosse, 'The Limits of Realism in Fiction', *The Forum* (New York), 9 (June 1890), 391–400 (pp. 392, 395).

⁷⁴ 'Our Library Table', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (5 May 1886), p. 3.

formula wide enough and yet close enough to distinguish them from the outside world and bind them to one another.⁷⁵

While Gosse draws the comparison with French naturalism to praise Dostoevsky, other critics use it to denigrate Russian fiction. In an 1891 essay on Ibsen, W. L. Courtney's list of the examples of naturalism 'at its worst' included Tolstoy's *Kreutzerova sonata* (1889) (*The Kreutzer Sonata*), alongside Zola's *La Terre* (*The Earth*), and Ibsen's *Gengangere* (*Ghosts*) and *Hedda Gabler*. Courtney wrote that these works summed up 'the modern spirit', defined as 'Naturalism naked and unashamed, a vigorous though crude unconventionality both of phrase and literary workmanship, and a profound belief in the necessity of democracy, the triumph of science, and the emancipation of woman'.⁷⁶ Similarly, in the first of two articles on 'The Present State of the Novel' in the *Fortnightly Review*, George Saintsbury, one of the most vocal opponents of naturalism, noted that American and Russian novels were both 'very closely connected with the French', but 'the habits and public opinion' of the British had 'kept us from that curious scholasticism of dull uncleanness on which too many French novelists spend their time. There is still too much healthy beefiness and beeriness (much of both as it has lost) in the English temperament to permit it to indulge in the sterile pessimism which seems to dominate Russian fiction'.⁷⁷

As Clarence Decker and Harold Orel discussed in their early accounts of the British response to Russian fiction, some critics did distinguish between French and Russian realism, especially after the publication of *Le Roman russe*. But Decker and Orel overemphasize the extent to which Vogüé's distinction was taken up in Britain, and in particular are inattentive to the fact that a critical vocabulary derived from naturalism is frequently used to characterize Russian realism, even in the course of arguments that purport to distinguish between Russian and French novelists.⁷⁸ So, for example, the author of the 1888 article 'Two Russian Realists' in the *London Quarterly Review* argues that 'all' the Russian novelists 'are realists', but 'not of the French school; they are not affected with the strange colour-blindness of the soul which makes virtue invisible'. To justify the distinction, the critic turns to photography for a metaphor: the realism of the Russians is 'the passionless realism of a faultless photographing camera, which may not choose, reject, harmonise, subdue; which must picture the wayside dungheap as faithfully as the lordly castle'.⁷⁹ Yet the writer as photographer was a well-known naturalist metaphor: it was used by Zola himself, and in fact Dupuy had distinguished between the

⁷⁵ Gosse, 'The Limits of Realism in Fiction', p. 393.

⁷⁶ [W. L. Courtney], 'Art. II', *Quarterly Review*, 172 (April 1891), 305–19 (p. 306).

⁷⁷ George Saintsbury, 'The Present State of the Novel [I]', *Fortnightly Review*, 42 (September 1887), 410–17 (p. 412).

⁷⁸ Clarence Decker, 'Victorian Comment on Russian Realism', *PMLA*, 52.2 (1937), 542–49; Harold Orel, 'English Critics and the Russian Novel, 1850–1917', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 33.81 (1955), 457–69. See also Orel's 'Victorians and the Russian Novel: A Bibliography', *Bulletin of Bibliography*, 21 (1954), 61–3.

⁷⁹ 'Art. IV: Two Russian Realists', *London Quarterly Review* (April 1888), 55–73 (p. 57). See Zola, 'The Experimental Novel', in *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, pp. 1–54 (p. 7); Zola, 'Le Roman expérimental', in *Le Roman expérimental*, pp. 1–53 (p. 6).

French and Russian novelists precisely by arguing that the latter's work was not photographic: in Russian novels, he wrote, 'we do not find, as we do elsewhere, features collected and reproduced with the conscientiousness—or rather the lack of conscientiousness—of a photographic camera [l'inconscience d'un objectif photographique]: a choice is shown, a soul-felt [émue] attention'.⁸⁰ Similarly, the article's characterization of Dostoevsky as 'the keen anatomist of the human heart' echoes Zola's remark in 'Le Naturalisme au théâtre' that naturalist writers 'are but savants, analyzers, anatomists'.⁸¹

This move—the use of terms associated with French naturalism to define the Russian novel *against* French naturalism—was key to establishing a vocabulary to debate the future of the novel in Britain during the next several decades. In Matthew Arnold's 1887 essay for the *Fortnightly Review*, 'Count Leo Tolstoy', we see the terms of the debate taking form. Arnold's essay made a substantial contribution to Tolstoy's British reputation: critics of the period and since have remarked that Arnold was 'virtually... the presenter of Tolstoi to the English public'.⁸² He makes a strong distinction between French realism, represented in his essay by *Madame Bovary*, and Russian realism, represented primarily by *Anna Karenina*—or *Anna Karénine*, as Arnold writes, since he too believed translations were 'better done in France than in England'. Where Arnold finds French realism defined by 'the spirit of observation and the touch of hardness', Russian realism is 'marked by an extreme sensitiveness, a consciousness most quick and acute both for what the man's self is experiencing, and also for what others in contact with him are thinking and feeling'. *Madame Bovary*, he writes, 'is a work of petrified feeling', and he states that, in contrast, 'we are not to take *Anna Karénine* as a work of art; we are to take it as a piece of life. A piece of life it is. The author has not invented and combined it, he has seen it;... and what his novel in this way loses in art it gains in reality'.⁸³ This opposition, between the Russian novel read as unmediated 'life', and novels associated with the French naturalist tradition characterized as art (or technique, form, or style), would, in the next century, be central to the delineation of modernism.

The association of literature with life was strongly associated with naturalism: Edmund Gosse described the 'first principle' of naturalism as 'the exact reproduction of life', and indeed Zola had remarked in 'Le Naturalisme au théâtre', that 'I yearn for life with its shiver, its breadth, and its strength; I long for life as it is'.⁸⁴ But in Arnold's essay we see it become dissociated from its French context and transferred to Russian literature. Life had not played a defining role in Vogüé's

⁸⁰ Dupuy, *Grands maîtres*, p. 24, Dupuy, *Great Masters*, p. 25.

⁸¹ 'Art IV: Two Russian Realists', p. 65; Zola, 'Naturalism on the Stage', in *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, pp. 109–57 (p. 127); Zola, 'Le Naturalisme au théâtre' (1879), in *Le Roman expérimental*, pp. 109–56 (p. 128).

⁸² Marion Mainwaring, 'Arnold and Tolstoi', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 6.4 (1952), 269–74 (p. 272).

⁸³ Arnold, 'Count Leo Tolstoi', pp. 783, 785. Arnold's italics.

⁸⁴ Gosse, 'The Limits of Realism in Fiction', p. 396; Zola, 'Le Naturalisme au théâtre', in *Le Roman expérimental*, p. 155; Zola, 'Naturalism on the Stage', in *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, p. 156.

study, which emphasized the Russian novelists' spirituality, nor in Dupuy's, which emphasized their humanity. However, in Arnold's adoption of the word, it accrues something of Vogüé's arguments about Russian literature's spirituality as opposed to French literature's materialism, and indeed Arnold derives his emphasis from a reading of Tolstoy's religious works: 'the idea of *life* is his master idea in studying and establishing religion', Arnold writes, remarking that he has read French translations of *V chem moya vera* (1884; 1885) (*What I Believe* or *My Religion*), *Isповед'* (1880; 1884) (*My Confession*), and *Tak chto zhe nam delat'*? (1886) (*What is to be Done?*): the first of these was sent to Arnold by Tolstoy himself.⁸⁵ The word's usefulness was in the flexibility it derived from this layered critical heritage, its ability to refer to a narrative style, an aesthetic affiliation, or an ethical approach.

Arnold's use of the term had a close precedent in the writings of W. D. Howells: Howells frequently promoted Tolstoy in the 'Editor's Study', his column for *Harper's Monthly*, which had a British edition. The year before Arnold's essay was published, he commented on *Anna Karenina*, 'As you read on you say, not, "This is like life," but, "This is life." It has not only the complexion, the very hue, of life but its movement, its advances, its strange pauses, its seeming reversions to former conditions, and its perpetual change; its apparent isolations, its essential solidarity'.⁸⁶ Henry James used similar terms much less favourably in his comments on Tolstoy in his 1897 essay on Turgenev for the *Library of the World's Best Literature*, when he wrote that 'Turgeneff is in a peculiar degree what I may call the novelists' novelist,—an artistic influence extraordinarily valuable and ineradicably established. The perusal of Tolstoy—a wonderful mass of life—is an immense event, a kind of splendid accident, for each of us', but 'his name represents nevertheless no such eternal spell of method' as Turgenev's: 'Tolstoy is a reflector as vast as a natural lake; a monster harnessed to his great subject—all human life!—as an elephant might be harnessed, for purposes of traction, not to a carriage, but to a coach-house'.⁸⁷

James was the major conduit between the nineteenth-century debates about French and Russian realism and British modernism, which inherited his distinction between a Russian literary tradition associated with the artless representation of 'life', represented above all by Tolstoy, and a French literary tradition associated with style and technique in which Turgenev as well as Flaubert was seen as a master. As Christine Richards has remarked, James had placed Turgenev in the history of the French rather than Russian novel since his first discussion of his work, a review of *Veshnie vody* (1872) (*Spring Torrents*) and 'Stepnoi korol' Lir' (1870) ('King Lear

⁸⁵ Arnold, 'Count Leo Tolstoi', p. 794; Léon Tolstoi, *Ma Confession*, trans. by Zoria (Paris: Albert Savine, 1887); Léon Tolstoi, *Ma Religion* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1885); Léon Tolstoi, *Que Faire?*, trans. by Marina Polonsky and Debarre (Paris: Albert Savine, 1887); Mainwaring, 'Arnold and Tolstoi', p. 272.

⁸⁶ Edwin H. Cady, ed., *W. D. Howells as Critic* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 73; W. D. Howells, 'Editor's Study', *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (European edn), 11.431 (April 1886), 808–12 (p. 809). See also W. D. Howells, *My Literary Passions* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895), p. 254.

⁸⁷ Henry James, 'Ivan Turgeneff', in Charles Dudley Warner, ed., *Library of the World's Best Literature Ancient and Modern* (New York: R. S. Peale & J. A. Hill, 1897), xxv: 15057–62 (p. 15059).

of the Steppes') published in the *North American Review* in 1874. It was republished the following year—the year he met Turgenev—in the collection significantly entitled *French Poets and Novelists*.⁸⁸

FROM NATURALISM TO MODERNISM

The forgoing sections have aimed to trace how, over the course of the nineteenth century, Russian literature was established by promoters and detractors alike as a body of writing that stood outside frameworks of literary criticism in which the literary work was evaluated in terms of technical artistry. This history suggests how the critical 'generalizations' about Russian literature we saw Phelps lamenting at the beginning of this introduction may not have been a failure of critical ability, but rather a considered and consistent approach, and in this context we can read Woolf's generalization about Russian literature in 'Modern Fiction' not as a lapse in insight, but rather as a statement of her critical position.⁸⁹ In refusing to delineate Russian literature's stylistic influence on British literature, in asserting instead that Russian literature draws attention to the limitations of that mode of critical comparison, she is distinguishing herself from writers and critics who, building on and narrowing the precepts of Arnold and James, sought to define the 'the function of criticism' and 'the art of fiction' along formal lines.⁹⁰

Modernism was both a product and an agent of this literary specialization and professionalization. By the time Woolf published 'Modern Novels' in 1919, the cultivation of style was well on the way to becoming synonymous with literary modernity, and would soon become the standard definition not only of modernism, but of good writing more broadly. Modernism's coming of age at the same time as the professionalization of literary criticism and its institutionalization in the new English departments of universities gave its set of critical values such authority and longevity as to appear universal and transcendent. But as Chris Baldick and others have demonstrated, these values were contingent, and might more accurately be seen as the winning argument in the turn-of-the-century debate about what literature should be.⁹¹ They were formed against a distinct set of values associated with romantic literary criticism, and it is the argument of this study that

⁸⁸ Christine Richards, 'Occasional Criticism: Henry James on Ivan Turgenev', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 78.3 (2000), 463–86 (p. 478); Henry James Jr, 'Art. IV: *Frühlingsfluthen. Ein König Lear des Dorfes. Zwei Novellen. Von Iwan Turgéniew*' (review), *North American Review*, 118.243 (1874), 326–56 (p. 332); Henry James Jr, 'Ivan Turgénieff', in *French Poets and Novelists* (London: Macmillan, 1878), pp. 269–320.

⁸⁹ Phelps, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ Matthew Arnold, 'Art. VIII. The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time', *National Review*, ns 1 (November 1864), 230–51, republished as 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time', in *Essays in Criticism* (London: Macmillan, 1865), pp. 1–41; Henry James, 'The Art of Fiction', *Longman's Magazine*, 4.23 (1884), 502–21.

⁹¹ See, for example: Ann Ardis, *Modernism and Cultural Conflict, 1880–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 30–8; Chris Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism, 1848–1932* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983); Louis Menand, *Discovering Modernism: T. S. Eliot and His Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 97–132.

the British conception of Russian literature became a major repository for those discarded values.

The nineteenth-century debate is illuminatingly recovered in Linda Dowling's classic analysis of British aestheticism, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*. Although the object of Dowling's argument is a reappraisal of literary Decadence, her account of nineteenth-century theories of language and their influence on conceptions of literature also sheds light on the reception and influence of Russian literature in Britain. The first part of her argument outlines how 'what we mean by high Victorian culture, with its distinctive ethos of earnestness and energy and supreme cultural confidence' is based on an idealist identification of literature with civilization and nationhood, derived from the romantic philology of Johann Gottfried Herder and his intellectual heirs, Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm von Humboldt, via the literary criticism of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.⁹² Herder's characterization of the national language as the *Volksstimme*, the voice of a people or nation, had, as Benedict Anderson has discussed, 'wide influence in nineteenth-century Europe and, more narrowly, on subsequent theorizing about the nature of nationalism'.⁹³ It is also, Dowling points out, the background to Victorian cultural programmes such as Arnold's that propose 'the renovation of imaginative letters as a secular but nonetheless saving scripture' for Victorian civilization.⁹⁴ And, we can add, it underpins Vogüé's description of the spiritual and moral lessons Russian literature can teach France.

The comparative philology that grew out of these researches at first appeared to guarantee Britain's imperial ambitions by providing a framework that valued the linguistic hybridity of English as the 'connecting link between the North and the South', the 'middle term' between Germanic and Romance languages. But Dowling argues that by the end of the century it had entirely dismantled the theoretical interdependence of British civilization, English language, and English literature. Not only did comparative philology replace the identity of language and nation with an understanding of language as an autonomous system indifferent to national cultures, histories, and ambitions, it also insisted that language was identical with living speech, rather than the written masterpieces of historical civilizations.⁹⁵ As a report in the *Edinburgh Review* on Max Müller's 1861 lectures at the Royal Institution put it, 'the science of language... gives no special prominence to any language as having been employed by the greatest of poets or the most eloquent of orators. It seeks not to acquaint itself with what men have written, but to learn what they spoke and how their speech grew. All human speech is, therefore, its province, the vulgar idiom of the peasant no less than the refined dialect of the philosopher; the uncouth articulation or scream of the savage not less than the

⁹² Linda Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 30–1, xiv, 8–15, 32, 35.

⁹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 66.

⁹⁴ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 37.

⁹⁵ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, pp. 44, 64–6; Richard Chenevix Trench, *English: Past and Present* (London: John Parker, 1855), p. 26.

majestic rhythm of the most exquisite poetry'. Literature could no longer be thought of as either the creator or the index of civilization, and in fact now even seemed to be evidence of its decline. The same report quoted Müller as saying that 'Literary dialects, or what are commonly called classical languages, pay for their temporary greatness by inevitable decay. They are like stagnant lakes at the side of great rivers.... The sources of Italian are not to be found in the classical literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy. English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only, but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain, distinguished by local peculiarities, and modified at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French, and other foreign elements'.⁹⁶

It was in this climate of 'linguistic demoralization', argues Dowling, that literary Decadence emerged 'as an attempt to rescue from the assaults of scientific philology and linguistic relativism an ideal, however diminished and fugitive, of literature and literary culture'. Oscar Wilde, George Moore, Arthur Machen, and, above all, Walter Pater, embraced the insistence of the new philology that literary English was a dead language, and attempted to 'establish a new mode of writing on its very morbidity, dissolving the antagonistic opposition between philology and literature in a new vision of the writer as a sort of philologist or scholar of words'.⁹⁷ In his 1888 essay 'Style', Pater wrote that, 'All the laws of good writing aim at a similar unity or identity of the mind in all the processes by which the word is associated to its import. The term is right, and has its essential beauty, when it becomes, in a manner, what it signifies, as with the names of simple sensations. To give the phrase, the sentence, the structural member, the entire composition, song, or essay, a similar unity with its subject and with itself:—style is in the right way when it tends towards that'.⁹⁸ Pater's programme of 'stylistic Euphuism', Dowling remarks, is 'nothing other than the urging of written language—that is, language frozen in writing and divorced from living speech in the philological sense—as a literary medium'.⁹⁹

In 'Style' Pater's identification with his French contemporaries is strong: he praises Flaubert's commitment to 'seeking the phrase' and his remarks echo Mallarmé's comments on the limitations of language and the compensations of literary style in 'Crise de vers', published in various forms between 1886 and 1896. In that essay, Mallarmé wrote that languages are 'imperfect insofar as they are many; the absolute one is lacking... discourse fails to express objects by touches corresponding to them in shading or bearing'. Yet language's failure is the poet's opportunity: verse, writes Mallarmé, 'makes up for language's deficiencies, as a superior supplement'.¹⁰⁰ As Roland Barthes remarked in *Le Degré zéro de l'écriture*

⁹⁶ [G. W. Cox], 'Art. III: Lectures on the Science of Language. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May, and June 1861. By Max Müller [etc]', *Edinburgh Review*, 115 (January 1862), 67–103 (pp. 69, 79); Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 65.

⁹⁷ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, pp. 104, 111.

⁹⁸ Walter Pater, 'Style', in *Appreciations, with an Essay on Style* (London: Macmillan, 1889), pp. 1–36 (pp. 29, 18–19).

⁹⁹ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁰ Pater, 'Style', p. 29; Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Crisis of Verse', in *Divagations*, trans. by Barbara Johnson (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007), pp. 201–11 (pp. 205–6); Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Crise de Vers', *Divagations* (Paris: Charpentier, 1897), pp. 235–51 (pp. 241–2).

(*Writing Degree Zero*), at the end of the nineteenth century, 'the proliferation of modes of writing brings a new Literature into being'—his examples are Flaubert and Mallarmé—'in so far as the latter invents its language only in order to be a project: Literature becomes the Utopia of language'.¹⁰¹ This 'cult of style' simultaneously promoted in Britain and France, is passed, via James (in fiction) and the aesthetic movement (in poetry) into the main line of British modernism, where its genealogy in this literary antiquarianism is ingeniously reframed as modern.¹⁰² 'Poets in our civilization, as it exists at present, must be *difficult*... The poet must become more and more comprehensive, more allusive, more indirect, in order to force, to dislocate if necessary, language into his meaning', writes T. S. Eliot in 1921, before quoting lines by Mallarmé's fellow symbolist Jules Laforgue in evidence.¹⁰³

But what of more optimistic responses to the same linguistic crisis? Dowling suggests in passing that British imitators of French naturalism emerge 'to claim the space vacated by the great writers of the past. One senses the influence of the new philology, at any rate, behind Thomas Hardy's demand for "a sincere school of Fiction" ... that was to open fiction to representations of substandard speech'.¹⁰⁴ As we have seen, in Britain responses to naturalism frequently intersect with Russian literature, and it is with the legacy of this line of response to the linguistic crisis of the nineteenth century that this book is concerned. The stylelessness with which we have seen Arnold and James charge Tolstoy, and the association of Russian authors with the 'real' and with 'life', indicate how Russian novels appeared as examples of a linguistic optimism, rather than demoralization. Russian novels, rather than highlighting the difficulty of capturing 'life' in language, appeared, at least to British readers, to express it directly—with the ease of speech, rather than the labour of writing. Where Flaubert, Mallarmé, and Pater experience language as material, with a density and opacity to which their metaphors of writing as sculpture and carving respond, Russian literature is discussed as if language is transparent—in spite of the fact (in fact, I will suggest, precisely because of the fact) that it was read in translation.

Since the institutionalization of Francophile modernism in the mid-1920s, preference for Tolstoy over Flaubert has been associated with nostalgia for an outmoded set of values. But while its contemporary advocates certainly perceived Russian literature to be offering an alternative literary model to that of the French, this did not entail a simple return to earlier literary or linguistic values, or a failure to engage with issues relevant to contemporary Britain. The British response to Russian literature was part of a progressive response to a new intellectual and

¹⁰¹ Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, trans. by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), p. 94; Roland Barthes, *Le Degré zéro l'écriture* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1953), p. 126.

¹⁰² Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 153.

¹⁰³ [T. S. Eliot], 'The Metaphysical Poets', review of Herbert J. C. Grierson, ed., *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler*, *Times Literary Supplement* (20 October 1921), 669–70 (p. 670).

¹⁰⁴ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 94, quoting Thomas Hardy, 'Candour in English Fiction [1890]', in Harold Orel, ed., *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1966), p. 126.

political era, and it envisaged an alternative future for modern literature and modern life. It sought to retain certain aspects of the romantic project, certainly—notably its interest in political action, national identity, and the relationship between literature and direct expression—but it did so in order to engage directly with global modernity and its consequences.

Russian literature stands behind an alternative genealogy of British modernism; it inspired a Russophile modernism explicitly opposed to the hegemonic Francophile modernism. But this is an occluded tradition, its values largely overlooked by a twentieth-century critical tradition that identified modernism with stylistic mastery. For Russophile modernism, literature is not the utopia of language, it is a means of realizing its utopian dreams in life.

MODERNIST STUDIES AND WORLD LITERATURE

If, as I have suggested, the impact of Russian literature cannot be described as an influence on literary methods or stylistic experiments, what kind of an account is possible? The standard critical technique of close reading can be used only with circumspection, implicated as it is in the critical tradition that institutionalized Francophile modernism. But debates occasioned by what has been called the global or transnational turn in modernist studies offer some direction.¹⁰⁵ The tenor of my discussion so far will have indicated that this book is less interested in discussing modernism through a comparison of styles than in terms of cultural hegemony: British modernism was profoundly shaped by the battle for supremacy between the promoters of French and Russian literature. In this sense, my argument shares interests with those interventions in the world literature debates deploying versions of world-systems theory, such as those by Pascale Casanova, Fredric Jameson, and Franco Moretti. *The World Republic of Letters*, *A Singular Modernity*, and 'Conjectures on World Literature' were published or, in the former's case, translated just before I began research for *Russomania* and, indeed, *A Singular Modernity* was one of the first books I read for this project. Returning now to Jameson's introductory comments, I am struck by how relevant his methodological 'recommendation' there has remained for this book. It follows his rebuttal of postmodernism's displacement of the grand narratives of history: 'It is easier to denounce historical narratives', Jameson writes, 'than to do without them':

I have already made the point elsewhere that Lyotard's theory of the end of grand narratives is itself another grand narrative. In a different area altogether, the New Critics' elevation of poetic language (presumably non-narrative in its very essence) over the other, generally narrative forms of discourse, turns out to be validated by a historical grand narrative that is something like a conservative 'philosophy of history', the unity

¹⁰⁵ Mark Wollaeger, 'Introduction', in Mark Wollaeger, ed., with Matt Eatough, *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3–22 (p. 3); Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, 'The New Modernist Studies', *PMLA*, 123.3 (2008), 737–48 (p. 745).

of sensibility of the old English yeoman agricultural order (Eliot, Leavis) as it was shattered by revolutionary Romanticism (now re-identified with the Enlightenment and embodied in a poet like Shelley). Nor is this secondary narrative some mere secondary ideological supplement. I would want to press for a stronger formal conclusion, namely that the very refusal and repudiation of narrative calls up a kind of narrative return of the repressed and tends in spite of itself to justify its anti-narrative position by way of yet another narrative the argument has every interest in decently concealing. But rather than trying to give this principle some ontological formulation, I would prefer to recast it in methodological form, as a recommendation to search out the concealed ideological narratives at work in all seemingly non-narrative concepts, particularly when they are directed against narrative itself.¹⁰⁶

Certainly, one way of reading the book that follows is as a search for 'the concealed ideological narratives at work' in the enthronement of the 'seemingly non-narrative concept' of style or form as the primary value of literature. We see how 'the elevation of poetic language'—at least a kind of poetic language—came to define modernism, including modernist fiction, and to displace values associated with earlier versions of narrative, and with 'revolutionary Romanticism'. Russian literature, this book argues, becomes the receptacle for much of what is displaced: values associated with narrative, romanticism, and revolution.

The first time I read *A Singular Modernity*, however, it was not this part I read with most attention. The section that most interested me was Jameson's account of the emergence of modernism, which presents a parallel account to Dowling's history of decadence, if in a somewhat different idiom. Like Dowling, Jameson argues that language undergoes a process of autonomization in the course of Europe's modernization in the mid-nineteenth century:

multiple differentiations of nineteenth-century language, across the uneven development of the European nation-states, project not merely the radically different and semi-autonomous realms of aristocratic and bourgeois languages, learned and oratory, the languages of the incipient mass press and of commercial exchange, but also, beyond all of those, a kind of empty Utopian domain of language as non-existent and yet as demonstrable and conjectural as non-Euclidean geometry. This is then the space in which the new language specialists work, and in which, by modifying the original Euclidean postulates and axioms of the various forms of everyday speech (reference, communicability, etcetera), they deduce and develop the invisible outlines of whole new language structures never before seen on earth and heaven.¹⁰⁷

The differentiation of language, argues Jameson, not only creates or solidifies new linguistic realms distinguished by class, education, and forms of commerce, but also a space of autonomous language, language that can be conceived without it being the product of use. This passage first seems to point to the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European language by comparative grammarians—'the new

¹⁰⁶ Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 3, 4–5.

¹⁰⁷ Jameson, *A Singular Modernity*, p. 147.

language specialists'—in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ But poets worked within this Utopian domain too. Like Barthes, Jameson sees Mallarmé as the writer supremely conscious of this moment of autonomization, and he cites Mallarmé's definition of the poet as giving 'un sens plus pur aux mots de la tribu' ('a purer sense to the words of the tribe') as 'authoriz[ing]' a poetic tradition for which 'the realm of non-Euclidean language thereby produced has a powerful Utopian vocation, in an environment of degraded commercial speech everywhere: it offers to reclaim, redeem, transform and transfigure the koiné of a capitalist daily life into an Ur-speech in which our authentic relationship to the world and to Being can be reinvented'.¹⁰⁹

This passage interested me because it suggested how I might think about the impact of Russian literature in Britain without being confined to arguments about stylistic influence, and how I might write a history of the emergence of modernism that took account of the causal impact of 'the uneven development of European nation-states' and the 'multiple differentiations of nineteenth-century language'. But where Jameson emphasizes the experience of differentiation within the system of language itself, *Russomania* is inevitably concerned with the experience of differentiation between national languages too. After all, the line of Mallarmé's that Jameson cites represents a desire not only for a language that transcends the everyday language of the 'horde', as 'tribu' has also been translated and as Jameson seems to interpret it, but a language that goes beyond the localism of the tribe.¹¹⁰ The dream of a pure language is a dominant—for Jameson, a defining—dream of modernism, but it was not only conceived in opposition to commercial and utilitarian forms of language. Modernist writers in the symbolist tradition also conceived the pure language as an international or non-national language. Indeed, in 'Crise de vers', Mallarmé's evidence for the imperfection of languages was their multiplicity: 'Languages imperfect insofar as they are many; the absolute one is lacking'.¹¹¹

Thinking about modernism in relation to the experience of differentiation between languages, plural, rather than in relation to differentiation within the language system, or as a Mallarméan, Flaubertian, or Paterian absolute or Utopian language, underscores the difference between this project and Jameson's more schematic argument that provides a general theory of modernity, modernism, and its ideology. *Russomania*'s focus on how national literatures have responded to each other suggests a closer relation to Casanova's and Moretti's analyses of world literature. Like Moretti, I am interested in how literary forms and genres are shaped by 'interference' (Itamar Even-Zohar's term) from other literatures, and the problematic he considers, 'the wave of diffusion of the modern novel', is part of the story

¹⁰⁸ Anna Morpurgo Davies, *History of Linguistics: Nineteenth-Century Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 135–6.

¹⁰⁹ Jameson, *A Singular Modernity*, pp. 147–8.

¹¹⁰ Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe' and 'The Tomb of Edgar Poe', in *Collected Poems: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. by Henry Weinfield (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 71.

¹¹¹ Mallarmé, 'Crisis of Verse', p. 205, 241.

Russomania tells.¹¹² Like him, I find close reading a limited methodology, though it must be said that I find more use than he does for close-up reading—detailed textual readings structured against the values of Practical Criticism and the New Criticism. Though there are few statistics, there is some counting: how many translations in a given year, how many poems, novels or plays, how many works by Tolstoy, and so on.

Like Moretti's essay, Casanova's study of the 'rivalries and competitions, the subversions and conservative reactions, the revolts and revolutions' that have taken place in the literary world system alerts us to the fact that when Russian literature entered British literary space it did so not as an equal partner, but as a national literature from the literary 'periphery' approaching a 'centre'. 'In the world republic of letters', Casanova writes, 'the richest spaces are also the oldest, which is to say the ones that were the first to enter into literary competition and whose national classics came also to be regarded as universal classics', and in these terms, what French and British critics perceived as the youth of Russia's literary history can be seen instead as registration of Russia's belated entry into 'literary competition'. Indeed, though the popularity of Russian literature in Britain at first appears to rebut Casanova's argument that the literary world system is controlled by the long entrenched power of a small number of literary centres (with France, followed by Britain, reigning supreme), the fact that so much Russian literature and literary criticism about it came to Britain through France, suggests that France still acted as guarantor. One might even say, in light of later literary and literary critical history, that the popularity of Russian literature in Britain was simply a stage in the process of legitimating French literature as the model for English-language modernism, and establishing its critical values not as French, but universal. In the context of the history Casanova relates, the British conception of Russian literature as an expression of Russian nationhood and its association with the values of romanticism mark it out as a late manifestation of what Casanova calls 'the Herder effect', the rise of popular and national languages and literatures across Europe in the nineteenth century as nations struggled for literary legitimacy. In this case, what Casanova's argument enables us to see is how British critics deployed Russian and French literature to establish legitimacy for contemporary domestic works according to two different routes to cultural capital, one associating literature with nation (the Herderian route) and one in which literature transcends nation, is universal (the route through which French had achieved supremacy).¹¹³ The association of modernism with the international, and subsequently the transnational, global and planetary, is—at least in part—a legacy of the latter's success.

The broad lines of Casanova's and Moretti's arguments have much to tell us about the British reception of Russian literature, but they do not account for many important details and in particular they simplify the causes producing what seem

¹¹² Franco Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature', *New Left Review*, 1 (2000), 54–68 (pp. 56, 59); Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Laws of Literary Interference', *Poetics Today*, 11.1 (1990), 53–72.

¹¹³ Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. by M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. xii, 83, 75–81, 29–30.

to be compatible effects. Moretti is interested in how the modern novel is created in different cultures: the law he put forward in 'Conjectures on World Literature' is that 'in cultures that belong to the periphery of the literary system (which means: almost all cultures, inside and outside Europe), the modern novel first arises not as an autonomous development but as a compromise between a western formal influence (usually French or English) and local materials'.¹¹⁴ In 'More Conjectures', responding to critics, this law was revised: there was 'no autonomous development' in western Europe, after all, no different history between the core and the periphery: 'literary form is *always* a compromise between opposite forces'.¹¹⁵ *Russomania* focuses on a period long after the novel has been born and matured in Britain, France, and Russia, but it documents a prime example of the influence of the impact of the literary periphery or semi-periphery on the forms of the centre. More, it explores the dynamism and non-linearity of cross-cultural interference: forms born of compromises (the Russian novel's use of a British model, Russian symbolist poetry's use of a French model) are received back by the centre from the semi-periphery as autonomous products that appear to offer new models for a new range of compromises. Casanova's statement that 'literary space translates political and national issues into its own terms—aesthetic, formal, narrative, poetic' is helpful in highlighting the extent to which formal values attain a transnational life of their own by the twentieth century, but Susan Stanford Friedman rightly observes that the independence of the 'world republic of letters' is overstated, and assumes 'an autonomy for the aesthetic realm that it does not in fact have'.¹¹⁶ Russian literature was promoted and denigrated in ways that were closely keyed to local, changing, political exigencies, and neither British nor Russian claims to its cultural legitimacy progressed along a single line from national expression to universal 'literariness'.¹¹⁷

Perhaps this is to say no more than that the project of this book is not the project of these critics: it is not an account of the movement of literary forms across the world (the novel, the Petrarchan sonnet, to take Moretti's examples), it does not offer a theory of world literature or the world literary system. Nor is it—perhaps more surprisingly—a comparison of different national or transnational modernisms. While this book is deeply indebted to the many critical studies about the nature of 'global modernisms' published over the last fifteen years or so—and parts of it have been published in collections directly engaged in those discussions—the following pages have disappointingly little to say about Russian modernism.¹¹⁸ That is because British modernists had relatively little knowledge of Russian modernism—particularly Russian literary modernism. The term 'modernism' itself is

¹¹⁴ Moretti, 'Conjectures on World Literature', p. 58.

¹¹⁵ Franco Moretti, 'More Conjectures', *New Left Review*, 20 (2003), 73–81 (p. 79).

¹¹⁶ Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity Across Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. 185.

¹¹⁷ Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Rebecca Beasley, 'Modernism's Translations', in Wollaeger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, pp. 551–70; Rebecca Beasley, 'Russia and the Invention of the Modernist Intelligentsia', in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, eds, *Geographies of Modernism: Literatures, Cultures, Spaces* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 19–30.

less directly transferable than its easy transliteration suggests: if British modernism is conventionally associated with the period between 1910 and 1930, Russian 'modernizm' is generally dated slightly earlier.¹¹⁹ The development of a self-consciously modern aesthetic is usually attributed to Dmitry Merezhkovsky, who deployed the term 'modernist' (the transliteration is identical with the English spelling) in the lectures he delivered in 1892: 'O prichinakh upadka i o novykh techeniyakh sovremennoi russkoi literatury' ('On the Reasons for the Decline and on the New Trends in Contemporary Russian Literature').¹²⁰ Yet the fact that Merezhkovsky played a leading role in the Russian symbolist movement indicates the difficulty of associating him with the most familiar aesthetic programmes of English-language modernisms and, though later Russian movements such as acmeism and futurism can be seen as local versions of pan-European modernist movements, coverage of them in Britain during this period was rare.¹²¹ When British readers did encounter contemporary, experimental Russian literature, it was almost always as an isolated example, detached from context and chronology: temporal disparity was, indeed, fundamental to the British experience of Russian literature. To recover that experience, then, *Russomania's* perspective on the global turn is resolutely local and national, though I hope not parochial.¹²²

¹¹⁹ See Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies', *Modernism/Modernity*, 13.3 (2006), 425–43; Raymond Williams, 'When Was Modernism?', *New Left Review*, 175 (1989), 48–52; Wollaeger, 'Introduction', in Wollaeger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, pp. 10–14.

¹²⁰ Avril Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7–10; D. S. Merezhkovsky, *O prichinakh upadka i o novykh techeniyakh sovremennoi russkoi literatury* (St Petersburg: Vol'f, 1893).

¹²¹ See Kirsten Blythe Painter, *Flint on a Bright Stone: A Revolution of Precision and Restraint in American, Russian and German Modernism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), and Harsha Ram, 'Futurist Geographies: Uneven Modernities and the Struggle for Aesthetic Autonomy: Paris, Italy, Russia, 1909–1914', in Wollaeger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, pp. 314–40. Nevertheless, modernism, as term and idea, has found considerable purchase in Anglo-American Russian studies. See, for instance, George Gibian and H. W. Tjalsma, *Russian Modernism: Culture and the Avant-Garde, 1900–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976); Stephen C. Hutchings, *Russian Modernism: The Transfiguration of the Everyday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Irina Paperno and Joan Delaney Grossman, eds, *Creating Life: The Aesthetic Utopia of Russian Modernism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); Hilary L. Fink, *Bergson and Russian Modernism, 1900–1930* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999); Peter I. Barta, with Ulrich Goebel, eds, *The European Foundations of Russian Modernism* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1991).

¹²² Here I must comment on my use of 'British' throughout *Russomania*. As the quotations from primary materials show, early twentieth-century writers, critics, and politicians frequently used 'English' to refer to the English-speaking British isles and their culture. I have not followed their practice, both for the obvious reason of accuracy but also because, when I discuss 'British literature' and 'British modernism', I am interested in them as national formations, not only as productions in the English language. However, my terminology does imply greater inclusivity than is, regrettably, borne out in this study, which does not address Irish, Scottish, or Welsh Russophile networks in any detail. Anna Vaninskaya has recently commented on the neglect of recent studies to address Scottish-Russian interaction, and rightly remarked that 'there is no historical justification for such disregard. Wherever one looks, whether to ethnographic, social, and political perceptions and their impact upon public discourse, or to direct artistic, musical, theatrical and, of course, literary interactions, the cultural conversation between Scotland and Russia in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been no less vibrant than that between Russia and England': see Anna Vaninskaya, 'Introduction: Scotland and

I have discussed elsewhere the importance of attending to historically-specific, local and national conceptions of the international, the transnational and the comparative: the liberating elaboration of transnational modernisms must be accompanied by a critical history of those terms.¹²³ The very ease with which we conceive of a transnational 'modernist style' is a product of our ideological investment in a particular type of 'literariness', the belief that certain experimental styles or forms have universal value, that is questioned by this book. Recent studies are alert to this issue: 'What kind of agendas might be encoded in the comparisons required by a global perspective?', asks Mark Wollaeger in his introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*. In *Against World Literature* Emily Apter aims to 'activate untranslatability' against the tendency of world literature studies 'toward reflexive endorsement of cultural equivalence and substitutability'. And Susan Stanford Friedman commits *Planetary Modernisms* to refusing 'the conventional approach to modernism as a definable aesthetic style, movement, or period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'.¹²⁴

Such self-reflexiveness should be a feature of any thinking about modernism, and indeed about literature, but it has a particular importance for accounts of Anglo-American modernism's (the phrase is chosen advisedly) response to Russian literature. Critics including Greg Barnhisel, Walter Kalaidjian, and Cary Nelson have shown how a formalist modernism, emphasizing the autonomy of the literary artefact and the originality of stylistic experiment, came to stand for an assertion of individualism against socialist realism and Marxist criticism during the Cold War, especially in the United States.¹²⁵ The global turn of modernist studies is in many ways a turn against Cold War modernism, yet an uncritical privileging of style is its residue. Looking back at the moment that style became synonymous with modern writing reveals the ideological forces that put the connection in place—and removed other possibilities. That some of those possibilities were represented by Russian literature is no coincidence, since its claims were being advanced by those with different hopes for modernity: as Harsha Ram has recently reminded us, the account of modernism by literary criticism indebted to world-systems theory is limited by the fact that 'the dominant narrative of globalizing capital all too often brackets the rival path to modernity offered by state socialism

Russia since 1900', *Scottish-Russian Literary Relations Since 1900*, special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 44.1 (2019), 3–10, (p. 5). Those connections are glimpsed occasionally in the pages that follow, but they are not part of the main narrative pursued in *Russomania*, whose networks formed around the institutions of publishing, fine art, theatre, and politics in London.

¹²³ Rebecca Beasley, 'Pound's New Criticism', *Textual Practice*, 24 (2010), 651–71.

¹²⁴ Wollaeger, 'Introduction', in Wollaeger, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, p. 3, Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013), pp. 2–3; Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms*, p. x.

¹²⁵ Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Walter Kalaidjian, *The Edge of Modernism: American Poetry and the Traumatic Past* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 128–56; Cary Nelson, *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910–1945* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

to many parts of the world, from the Soviet Union to China, throughout much of the twentieth century'.¹²⁶

Russomania is organized roughly chronologically. Four chapters and three 'interchapters' trace the history of Russian literature's reception in Britain, and its impact on overlapping networks of writers who sought to redefine modern British literature, especially the British novel. That mid-nineteenth-century Russian literature should be read in late nineteenth-century Britain as contemporary, as *modern*, rather than, for instance, transhistorically universal or the product of an earlier political moment, was largely the achievement of a small group of Russian political émigrés. The first chapter, 'Modern Worlds, Simple Lives', analyzes the work of the émigré *narodniki* (populists), especially the members of the Chaikovsky circle, for whom the promotion of Russian literature was part of a campaign to interest the British people and their political leaders in their revolutionary politics. In their articles, translations, and collaborations with British writers, journalists, translators, and publishers, this group were able to establish an early canon of Russian literature, and shape its interpretation. As well as forming close strategic relationships with members of the British liberal establishment and socialist groups, Russian émigrés were active in the networks of 'ethical socialist', simple life, and Tolstoyan movements. It is in these more literary, more anarchist, versions of socialism that we see the roots of a modernist literature that looked to Russian, rather than French, literature and culture as its model. The literary products of socialists and simple lifers aimed to establish a contemporary moral literature, informed by Tolstoy's belief in the expressive capacity of rural and peasant cultures and his rejection of aestheticism. The early modernist interest in tramping and vagabondage—W. H. Davies's poetry, Wyndham Lewis's early travel narratives, and Douglas Goldring's *The Tramp: An Open Air Magazine*, which published both—draws in part on this inheritance. But the modernist legacy of these narratives is found most powerfully in the novels of Dorothy Richardson, herself both Tolstoyan and Fabian. The chapter concludes with an extended reading of *The Tunnel*, *Deadlock*, and *Revolving Lights*, volumes five to seven of *Pilgrimage*.

The second chapter, 'Aspects of the Novel: *The English Review*, the Anglo-Russian Convention and Impressionism', addresses the debates about the future of the British novel in the years leading up to the First World War. The initial focus is Ford Madox Ford's *English Review*, long recognized as a crucible of early modernism, due to Ford's championing of 'les jeunes', as he called them, such as D. H. Lawrence, Wyndham Lewis, and Ezra Pound. But rather than reading the *English Review* back through canonical modernism—so that we see it as recording the moment where the torch is passed on from older writers and a recognizable 'modernism' begins to appear in the work of the youth—reading the magazine forward from the 'Art of Fiction' debates of the 1880s recovers a journal in which the classification of contributors turns not on whether they are young or old, but rather on

¹²⁶ Harsha Ram, 'The Scale of Global Modernisms: Imperial, National, Regional, Local', *PMLA*, 131.5 (2016), 1372–85 (p. 1373). See also Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome: Stalinism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Evolution of Soviet Culture, 1931–1941* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

whether they are what Ford termed 'artists'—James, Conrad, Hudson, Pound—or 'propagandists'—Wells, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Lewis, and, to a certain extent, Lawrence. The chapter shows how, issue by issue, Ford deliberately staged comparisons between what he saw as the two distinct possibilities for the future of modern British literature: the 'artists' drawing on a French, specifically Flaubertian, tradition with which Ford aligned his own 'impressionism', and the 'propagandists' deriving from English and Russian nineteenth-century novels (the novels of Dickens and Tolstoy in particular). *The English Review* was founded in 1908, a year after the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention, which agreed spheres of influence in relation to Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet, and laid the basis for bringing Russia into formal alliance with Britain and France in the First World War. The Convention received substantial negative coverage in the *English Review*, particularly after David Soskis, Ford's Russian brother-in-law who was part of the populist circle discussed in chapter one, began to contribute financially and editorially in 1909. Though the political and literary sections were separately edited, common ground between Ford's impressionist aesthetics and the New Liberal politics of Soskis and his political colleagues is debated through a series of redefinitions of the term 'realism'. The implications of these debates for the modern novel emerge in Joseph Conrad's work of the period: his final contribution to the magazine, 'Some Reminiscences' (*A Personal Record*), and the novel he was writing during this period, *Under Western Eyes*. In the contexts of this chapter, these works emerge as manifestos for the modern novel as Ford had defined it in the *English Review*: 'impressionist', Flaubertian, and profoundly anti-Russian.

Chapter three, 'War Work: Propaganda, Translation, Civilization' addresses the transformation of Britain's relationship with Russia during the First World War. Britain's alliance with tsarist Russia presented a particularly difficult propaganda challenge for the British government. In the days leading up to Britain's entry into the war, numerous articles and letters were published in the press arguing that to support Russia against Germany was to support a barbarous nation against its own subjects, and to risk tipping the much-cited 'balance of power' in Europe away from democracy. Russian literature was strategically deployed by the War Propaganda Bureau as evidence of Russia's civilization, and writers and critics were marshalled to overturn the anti-tsarist interpretations of Russian literature put in place by the *narodniki*. The nineteenth-century Russian authors were no longer read as naturalists or new realists, but appeared in a new guise, read through Russian symbolism, especially the writings of Dmitry Merezhkovsky. Symbolism came to Britain through diverse sources: the performances of the Ballets Russes, the travel writings of Stephen Graham, and reappraisals of Dostoevsky's writings. D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and John Middleton Murry read Dostoevsky intensively together during the war years, and Russian literature stands for them not as a peak of Western civilization, as it does for the propagandists, but for a critique of that civilization. Their fiction of the period (*The Rainbow*, *Women in Love*, *Still Life*, and *Prelude*) promotes an art of analysis and emotional expression they associate with the Russian authors, and which disdains qualities of stylistic

polish and aesthetic satisfaction they associate with the civilization that gave rise to the war. In these debates we see the earliest stages of the arguments between Murry and Eliot over romanticism and classicism in the 1920s. This chapter shows that that debate was not between a 'faded Rousseauism' and the 'modern tendency' of classicism, but rather two rival contemporary clusters of ideas developed in response to the war, and in dialogue with Russian, as well as French, literature.

While chapter three traces the genealogy of a Russophile modernism that defined itself against the embryonic classicist modernism of Eliot, the final chapter of *Russomania*, 'Against the Machine: Imagists, Symbolists, Journalists, Diplomats, and Spies', turns to another group of Russophile modernists, who begin their career at the heart of that classicist modernism, as part of the imagist group published by *The Egoist*. The Russian-American translator and novelist John Cournos began his British translation career during the war by emphasizing the continuity between Russian symbolist writers and the French symbolist masters of the imagists and *The Egoist's* literary editors, Richard Aldington and T. S. Eliot. As the war drew on, however, the aesthetic values of Cournos and his close friend and fellow imagist, John Gould Fletcher, strain against those of the journal and they undertake the development of a modernist style conceived in explicit opposition to the Francophile models of, in poetry, the imagists and, in prose, James, Conrad, Ford, and Joyce. Like Murry and Lawrence, Cournos and Fletcher turn to Dostoevsky, and find in his work a model for art conceived as a spiritual mission. Their interpretation takes on a particular, anti-Bolshevik pertinence in the wake of the October Revolution. Cournos had joined the Anglo-Russian Commission, the Foreign Office's propaganda bureau in Petrograd at the beginning of October 1917, a month before the Revolution took place. The chapter surveys British knowledge of the Russian revolutions and early Soviet culture, and analyzes its interpretation in literature. In particular, it examines the fiction written by those in Russia during the war and revolution: the military attaché William Gerhardie; W. Somerset Maugham, the Allies' chief secret agent in Russia in 1917; Hugh Walpole, who ran the Anglo-Russian Commission; and Harold Williams, the Russian correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle*. These novels about the Russian revolutions and the Civil War might be said to narrate the shift from Dostoevsky's influence on British literature to Chekhov's. In their deployment of parody and humour, their rejection of stylistic polish, and their engagement with the middle-brow genres of memoir, satire, and spy fiction, these works foreshadow aspects of late modernism, a body of literature that, like these works, was born out of disillusionment with early modernism's utopian dreams.

In between these four chapters, three interchapters set out contained narratives that run parallel to the main lines of the book's argument. The first tells the early history of 'the Whitechapel Group', the 'embryonic *East End* avant-garde' of Jewish immigrants and second-generation immigrants from Russia.¹²⁷ We tend to separ-

¹²⁷ Lisa Tickner, *Modern Life & Modern Subjects: British Art in the Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), p. 146.

ate the members of this group into associations with different modernist sets—David Bomberg and Jacob Kramer with Wyndham Lewis's vorticists, Mark Gertler with the Bloomsbury group, John Rodker with James Joyce and Ezra Pound, and Isaac Rosenberg with the war poets. When the Whitechapel Group's collective identity has been considered, it has been almost exclusively in terms of the members' Jewish ethnicity, but this chapter examines the significance of the other shared aspect of the Whitechapel Group's heritage—that is, their families' lives in, and departure from, the Russian Empire. The second interchapter examines discussions of Russian theatre in Britain, focusing in particular on the role of Edward Gordon Craig, Edith Craig, and the journalist Huntly Carter, whose many articles on theatre, opera, art, ballet, and—after the war—film, promoted a 'new spirit' in the avant-garde, which he increasingly located in Russia. The third interchapter looks at how Russian language and literature was taught in Britain. While the main chapters show that the British canon of Russian literature was largely the creation of a small number of amateur translators and critics, at the turn of the century the study of Russian was becoming professionalized, with increasing numbers of schools and universities offering courses in Russian. Political imperatives shaped styles of teaching, and in particular the role of literature on Russian courses. The narrow association of Russian literature with realism, deployed by the populists of the nineteenth century, also served the purposes of those who promoted the teaching of Russian as a means of understanding a political and, it was hoped, commercial ally. But ideas governing literary studies began to pull in the opposite direction after the war, away from the study of literature as historical record and towards the study of literary form. The literature that was valued in the subsequent four decades, particularly the literature finally being defined as an entity called modernism, both contributed to and benefited from this shift. It did so at the expense of Russian literature and the values that had come to be associated with it, which I list in my conclusion as: life (as opposed to art, style, or technique), realism (as opposed to formalism), engagement (as opposed to disinterestedness), nature (as opposed to culture), the rural (as opposed to the urban), the national (as opposed to the international), spirit (as opposed to materialism or the machine), and romanticism (as opposed to classicism).

Russomania focuses its investigation on the period between 1881 and 1922, from the assassination of Aleksandr II to the formation of the Soviet Union. 1881 also marks the death of Dostoevsky, the start of mass Russian immigration to Britain, and the beginning of sustained attention to and translation of Russian literature in Britain. 1922, which saw the founding of *The Criterion*, and the publication of Eliot's *The Waste Land*, Joyce's *Ulysses*, and Woolf's *Jacob's Room*, is often cited as the inauguration of high modernism, but it is more accurately understood as the point when a particular set of values we have come to call modernism were successfully institutionalized.¹²⁸ In this light, perhaps the pithiest description of

¹²⁸ For discussion and complication of 1922's identification with modernism, see Michael North, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 3–30.

the impact of Russian literature on British modernism is provided by Geoff Gilbert. In *Before Modernism Was*, he writes, 'British modernism . . . enters its institutional history by turning away from Dostoevsky'.¹²⁹ Duncan Grant's painting, in light of that statement, tells a double truth: it records the modernist engagement with Russian literature, and the psychological depth of its impact. But it also records the fact that modernism as we know it came into being by, in the end, turning its back on what Russian literature had made it experience.

¹²⁹ Geoff Gilbert, *Before Modernism Was: Modern History and the Constituency of Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), p. 16.

1

Modern Worlds, Simple Lives

1.1 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN: ‘THE POETRY OF FORM AND THE POETRY OF ACTION’

On 22 February 1895, the *Manchester Times* printed three paragraphs under the heading ‘Russian Literature and Liberty’ on the second page of its supplement. Their author began by stating that ‘there was a time when the name of Russia was really an object of hatred, in England and throughout Europe; when it was identified with the idea of strangled Poland and Hungary, of a sullen brute force upholding everything reactionary and inhuman in the rest of Europe’. That time had passed, however, and the author maintained that ‘there now remain but few who confuse the Russian people with the Russian Government’. This ‘change of feeling’ had gradually come about in ‘the last 15 or 20 years’, and was brought about by two ‘principal forces’: ‘the Russian novel on the one hand and the Russian revolutionary movement on the other; the poetry of form and the poetry of action; the fascination of the genius of creation and of the genius of self-sacrifice’.¹

The *Manchester Times* had taken these paragraphs from *Nihilism As It Is*, a volume recently published by T. Fisher Unwin that made available two pamphlets by the Russian émigré Sergey Kravchinsky—known outside Russia by his pseudonym ‘Stepniak’—a well-known propagandist for, and participant in, the revolutionary movement, who had lived in London since 1884. The volume also contained an essay by Kravchinsky’s close friend and fellow émigré, Feliks Volkhovsky, an introduction by Robert Spence Watson, President of the National Liberal Association, and some related ‘documentary evidences’, that together were intended to provide ‘a sort of reference book which would give in a concise form the materials necessary for establishing beyond doubt or controversy the real nature, aims, and position of the Russian revolutionists’, as Kravchinsky explained.² He had originally published both pamphlets in Russian three years before. ‘The Agitation Abroad’, from which the newspaper’s column was taken, had been written to acquaint his fellow revolutionaries in Russia with British support for their cause, in particular the work of

¹ Stepniak [Kravchinsky], ‘Russian Literature and Liberty’, *Manchester Times* (supplement) (22 February 1895), p. 2.

² Stepniak, ‘The Origin of the Book’, in *Nihilism As It Is*, trans. by E. L. Voynich (London: T. Fisher Unwin, [1895]), pp. 3–10 (pp. 10, 8).

the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom.³ In the passage quoted by the *Manchester Times* he set out the importance of the Russian novel for the revolutionary cause, remarking that

The immense success of the Russian novel abroad is known to all educated people. It is a fact not only of literary importance, but of the gravest political significance: it marks an epoch for the Russian cause abroad. Our great novelists have been the propagandists of the Russian idea; they have been the first to convince other nations that the Russian people is not a horde of barbarians, but a great and civilised nation, with boundless potentialities of future development.⁴

The *Manchester Times* extract was reprinted in the *Leicester Chronicle and Leicestershire Mercury* fifteen days later.⁵ But these newspapers' responses to the volume were uncharacteristic in focusing on Kravchinsky's remarks about literature. The reviews in *The Academy*, the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Saturday Review*, and *The Spectator* were—understandably—more concerned with Kravchinsky's account of the aims of the revolutionary movement, and the terms of their discussion somewhat undermined Kravchinsky's statement in 'The Agitation Abroad' that the movement was 'winning over to its side public opinion, and awakening alike amazement and sympathy'.⁶ Even the *Academy*, the most sympathetic, echoed the general alarm at Kravchinsky's argument that 'in view of the cynical, boundless despotism now rampant in Russia, every form of protest is lawful, and there are outrages upon human nature so intolerable that violence becomes the moral duty of the citizens'.⁷

The idea that literature played a significant role in the revolutionary cause and, moreover, that the revolutionaries themselves placed a high value on its contribution, may seem implausible, but Kravchinsky was not alone in making this argument. Not only did literature play a vital role in defining and developing the revolutionary movement in Russia, it created two generations of pro-revolutionary Russophiles abroad. Russian revolutionary émigrés played a central role in promoting Russian literature in Britain during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and played a decisive role in establishing the terms in which it was discussed.

This chapter examines the first sustained period of translation and criticism of Russian literature in Britain. It considers the role of two distinct but related groups: the so-called Chaikovsky circle of the revolutionary movement and the Christian anarchist Tolstoyan movement. The relationships between these groups and British publishers and translators committed to their causes—T. Fisher Unwin, Constance Garnett, Edward Garnett, and Ethel Voynich with the first, Charles Daniel, Arthur Fifield, Aylmer Maude, and Walter Scott with the second—brought Russian litera-

³ S. Stepnyak, *Zagranichnaya agitatsiya* (London: Fonda russkoi vol'noi pressy, 1892); S. Stepnyak, *Chego nam nuzhno i nachalo kontsa* (London: Fonda russkoi vol'noi pressy, 1892).

⁴ Stepniak, 'Russian Literature and Liberty', *Manchester Times*, p. 2.

⁵ Stepniak, 'Russian Literature and Liberty', *Leicester Chronicle and Leicestershire Mercury* (supplement), 84.4388 (9 March 1895), p. [1].

⁶ Stepniak, 'The Agitation Abroad', in *Nihilism As It Is*, pp. 52–80 (p. 67).

⁷ Stepniak, 'What is Wanted?', in *Nihilism As It Is*, pp. 13–51 (p. 32); 'Some Books on Russia: *Nihilism as it is*', *The Academy*, 1184 (12 January 1895), p. 32.

ture into British bookshops, libraries, lecture halls, and drawing rooms. The chapter also details the close ties between these groups and particular sections of the British socialist movement, which was re-emerging in the early 1880s. In the course of the discussion, it considers the legacy of these largely nineteenth-century connections in the work of several writers with direct connections to these groups: Ford Madox Ford, Olive Garnett, George Bernard Shaw, and in the final section, Dorothy Richardson.

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century there was a sharp increase in emigration from Russia and Poland. Most emigrants settled in the United States, but large numbers also settled in France, Argentina, South Africa, and Britain. The 1871 census recorded that there were 9,569 Russians and Russian Poles living in England and Wales: they were the third largest national group from continental Europe, but still much smaller than the communities of German (32, 823) and French (17, 906) immigrants. However, by 1881 the number of Russians and Russian Poles had risen to 14, 468, by 1891 it had jumped to 45,074, and by 1901 there were 82, 844 Russians and Russian Poles living in England and Wales, making them the largest national group from continental Europe. By the 1911 census the number had increased to a peak of 95, 541, almost twice the number of Germans, the next largest group, and making up over a third of Britain's resident foreign-born population. Thereafter, immigration decreased through the combined effects of the Aliens Act of 1905, the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914, the First World War, and the 1917 Russian Revolutions (to 20, 323 from Russia and 14, 488 from Poland in 1921).⁸

The majority of Russian and Russian Polish immigrants were Jewish, and the causes of their emigration were to a certain extent political, but more immediately economic. As the Russian State began processes of industrialization and modernization, the livelihoods of Russian Jews were devastated by industrial reforms and government restrictions at the same time as their population grew substantially: 'the most fundamental fact in nineteenth century Jewry in the Russian Empire', writes Lloyd Gartner in his canonical study of Jewish immigration to Britain, 'was its multiplication from about 1,000,000 souls in 1800 to over 5,189,000 in 1897', while the trades on which the Jewish economic structure was based came under pressure from new economic developments.⁹ A smaller number of emigrants fled direct political persecution: the pogroms of 1881 to 1884 and 1903 to 1906 increased Jewish emigration in those years.¹⁰ The number of anti-tsarist revolutionaries escaping persecution or imprisonment was, in comparison, small. Geneva and Paris were numerically larger centres of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian political émigrés than London, with more celebrities of the revo-

⁸ See census reports at www.histpop.org, and Colin Holmes, 'Immigrants, Refugees and Revolutionaries', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2.3 (1983), 7–22 (pp. 8–9); Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 283; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1994), p. 157.

⁹ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 156; Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England*, p. 21.

¹⁰ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 147–9.

lutionary movement. But London, John Slatter has remarked, 'may well have been more active, e.g. in publishing and political organization', a view supported by records that show that as late as 1902 the Russian secret police, the Okhrana, was spending substantially more on their London agents than those in Paris or Switzerland.¹¹

There were indeed many venues for publishing and political organization founded by Russians in Britain during the last quarter of the century: Slatter's survey of the émigré press between 1853 and 1917 lists forty-nine Russian newspapers and journals and 366 books and pamphlets printed in Britain to avoid tsarist censorship, the majority published between 1890 and 1905. These included publications produced by the Jewish Labour Bund, the Russian Free Press Fund, the Social Democratic Labour Party (including *Iskra* (*The Spark*), edited by Lenin), the *Khleb i volya* (Bread and Freedom) group, and its predecessor, *Gruppa russkikh kommunistov-anarkhistov* (Group of Russian Communist-Anarchists), associated with Petr Kropotkin, and the many works by and about Tolstoy published by Vladimir Chertkov and his fellow Tolstoyans through their *Izdatel'stvo Svobodnoe Slovo* (Free Word Press).¹² But few of the Russian emigrants directed their writings at British readers. Notable exceptions were the editor of the popular magazine, *The Anglo-Russian* (1897–1914), Yakov Priluker (Jaakoff Prelooker), who has been the subject of research by Carol Peaker and John Slatter, and two groups that had a lasting impact on British literary culture: the Chaikovsky circle and the Tolstoyans, the subjects of this chapter.¹³

In 1970 Barry Hollingsworth remarked:

the marked increase of interest in Russian affairs in this period was essentially due to the work of a few individuals who arrived here at different times, by different routes, but who had been fairly closely connected at an earlier period in Russia. These were the Narodniki of the 1870s, those who had taken part in the 'going to the people' of 1873–4 and 1876, and several of them had belonged to one particular group, the Chaikovsky circle of the early 1870s. If any one group is to be credited with rousing Western Europe to sympathy with the victims of Tsarism, with arousing popular

¹¹ I. M. Maisky, *Puteshestvie v proshloe: Vospominaniya o russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii v Londone, 1912–1917 gg* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1960), pp. 51–5; Ivan Maisky, *Journey into the Past*, trans. by Frederick Holt (London: Hutchinson, 1962), pp. 45–9; John Slatter, 'Introduction', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2.3 (1983), 1–3 (p. 3); Donald Senese, S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii: *The London Years* (Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners, 1987), p. 91; V. K. Agafonov, *Zagranichnaya okhranka: Sostavleno po sekretnym dokumentam Zagranichnoi Agentury i Departamenta Politsii* (Petrograd: Kniga, 1918), pp. 53–4.

¹² John Slatter, 'The Russian Émigré Press in Britain, 1853–1917', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 73.4 (1995), 716–47. See also Charlotte Alston, 'News of the Struggle: The Russian Political Press in London, 1853–1921', in Constance Bantman and Ana Cláudia Suriani da Silva, eds, *The Foreign Political Press in Nineteenth-Century London: Politics from a Distance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 155–74, and Helen Williams, 'Russian-Language Periodical Publishing by the Radical Emigration 1855–1900', *Solanus*, ns 12 (1998), 12–32.

¹³ Carol Peaker, 'Reading Revolution: Russian Émigrés and the Reception of Russian Literature in England, c. 1890–1905', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2007, pp. 152–66, John Slatter, 'Jaakoff Prelooker and *The Anglo-Russian*', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2.3 (1983), 49–66. See also Vladimir Burtsev, *Za sto let, 1800–1896: Sbornik po istorii politicheskikh i obshchestvennykh dvizhenii v Rossii* (London: Russian Free Press Fund, 1897), pp. 244–50.

feeling in this country against Tsarist despotism, it is this small group of people, and yet they and their activities here have been largely ignored.¹⁴

Since Hollingsworth made that remark, the Russian emigration in Britain, including the *chaikovtsy* (those associated with the Chaikovsky circle), has received more attention. Russian research by N. V. Ivanova and Evgeniya Taratuta, among others, primarily on Kravchinsky, the most active of the London-based *chaikovtsy*, has been developed by a number of historians including Ron Grant, Robert Henderson, David Saunders, Donald Senese, and John Slatter. In the last few years, the group's connections to nineteenth-century British literary culture have begun to be explored by literary critics, notably Martina Ciceri, Carol Peaker, and Anat Vernitski.¹⁵ This chapter aims to demonstrate that the work of the Russian émigrés had a far more extensive effect on literary culture in Britain than has been considered previously, establishing a network of literary, social, and political values that would have a defining impact on modernism.

What came to be known as the Chaikovsky circle began in 1869 as a study group formed by Mark Natanson and Vasily Aleksandrov, two students at the Medical and Surgical Academy in St Petersburg. When Natanson was arrested for distributing illegal publications in 1871, it continued under the leadership of Nikolay Chaikovsky, a student at St Petersburg Imperial University who had been one of its original members. By 1874 it had grown to about fifty members, with affiliated groups in Khar'kov, Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, and a number of other towns. Its members cultivated a high moral tone, and included several who would become renowned figures of the early revolutionary movement—Aleksandra Kornilova,

¹⁴ Barry Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: English Liberals and Russian Socialists, 1890-1917', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, ns 3 (1970), 45-64 (p. 47).

¹⁵ As well as the works by Peaker, Slatter, and Senese already cited, see N. V. Ivanova, 'Iz istorii russko-angliiskikh kul'turnykh svyazei v 80-90-e gody XIX veka', *Uchenye zapiski Kurskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, 26 (1966), 142-63, 'Russkaya revolyutsionnaya emigratsiya i razvitie russko-angliiskikh obshchestvennykh svyazei v 80-90-e gody XIX veka', *Uchenye zapiski Kurskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, 43 (1967), 81-113, and 'Iz istorii russko-angliiskikh obshchestvennykh svyazei v 80-90 gg. XIX veka', *Uchenye zapiski Kurskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, 60 (1969), 114-43; V. V. Shirokova, 'Iz istorii svyazei russkikh revolyutsionerov s emigrantami', *Osvoboditel' noe dvizhenie v Rossii*, 8 (1978), 41-52; E. A. Taratuta, *S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky: Revolyutsioner i pisatel'* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1973); Ron Grant, 'British Radicals and Socialists and their Attitudes to Russia, c. 1890-1917', PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1984; Robert Henderson, 'Russian Political Emigrés and the British Museum Library', *Library History*, 9.1-2 (1991), 59-68, and Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia: A Revolutionary in the Time of Tsarism and Bolshevism (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); David Saunders, 'Stepniak and the London Emigration: Letters to Robert Spence Watson, 1887-1890', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 13 (1980), 80-93, and 'Tyneside and the Making of Russian Revolution', *Northern History*, 21.1 (1985), 259-84; Donald Senese, 'Felix Volkhovsky in London, 1890-1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2.3 (1983), 67-78; John Slatter, 'Bears in the Lion's Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880-1914', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 77.1 (1999), 30-55, and 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2.1 (1983), 33-49; Martina Ciceri, 'Anglo-Russian Transactions in late Victorian and Edwardian England: Politics and Aesthetics', PhD thesis, Sapienza University of Rome, 2017; Anat Vernitski, 'The Complexity of Truth: Ford and the Russians', in Paul Skinner, ed., *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 101-12, and 'Russian Revolutionaries and English Sympathisers in 1890s London: The Case of Olive Garnett and Sergei Stepniak', *Journal of European Studies*, 35.3 (2005), 299-314.

Dmitry Klements, Sergey Kravchinsky, Petr Kropotkin, Sof'ya Perovskaya, and Feliks Volkhovskiy. In 1871 they began to extend their programme of education beyond their fellow students, forming study groups among the factory workers in St Petersburg, with the aim of finding workers to spread propaganda among the peasants in the provinces. In the summer of 1874 the group took part in the mass movement to 'go to the people' (*khodit' v narod*), in which about two thousand people, mainly students, left their homes in the cities and went to live and work among the peasants and workers in the countryside, in the attempt to foster revolution from below. Though this mass movement was not itself organized by the *chaikovtsy*—participants and witnesses emphasized its spontaneity—the group has been credited with creating the first large populist movement, and having begun the process of organization among the Russian working classes.¹⁶

The experiment of 'going to the people' in 1874, however, failed: the lesson it taught, Kravchinsky famously wrote to Vera Zasulich, was that "scientific socialism", the socialism of the West, bounces off the peasants like peas from a wall'.¹⁷ The student propagandists were unable to communicate their revolutionary message: most of those to whom they spoke preferred to put their faith in superstition, religion, and their love for the tsar.¹⁸ The populist movement was decimated by arrests—thousands of people were arrested—and indeed even before the summer, the Chaikovsky circle itself had been reduced and scattered by a wave of arrests and fear of arrest.¹⁹ Kravchinsky was arrested in 1873 during his own 'going to the people' that preceded the main movement, but he managed to escape abroad. Kornilova and Perovskaya were arrested in January 1874, and Kropotkin in March, betrayed by one of the circle's factory worker pupils.²⁰ Kravchinsky's close friend

¹⁶ N. A. Charushin, *O dalekom proshlom: Kruzhok chaikovtsev* (Moscow: Vsesoyuznoe obshchestvo politicheskikh katorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1926), pp. 83–104, Ben Eklof and Tatiana Saburova, *A Generation of Revolutionaries: Nikolai Charushin and Russian Populism from the Great Reforms to Perestroika* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2017), pp. 39–72, B. S. Itenberg, *Dvizhenie revolyutsionnogo narodnichestva: Narodnicheskie kruzhki i "khozhdenie v narod" v 70-kh godakh XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), pp. 138–44, 229–46, 297–45, Martin A. Miller, 'Ideological Conflicts in Russian Populism: The Revolutionary Manifestoes of the Chaikovsky Circle, 1869–1874', *Slavic Review*, 29.1 (1970), 1–21 (pp. 3, 10); D. M. Odinetz, 'V kruzhke "chaikovtsev"', in A. A. Titov, ed., *Nikolay Vasil'evich Chaikovsky* (Paris: Rodnik, 1929), pp. 39–96; Derek Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 16–17; N. A. Troitsky, *Bol'shoe obshchestvo propagandy, 1871–1874* (Saratov: Izdatel'stvo Saratovskogo universiteta, 1963), pp. 9–75; Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia*, trans. by Francis Haskell (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), pp. 472, 481, 513, 471, 511, 501.

¹⁷ Kravchinsky, letter to Vera Zasulich, June 1878, 'Iz perepiski S. M. Kravchinskogo', *Krasnyi arkhiv*, 19 (1926), 196–7.

¹⁸ Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, p. 18, David Saunders, *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801–1881* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 327–9; Itenberg, *Dvizhenie revolyutsionnogo narodnichestva*, pp. 305–42, G. H. Perris, *Russia in Revolution* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1905), p. 205.

¹⁹ Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 501, 505–6, 483; Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, p. 17; N. A. Troitsky, *Sof'ya L'vovna Perovskaya: Zhizn', Lichnost', Sud'ba* (Saratov: Izdatel'stvo Saratovskogo universiteta, 2014), p. 132. See also P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, 2 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1899), II: 122–7.

²⁰ V. L. Perovsky, *Vospominaniya o sestre (Sof'e Perovskoi)* (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1927), pp. 59–60; Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 122–7.

Leonid Shishko, who had joined the *chaikovtsy* in 1872, was arrested in the summer of 1874, as was Volkhovsky, the leader of the Chaikovsky group in Odessa.²¹ Klements fled abroad in October 1874.²² Perovskaya, Shishko, and Volkhovsky were defendants in the infamous 'Trial of the 193' from October 1877 to January 1878 os, which was intended to comprehensively eliminate the revolutionary movement: Perovskaya was acquitted, Shishko and Volkhovsky were found guilty. Volkhovsky was sentenced to exile in Siberia, and Shishko to nine years of hard labour.²³ Perovskaya was executed in 1881 for taking part in the assassination of Aleksandr II.²⁴

By 1890 several of the *chaikovtsy* had reunited in London (Fig. 3). Chaikovsky left St Petersburg to avoid arrest in 1874 and later that year moved to the United States with Aleksandr Malikov's religious sect, the *bogocheloveki* ('God people' or 'deo-humanists'), where they joined a commune, the Cedar Vale colony, near Wichita, Kansas. The experiment was not successful, and in 1878 Chaikovsky returned to Europe, settling first in Paris, then, in the summer of 1880, in London.²⁵ Kravchinsky joined him in July 1884. Following his escape from Russia, he had fought with the Serbs in the Herzegovina uprising in 1875 and the Italian anarchists in the Benevento uprising in 1877, for which he was imprisoned in Italy. On his release in 1878, he joined the Russian émigré community in Geneva, returning briefly to Russia to perform 'the first planned terrorist act' of the new populist revolutionary group *Zemlya i volya* (Land and Liberty): the assassination of the head of the secret police, Nikolay Mezentsev. He returned to Geneva, then moved to Italy in 1881, and finally settled in London.²⁶ Kropotkin escaped from prison in 1876 and came to Europe, moving between Britain, Switzerland, and France, working with the Jura Federation of the International Working Men's Association. Eventually, his writings had him expelled from Switzerland and his membership of the Federation had him imprisoned in France, so when he was released in 1886 he moved from Paris to London.²⁷ Volkhovsky arrived in 1890:

²¹ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 73; F. Volkhovsky, 'A Great Loss', *Free Russia*, 21.2 (April 1910), 8–10 (pp. 8–9); F. Volkhovsky, 'Leonid Shishko: ocherk', in *Pamyati Leonida Emmanuilovicha Shishko* (Paris: Partiya sotsialistov-revolutsionerov, Tsentral'nyi Komitet, 1910), pp. 1–46 (pp. 13–15); Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 50, N. V. Chaikovsky, 'F. V. Volkhovsky', *Golos minuvshogo*, 10 (November 1914), 232–5 (pp. 233–4).

²² V. I. Fedorova, *Revolutsionnyi narodnik uchenyi i prosvetitel': D. A. Klements* (Krasnoyarsk: Izdatel'stvo Krasnoyarskogo universiteta, 1988), p. 31; I. I. Popov, 'D. A. Klements: Ego zhizn' i deyatel'nost', in D. A. Klements, *Iz proshlogo: Vospominaniya*, ed. by I. I. Popov (Leningrad: Kolos, 1925), pp. 7–66 (pp. 28–9, 31, 40).

²³ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, pp. 50, 73; Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 513, 596; L. Shishko, *Sergey Mikhailovich Kravchinsky i kruzhok Chaikovsev* (St Petersburg: Izdanie V. Raspopova, 1906), pp. 35–8; Volkhovsky, 'Leonid Shishko', pp. 15–19. There are some disagreements on dates between these sources (for example, the date of Perovskaya's arrest).

²⁴ Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 682–3, 706–7, 711–20.

²⁵ Perris, *Russia in Revolution*, pp. 205–6; T. I. Polner, 'N. V. Chaikovsky i bogochelovechestvo', in Titov, *Nikolay Vasil'evich Chaikovsky*, pp. 97–166 (p. 119); Mark Aldanov, 'A Russian Commune in Kansas', *Russian Review*, 4.1 (1944), 30–44.

²⁶ Holmes, 'Immigrants, Refugees and Revolutionaries', p. 11; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 5; Taratuta, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinsky*, p. 320.

²⁷ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 169–80, 306, 310.



Fig. 3. Group photo of the London *chaikovtsy* (l-r: Nikolay Chaikovsky, Egor Lazarev, Feliks Volkhovskiy, Leonid Shishko, Sergey Kravchinsky). Box 105, folder 4, Garnett Family Papers, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University Libraries.

he had escaped from increasingly repressive exile in Irkutsk in August 1889 to Canada, moving to London in July. Shishko, who had worked with Volkhovskiy in Tomsk, escaped in 1890 and arrived in London in June 1891. Though he moved to Paris a few months later, he maintained close ties with the London *chaikovtsy*.²⁸

Like their colleagues in Geneva and Paris, the London-based émigrés continued to work for the cause of revolution in Russia. When Chaikovsky first moved to London, he worked for *Obshchestvo krasnogo kresta Narodnoi voli* (the Red Cross of the People's Will), the relief arm of the revolutionary group *Narodnaya volya* (the People's Will), as its London fundraiser and contact for newly arrived exiles.²⁹ During Kropotkin's first stay in Britain in 1881 to 1882, the two *chaikovtsy* resumed their propaganda programme of ten years before: 'we went to the Radical clubs, speaking about Russia affairs, the movement of our youth toward the people,

²⁸ Senese, 'Felix Volkhovskiy in London, 1890–1914', pp. 69–71; 'English Notes: Felix Volkhovskiy', *Free Russia*, 1.2 (September 1890), 17–18; S. S. [Sergey Kravchinsky], 'Leonidas Shishko', *Free Russia*, 2.10 (1891), 9–10.

²⁹ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 25.

and socialism in general', Kropotkin recalled, but they were disappointed to find 'ridiculously small audiences, seldom consisting of more than a dozen men'.³⁰ However, they began to make connections with political and intellectual leaders, and their first articles for the national press appeared. Earlier in 1881, Newcastle's Radical Member of Parliament, Joseph Cowen, had invited Kropotkin to write on conditions in Russia for his paper, the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, and the first of his five contributions, a detailed description of the revolutionary movement, was republished in the *Fortnightly Review*. These were followed by a further five articles for the popular and influential *Nineteenth Century* on Russian prisons and the exile system.³¹ Kropotkin's arrest shortly after his return to France garnered further publicity: Chaikovsky's petition for his release, described in a number of newspapers, included the signatures of Stopford Brooke (former chaplain to Queen Victoria), Edward Burne-Jones, Cowen, Frederic Harrison, Henry Maudsley, William Morris, Leslie Stephen, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and Alfred Russel Wallace, as well as 'fifteen professors of Cambridge, London, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities, as well as a number of Oxford Fellows; all the leading officials of the British Museum and the Royal School of Mines, the secretary of the Geographical Society, and the editors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and nine important newspapers and periodicals, including the *Athenaeum*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the *Cornhill*'.³²

Kravchinsky's arrival in London in 1884 further increased the visibility of the Russian revolutionary cause. *La Russia Sotterranea*, the collection of sketches about the *chaikovtsy* and their populist successors Kravchinsky had published in Italy in 1882, was an international publishing sensation: the English translation, *Underground Russia*, went through three editions between its first publication in April 1883 and the end of the year.³³ By 1885, the *chaikovtsy*'s connections to socialist and liberal leaders were such that a 'Society of Friends of Russia' was founded by Kravchinsky, Chaikovsky and a group of Fabians and friends, includ-

³⁰ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 253.

³¹ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 26; D. Saunders, 'Tyneside and the Making of Russian Revolution', pp. 265–6; P. Krapotkine, 'The Revolutionary Party of Russia', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (12 October 1881), 5; Prince Krapotkin, 'Russian Administration', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (18 January 1882), 2; P. K., 'Revolutionary Agitation in Russia', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (20 January 1882), 3; P. Krapotkine, 'Letters on Russia: The Russian Peasantry', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (7 February 1882), 2; P. K., 'Russian Liberals on the Situation', *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (9 February 1882), 2; P. Krapotkin, 'The Russian Revolutionary Party', *Fortnightly Review*, 31 (1882), 654–71; P. Krapotkine, 'Russian Prisons', *Nineteenth Century*, 13 (1883), 27–44; P. Krapotkine, 'The Fortress Prison of St. Petersburg', *Nineteenth Century*, 13 (1883), 928–49; P. Krapotkine, 'Outcast Russia', *Nineteenth Century*, 14 (1884), 964–76; P. Krapotkine, 'The Exile in Siberia', *Nineteenth Century*, 15 (1884), 475–93; P. Kropotkin, 'Finland: A Rising Nationality', *Nineteenth Century*, 17 (1885), 527–46.

³² 'Latest Intelligence: France', *The Times* (27 March 1883), p. 3; George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumović, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin* (London: Boardman, 1950), p. 194.

³³ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 27. Though Senese gives the month of publication as May, periodical advertisements and reviews demonstrate that it was published in April. See also V. F. Zakharina, *Golos revoliutsionnoi Rossii: Literatura revoliutsionnogo podpol'ya 70-kh godov XIX v. 'Izdaniya dlya naroda'* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Mysl', 1971), pp. 106–27.

ing Annie Besant, Charles Bradlaugh, Edward Pease, George Bernard Shaw, Emilie Venturi, and Charlotte Wilson. Its aim was to circulate 'information about the condition of Russia by means of lectures, of the circulation of literature or press articles', in order to promote 'the freedom of the Russian people'.³⁴ However, though its initial meetings were well attended, the Society's activities did not continue beyond the year, because, in Wilson's words:

Stepniak looks somewhat coldly upon the idea of a Society to push the Russian propaganda as yet. He thinks in about two years or so the time will be ripe for getting up an agitation, and about its dimensions he is very ambitious. . . . we had better drop this idea for the moment with our drawing-room meeting in London, until Stepniak himself is ready in spirit to work with us.³⁵

In 1889 Kravchinsky was ready: when Robert Spence Watson, his new acquaintance through Kropotkin and Cowen, wrote to him in November proposing to found a small group to develop public sympathy with the Russian situation, he agreed, and in 1890 the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom was established.³⁶ By the late 1880s British public opinion had grown more receptive to the Russian revolutionary cause: the British press were reporting the increasingly harsh treatment of exiles more frequently, and the accounts of Russian prisons and the exile system the American journalist George Kennan was publishing in the *Century* gained enormous publicity in Britain.³⁷ The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom published their first two pamphlets protesting recent instances of government brutality in April 1890, began issuing their magazine, *Free Russia*, edited by Kravchinsky, in June, and by the end of the following year, there were four branches across Britain (Edinburgh, Leicester, London, Perth) and an affiliated group in the United States.³⁸ Until its demise in 1917 the Society was the main organ of the *chaikovtsy's* propaganda in Britain: it published a number of pamphlets on conditions in Russia, its committee delivered popular lectures, and it collected and conveyed

³⁴ *The Echo* (10 August 1885), p. 3, qtd in Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', p. 36.

³⁵ Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', pp. 36–42; Felix Volkhovskiy, 'Manuscript of a history of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in London, and other notes', box 9, folder 40, Felix Vladimirovich Volkhovskii papers, Hoover.

³⁶ Robert Spence Watson, letters to S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky, 9 November 1889, 16 November 1889, in M. E. Ermasheva, ed. and trans, *S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky v londonskoi emigratsii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1968), pp. 263–4; F. Volkhovskiy, 'Robert Spence Watson: I', *Free Russia*, 22.2 (July 1911), 1–3 (pp. 1–2); D. Saunders, 'Tyneside and the Making of Russian Revolution', p. 269; D. Saunders, 'Stepniak and the London Emigration', pp. 84, 89; Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', pp. 50–1, Percy Corder, *The Life of Robert Spence Watson* (London: Headley Brothers, 1914), pp. 191–5.

³⁷ Kennan's articles on Russian prisons appeared from November 1887 to April 1888, and those on the exile system from May 1888 to November 1889. For an example of its impact on British interpretations of the revolutionaries' claims, see 'The Russian Peasantry' (review), *The Spectator*, 61.3144 (29 September 1888), 1327–29 (p. 1327): 'his accounts of the treatment of political offenders, which at the time of their publication were regarded as somewhat sensational, have been fully confirmed by the independent testimony of Mr. George Kennan, the American traveller, whose recent articles on the subject in the *Century Magazine* have attracted so much attention'.

³⁸ 'American Notes', *Free Russia*, 2.5 (May 1891), 8–9 (p. 8). Branches opened and closed during the lifespan of the Society: the Perth branch, for example, does not appear to have lasted long, but branches were subsequently founded in Cardiff, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle, Oxford, and Plymouth.

money from British supporters to revolutionary groups inside Russia. But its most influential work was *Free Russia*: the magazine reached a substantial readership, appearing monthly from its second issue until 1906 and quarterly until 1915. Though no circulation figures are extant, the Society's financial accounts suggest that Kravchinsky's estimate of a total readership of five thousand was 'an optimistic but not unreasonable estimate', according to Donald Senese, and its use as a trusted source by the English and continental press expanded its reach still further.³⁹ When Volkhovsky arrived in 1890, he became sub-editor of *Free Russia* and proved to be the Society's most successful lecturer, having gained a certain celebrity through his appearance as 'the most attractive and sympathetic of the Tomsk exiles' in George Kennan's articles and subsequent book, *Siberia and the Exile System*.⁴⁰ As Hollingsworth writes, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom 'did more than any other body to inform the public of the situation in Russia and to arouse sympathy and encouragement for those involved in the struggle against Tsarism'.⁴¹ It was well placed to do so: its members and supporters included politicians (nine of the twenty-eight original members of the General Committee were members of parliament), journalists (H. N. Brailsford, L. T. Hobhouse, H. W. Nevinston, G. H. Perris, C. P. Scott), publishers (T. Fisher Unwin and Thomas Laurie) and writers (George Meredith, William Morris, Ada Radford, and George Bernard Shaw).⁴²

Though *Free Russia* was edited first by Kravchinsky and later by Volkhovsky, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom's General Committee and Managing (later Executive) Committee were entirely British, to better influence public opinion.⁴³ As a counterpart to the British-facing, English-language propaganda of the Society, Chaikovsky, Kravchinsky, Shishko, Volkhovsky, and Mikhail Voinich (Michał Wojnicz/Wilfred Voynich), a Polish revolutionary, established the *Fond vol'noi russkoi pressy v Londone* (the Russian Free Press Fund) in 1891 to publish books and pamphlets in Russian that were forbidden by the censor: 33,000 were distributed between 1891 and 1894, when the RFPF began its own journal, *Letuchie listki* (*Fly-sheets*).⁴⁴ It was through the Russian Free Press Fund that the essays by Kravchinsky in *Nihilism As It Is* were first published and disseminated, and the fact

³⁹ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, pp. 47, 49, 57, 51; Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', p. 51.

⁴⁰ George Kennan, *Siberia and the Exile System*, 2 vols (London: Osgood, McIlvaine, 1891), I: 333.

⁴¹ Hollingsworth, 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', pp. 64–5.

⁴² Names of committee members were regularly listed at the front or back of the journal, and names of subscribers over a certain (changing) level were usually listed towards the back. Of the writers listed here, only Radford appeared on the lists of committee members and subscribers, but the others attended meetings, financially supported the Society, and/or spoke at SFRE events. See 'Mr. George Meredith's Word of Sympathy', *Free Russia*, 10.4 (April 1899), p. 25; Olive Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy! The Bloomsbury Diary of Olive Garnett, 1890–1893*, ed. by Barry C. Johnson (London: Bartlett's Press, 1989), pp. 54; and George Bernard Shaw, *Bernard Shaw: The Diaries, 1885–1897*, ed. by Stanley Weintraub, 2 vols (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), II: 944, 1072.

⁴³ R. S. W. [Robert Spence Watson], 'The Movement in England', *Free Russia*, 1.1 (June 1890), 17–18 (p. 18).

⁴⁴ 'Our Letter Box', *Free Russia*, 2.8 (August 1891), p. 15; 'The Fund of the Russian Free Press', *Free Russia*, 3.4 (April 1892), p. 2; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 72.

that they were originally intended for his fellow Russians in the revolutionary movement accounts for the confidence with which he could write there that 'there are outrages upon human nature so intolerable that violence becomes the moral duty of the citizens'—and for the English newspapers' alarm.⁴⁵

The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom was undoubtedly effective in bringing the Russian revolutionary cause to the attention of the British and American public and shaping political opinion. But its portrayal of the revolutionary movement was not representative of the movement's main groups in the 1890s. The *chaikovtsy's* view of the revolutionary's role was rooted in the populism of the 1870s: they would help the Russian peasantry to realize their own revolutionary desires through propaganda and education, rather than agitation. But fundamental changes had occurred within the revolutionary movement during the 1880s: the movement had split over the use of political terrorism, propagandists were shifting their attention from the peasant commune to the factory, and by the 1890s social democracy had replaced populism as the leading ideology. The assassination of Aleksandr II on 1 March 1881 had at first appeared to be a triumph for the People's Will, the pro-terrorist wing of the populist movement, but when it was not followed by revolution nor even reform, it exposed populism's failure either to rouse the people through propaganda or to achieve political change through terrorism. Social democracy, previously seen as inapplicable to pre-capitalist Russia, now appeared to offer a plausible theoretical basis for an alternative revolutionary strategy, and in 1883 the anti-terrorist wing of the populist movement, in exile in Geneva, reformed itself into the first Russian Marxist group, *Gruppa Osvobozhdenie truda* (the Emancipation of Labour group).⁴⁶

The London-based *chaikovtsy* maintained strong personal connections with the revolutionary movement in Russia and the groups of exiles in Paris and Geneva: *Free Russia* published statements by the People's Will and a series of articles by Georgy Plekhanov, and the Russian Free Press Fund published works by the Emancipation of Labour Group's founders Pavel Aksel'rod, Plekhanov, and Vera Zasulich as well as the populist classics by Mikhail Bakunin, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, and Aleksandr Gertsen (Herzen).⁴⁷ But, nevertheless, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and *Free Russia* were regarded as insufficiently socialist and revolutionary by these groups. 'We cannot participate in a publication in which the opposition to Russian autocracy does not clearly derive from the principle that our goal is the victory of socialism and the overthrow of absolutism', wrote Petr Lavrov, the patriarch of the Russian emigration in Paris, to Kravchinsky in 1891.⁴⁸ Zasulich described *Free Russia* as 'sluggish' (*vyalyi*), and the *chaikovtsy's* influence extended,

⁴⁵ Stepniak, 'What is Wanted?', in *Nililism As It Is*, p. 32.

⁴⁶ Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, pp. 37–8, 77, 119, 126.

⁴⁷ 'From the Narodnaya Volia Group to the Young', 'Programme of the Narodnaya Volia', *Free Russia*, 2.6 (June 1892), 7–10; G. V. Plekhanov, 'Russian Workingmen in the Revolutionary Movement: Personal Recollections', *Free Russia*, 2.11 (1891), 7–8, 2.12 (1891), 13–14, 3.1 (1892), 6–9; *Katalog fonda vol'noi russkoi pressy* (London: Russian Free Press Fund, 1894).

⁴⁸ P. L. Lavrov, letter to E. E. Lineva, 2 April 1891, in Ermasheva, ed. and trans. S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky *v londonskoi emigratsii*, pp. 291–96 (p. 294).

she wrote, only to 'a few dozen sentimental old women, as well as a few dozen priests and two or three stray "eccentric" Members of Parliament'.⁴⁹ What made the *chaikovtsy's* presentation of the revolutionary movement palatable to British liberals was precisely what made it unacceptable to Lavrov, Zasulich, and their colleagues: the *chaikovtsy* presented the revolutionary movement as a political movement whose primary aim was regime change, rather than an economic and social movement that would introduce socialism by revolution. That this was Kravchinsky's view is made quite clear in 'What Is Wanted', one of the essays reprinted in *Nihilism As It Is*, a polemic against current tendencies in the revolutionary movement: 'We put forward, as our immediate aim, the winning of a constitution for Russia', Kravchinsky wrote. 'In politics we are revolutionists, recognising not only popular insurrection, but military plots, nocturnal attacks upon the palace, bombs and dynamite. But as regards the introduction of socialism into life, we are evolutionists. We utterly disbelieve the possibility of reconstructing economic relationships by means of a burst of revolutionary inspiration'.⁵⁰ For Kravchinsky to have this opinion was alarming enough to his former colleagues, but what was significantly more problematic was that his English works represented his unorthodox view as representative of the contemporary revolutionary movement. In *The Russian Storm-Cloud* (1886), for example, Kravchinsky wrote:

Thus we may say that the Nihilist [i.e. revolutionary] movement, which some fifteen years ago was commenced by a set of young enthusiasts of socialistic creed, now, under the influence of internal causes, and the great spread of disaffection in the country, is tending to transform itself into a vast patriotic revolutionary party, composed of people of various shades of opinions, united in a common effort to destroy a tyranny obnoxious to all. They want to substitute for it a national government, in which all shall possess the possibility of working pacifically for the good of the country. Nothing can be more moderate, more just, nor give them a greater right to say they are working for the common good.⁵¹

No wonder Kravchinsky's former colleagues found the London exiles insufficiently revolutionary.

Kravchinsky died in December 1895, killed at a railway crossing on the route between his home in Chiswick and Volkhovsky's in Shepherd's Bush, apparently too absorbed in his thoughts to hear the oncoming train. Volkhovsky had taken over the editing of *Free Russia* a month before Kravchinsky died, and in the last years of the century, the journal became more focused on contemporary radicalism, and the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom more closely associated with the British labour movement. This reflected changes in the Russian revolutionary movement's relationship with labour movements in other countries. As Ron Grant

⁴⁹ V. Zasulich, letter to L. Deich, April 1895, in L. G. Deich, ed., *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda': Iz arkhivov G. V. Plekhanova, V. I. Zasulich i L. G. Deicha*, 6 vols (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, [1923]–28), iv: 247–8. See Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 62.

⁵⁰ Stepniak, 'What is Wanted?', in *Nihilism As It Is*, pp. 30–2.

⁵¹ Stepniak, *The Russian Storm-Cloud, or, Russia in her Relations to Neighbouring Countries* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1886), pp. 12–13. See also Peaker, 'Reading Revolution', pp. 50–2, and D. Saunders, 'Tyneside and the Making of Russian Revolution', p. 279.

has discussed, during the strikes by cotton textile workers in St Petersburg in the summer of 1896, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom played 'the leading, co-ordinating role in the fund-raising carried out among British workers and sympathisers'. A strike fund committee was formed from members of the Society's Executive Committee (J. F. Green, Edward Pease, G. H. Perris, and Adolphe Smith), Chaikovsky, Volkhovsky and Lazar Gol'denberg (who had been appointed business manager of the Russian Free Press Fund the previous year), and representatives of the labour movement, including Tom Mann (general secretary of the Independent Labour Party), Will Thorne (general secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers and an important figure in the Marxist Social Democratic Federation), Ben Tillett (general secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Labourers' Union, also a member of the Social Democratic Federation), J. Havelock Wilson (president of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union), Michael Davitt (Irish Nationalist Federation MP for South Mayo and President of the Irish Democratic Trade and Labour Federation), and Ben Cooper and James MacDonald (chairman and secretary of the London Trades Council).⁵² In *Free Russia*, Volkhovsky wrote:

the way that lies before the Friends of Russian Freedom is obvious. When the Russian workers are driven into another strike, we should be found fully armed and ready to assist them in a few hours. We must have ready cash in hand, and good connexions with all important British labour organizations to be set in motion on the first notice.⁵³

However, this support for urban labour and collaboration with British Marxists did not signify a rapprochement with Plekhanov's Social Democratic Emancipation of Labour Group. After Plekhanov rejected a proposal for collaboration with the Russian Free Press Fund in 1896, Chaikovsky, Volkhovsky and their émigré colleagues reiterated their commitment to the Russian peasantry, rather than proletariat, as the locus of revolutionary potential, and in 1900 the Russian Free Press Fund was dissolved and its representatives joined *Agrarno-sotsialisticheskaya liga* (the Agrarian Socialist League), a new émigré organization aligned with the populist Socialist Revolutionaries against the Marxist Social Democrats.⁵⁴ The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and *Free Russia* maintained a cross-party approach, demonstrated by the fact that from 1897 Fedor Rotshtein (Theodore Rothstein) attended executive meetings as an 'advisory member' and wrote extensively for *Free Russia*, editing the two issues that appeared during 1906 to 1908 with J. F. Green.⁵⁵

⁵² 'Help for the Strikers', *Free Russia*, 7.8 (August 1896), p. 65; Grant, 'British Radicals and Socialists and their Attitudes to Russia', pp. 62–3; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 82; T. W. Moody, 'Michael Davitt and the British Labour Movement, 1882–1906', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3 (1953), 53–76 (pp. 69–73).

⁵³ F. Volkhovsky, 'The Story of the Strike: Its Moral', *Free Russia*, 7.8 (August 1896), 66–8 (p. 68). See also the account of the cross-party meeting held in Whitechapel in support of the strikers the following March: ['Meetings and Lectures'], *Free Russia*, 8.3 (March 1897), p. 24.

⁵⁴ Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, pp. 109–17; Senese, 'Felix Volkhovsky in London, 1890–1914', pp. 75–7.

⁵⁵ 'To our Readers', *Free Russia*, 17.1 (January–April 1906), p. 1; Th. Rothstein, 'A Year and After', *Free Russia*, 18.1 (June 1907), 3–5; J. F. Green, 'Our Activity', *Free Russia*, 19.1 (January–March 1908), 5–6; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 114. See also *Free Russia's* criticism of the British

Both Green and Rotshtein were central figures in the Social Democratic Federation—indeed, as David Burke has discussed, Rotshtein, the future Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, played a major role in shaping British social democracy, elected at the top of the poll to the Social Democratic Federation's executive committee in 1901, the same year he joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. When the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party's paper, *Iskra* (*The Spark*) moved from Munich to London in April 1902 with part of its editorial committee—Yuly (Julius) Martov, Vladimir Ul'yanov (Lenin), and Zasulich, Rotshtein became a close friend of Lenin's.⁵⁶ But though *Iskra* was printed for a year by the Social Democratic Federation's printing press in Clerkenwell, and Lenin would correct the proofs alongside Harry Quelch, the editor of the Federation's organ, *Justice*, he and his colleagues had relatively few British acquaintances: his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya related that they frequented workers' reading rooms, socialist churches, Hyde Park Corner, and many different types of meetings, but they 'did not know much about the home life of English Socialists'.⁵⁷ Vera Zasulich's biographer Jay Bergman notes that Zasulich also knew Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx well, but she, 'like most Russian émigrés, generally remained aloof from English politics', and he has 'found no evidence that links Zasulich directly with the central figures of English radicalism at the turn of the century, such as Keir Hardie, John Burns, George Bernard Shaw, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb', though 'she spoke on occasion (in French) to conferences of the Trade Union Congress'.⁵⁸ Leiba Bronshtein (Lev Trotsky), who had joined the *Iskra* editors in London in October 1902, commented in his autobiography that he gave a 'public lecture in Whitechapel, when I had a passage-at-arms with the patriarch of the Russian émigrés, Tchaikovsky', but 'my modest knowledge of English acquired in the prison at Odessa was increased very little by my stay in London. I was too

Press's coverage of the 1907 Congress of the Russian Social Democrat Party in London, presumably written by Rotshtein: 'The Pothouse Press and the Russian Social Democrats', *Free Russia*, 18.1 (June 1907), p. 8.

⁵⁶ Martin Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation* (Keele: Ryburn Publishing/Keele University Press, 1994), pp. 316, 305; David Burke, 'Theodore Rothstein and Russian Political Emigre Influence on the British Labour Movement, 1884-1920', PhD thesis, University of Greenwich, 1997, pp. 4, 36-7, 72-3; David Burke, *Russia and the British Left: From the 1848 Revolutions to the General Strike* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2018), pp. 24-46; Maisky, *Puteshestvie v proshloe*, pp. 90-6; Maisky, *Journey into the Past*, pp. 79-83; L. Muravyova, I. Sivolap-Kaftanova, *Lenin in London: Memorial Places*, trans. by Jane Sayer (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981), pp. 193-4; Jay Bergman, *Vera Zasulich: A Biography* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), pp. 181-2; Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 63-6.

⁵⁷ Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, trans. by E. Verney, 2 vols (London: Martin Lawrence, 1930), 1: 73; N. K. Krupskaya, *Vospominaniya o Lenine*, 1 (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1930), p. 65. Lenin's statements on Britain are conveniently collected in *Lenin on Britain* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1934). See also William Bowman's account of meeting Lenin at a 'smoking debate' with John Morley at Toynbee Hall in 1902, William T. Bowman, 'Lenin in London', *Contemporary Review*, 191 (1957), 336-8, and the pamphlet by Rotshtein's son, Andrew Rothstein, *Lenin in Britain* (London: Communist Party of Great Britain, 1970).

⁵⁸ Bergman, *Vera Zasulich*, pp. 129-30.

much absorbed in Russian affairs. British Marxism was not interesting. The intellectual centre of the Social Democracy at that time was Germany'.⁵⁹

One indicator of the *chaikovtsy's* populism was the role that literature played in their propaganda and, indeed, their lives. The Chaikovsky circle had begun, after all, as a study group, and from its inception it had collected and circulated books, going on to create links with publishers who published books they suggested, and to print works themselves. The propaganda to which they committed themselves was what they called *knizhnoe delo*, usually translated as 'the cause of the book': the provision of literature that would educate them and others in social and political questions.⁶⁰ Literature is used in a broad sense here: Franco Venturi lists the 'most important books' in their collection as 'an early volume of the works of Lassalle, Marx's *Das Kapital*, which was published in March 1872, Lavrov's *Historical Letters*, a second edition of Bervi-Flerovsky's *The Situation of the Working Class in Russia*, and his *Alphabet of Social Sciences*... and A. K. Sheller's *The Proletariat in France and On Associations*'. But they also reprinted and circulated some novels on social issues, and some literary works were profoundly influential on their thought, notably the poetry of Nikolay Nekrasov, Turgenev's *Nakanune* (1860) (*On the Eve*) and *Ottsy i deti* (1862) (*Fathers and Sons*), and Chernyshevsky's *Chto delat'* (1863) (*What Is to Be Done?*).⁶¹ Indeed, as Derek Offord has remarked, 'disciplinary distinctions—the borders between publicism, philosophy, sociology and political economy, historical and ethnographic scholarship, and imaginative literature—were more than usually blurred' in this period, to the extent that one can say that 'artists, ethnographers and historians, no less than the socialist thinkers and publicists, helped first to generate the revolutionary movement in its Populist phase and then to sustain it'.⁶² In his memoirs, Kropotkin made clear the importance of literature in bringing him to political consciousness. He credited his tutor with 'literary tastes', Nikolay Smirnov, for giving 'the first impulse to my intellectual development', and noted the influence of his Russian grammar teacher at his military school, commenting that 'in Russia there is not a man or woman of mark, in literature or in political life, who does not owe the first impulse toward a higher development to his or her teacher of literature'. 'Only the teacher of literature', he continues,

can bind together the separate historical and humanitarian sciences, unify them by a broad philosophical and humane conception, and awaken higher ideas and inspirations in the brains and hearts of young people. In Russia, that necessary task falls quite naturally upon the teacher of Russian literature. As he speaks of the development of the language, of the contents of the early epic poetry, of popular songs and music,

⁵⁹ Leon Trotsky, *My Life: The Rise and Fall of a Dictator* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1930), pp. 127–8. L. Trotsky, *Moya zhizn': opyt avtobiografii* (Berlin: Izdatel'stvo 'Granit', 1930), pp. 168–70.

⁶⁰ Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 475, 482; A. V. Knowles, 'The "Book Affair" of the Chaykovsky Circle', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 51.125 (1973), 554–66 (pp. 555, 558–60); Erich E. Haberer, *Jews and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 46–7.

⁶¹ Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 482.

⁶² Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, pp. 4–5.

and, later on, of modern fiction, of the scientific, political, and philosophical literature of his own country, and the divers aesthetical, political, and philosophical currents it has reflected, he is bound to introduce that generalized conception of the development of the human mind which lies beyond the scope of each of the subjects that are taught separately.⁶³

Unsurprisingly, then, literature also played an important role in the *chaikovtsy's* propaganda for their British audience. *Free Russia* frequently published translations of short literary works, often set in dialogue with its articles. Literature was deployed for two main purposes. First, it was used to underline the main articles' discussions. In 1892, for example, a two-part serial entitled 'How Revolutionists are Made in Russia' was followed in April and May by Vladimir Korolenko's 'A Queer Girl' ('Chudnaya', written 1880), the story of an army officer transporting a young revolutionist into exile.⁶⁴ In 1899, during the famine in the Volga region, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom launched a 'Russian Famine Fund' and, alongside Volkhovsky's article 'Starvation', printed Korolenko's story about the 1891–92 famine, 'In the Famine Year' ('V golodnyi god', 1893).⁶⁵ The other role literature had in the journal was to revise British opinion about Russia and its people. As Carol Peaker has discussed, this was particularly important in the magazine's representation of the peasantry: stories about peasants' intelligence and virtue, and works by peasant authors aimed to demonstrate the argument repeatedly made in the journal's articles: that the rural populace had the intelligence, discipline, and ability to govern themselves.⁶⁶ In 'The Russian Peasants as Readers and Writers', published in July 1892, Kravchinsky argued that a rapid increase in rural literacy was indicative of 'the rapidity of the Russian social evolution', demonstrating that 'the new force of enlightenment is growing with wonderful rapidity among the masses'. Where, a generation ago, it was rare that a peasant 'would be able to sign his name or decipher one line', now cheap editions of classic works sold in tens of thousands of copies: 'the poems of Poushkin, Lermontov, Koltzov, Nekrasov; the admirable sketches of Tourgenyev, Dostoevsky and Tolstoi all contribute to the aesthetic education and enjoyment of the people'. Translations were popular too, he noted: 'Defoe's "Robinson Crusoe" has had about twenty versions, various in size, price and character, and has been sold in millions of copies'; 'the dramas of Shakespeare, the fairy tales of Andersen have been published in an unabridged form and are among the most successful'. *Free Russia's* publication of stories such as Saltykov-Shchedrin's 'Story of How One Peasant Saved Two

⁶³ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, 1: 76, 75, 103.

⁶⁴ 'How Revolutionists are Made in Russia: Personal Reminiscences of a Young Russian', *Free Russia*, 2.12 (December 1891), 7–9, 3.2 (February 1892), 7–10; 'Some Traits of School Life', *Free Russia*, 3.4 (April 1892), 10–11; [Vladimir] Korolenko, 'A Queer Girl', *Free Russia*, 3.4 (April 1892), 11–14, 3.5 (May 1892), 12–14.

⁶⁵ F. Volkhovsky, 'Starvation', *Free Russia*, 10.2 (February 1899), 4–6; [Vladimir] Korolenko, 'In the Famine Year (1892)', *Free Russia*, 10.2 (February 1899), 11–12, 10.3 (March 1899), 19–20.

⁶⁶ Carol Peaker, 'We are not Barbarians: Literature and the Russian Émigré Press in England, 1890–1905', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 3 (2006), <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.451>, p. 6.

Generals' ('Povest' tom, kak muzhik dvukh generalov prokormil', 1869) and the short sketches of peasant life by Nikolay Vagner reinforced these arguments.⁶⁷

After a decrease in literary content during 1893 to hardly any in 1894 to 1897, the journal broadened its literary—and indeed cultural—range in 1898. The Society's 1898–99 annual report stated that *Free Russia* had increased the number of 'translations of some of best specimens of Russian fiction and poetry, as well as articles dealing with Russian music, art industries, social work' in order to show 'the capabilities and genius of the Russian race, thus bringing home this truth, that if the Russians enjoyed political liberty and personal security, their social, literary, artistic and scientific development would be an enormous spiritual gain to mankind'.⁶⁸ Relaunched in January 1899 with a new masthead by Walter Crane in the arts and crafts style, *Free Russia* began regularly publishing poetry and fiction on the grounds of quality and reputation, as well as relevance to populism. That said, biographical notes were frequently added to place works in the context of the struggle against autocracy, and the editors' populist opinions were still evident. Volkhovsky's note to Mary Grace Walker's translation of Mikhail Lermontov's 'The Death of Pushkin' ('Smert' Poeta', 1837, literally, 'The Death of a Poet') in the June–July 1899 issue traced Pushkin's death and Lermontov's exile to the tsar's regime.⁶⁹ His notes on Chekhov and Gor'ky were interestingly equivocal: though he praised them, he rated both below the active populist Korolenko. Chekhov's stylistic economy and psychological acuity may have been praised by Tolstoy, Volkhovsky wrote, but to be first class, a writer

must in addition clearly understand the weight to be attached to the incidents depicted, and unfortunately this cannot always be said of Chekhov. Not unfrequently [*sic*] he seems to have no definite opinion of the value of what he sees and paints in words, the result being that he produces a perplexing or a jarring effect by misplaced pathos, irony or jocularity.⁷⁰

And while he argued that Gor'ky represented the popular spirit of contemporary Russia, 'the awakening of the individual', he maintained that Korolenko's and his fellow populist Sergey Elpat'evsky's 'mastery is in some ways finer, subtler, than Gorky's, and throughout *riper* and therefore of more even excellency'.⁷¹ Tolstoy, frequently discussed in the journal, presented similar problems for the populist literary critic: 'So far as concerns Tolstoi as a literary artist there can be no discussion.

⁶⁷ S. S. [Sergey Kravchinsky], 'The Russian Peasants as Readers and Writers', *Free Russia*, 3.7 (July 1892), 9–12 (pp. 9, 12); Shchedrin (Saltykov), 'Story of how one Peasant saved two Generals', *Free Russia*, 3.1 (January 1892), 13–15 (the story is more literally translated, and usually known, as 'Story of how a peasant fed two generals'); Kot-Mourlyka, [Nikolay Wagner], 'Sketches of Peasant Life', *Free Russia*, 3.9 (September 1892), 12. Though a focus on peasant life was less common in later issues, see also 'Peasants and Education', *Free Russia*, 20.2 (April 1909), 8.

⁶⁸ [Society of Friends of Russian Freedom], *Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1898–99* (London: Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, 1899), pp. 7–8.

⁶⁹ [Feliks Volkhovsky], note to Michael Lermontov, 'The Death of Poushkin', trans. by Mary Grace Walker, *Free Russia*, 10.6–7 (June–July 1899), 58–9.

⁷⁰ [Feliks Volkhovsky], note to Anthony Chekhov, '"Sharp beyond My Years"' ['Zinochka', 1887], trans. by Vera Volkhovsky, *Free Russia* 11.5 (May 1900), 55–7 (p. 55).

⁷¹ F. Volkhovsky, 'The Poet of the Awakening Personality', *Free Russia*, 13.4 (April 1902), 41–3 (p. 41).

We consider him to be the greatest novelist who ever lived', wrote one contributor. But his pacifism and spirituality were offensive to the revolutionary: 'How can the Russian think egotistically of self perfection while suffering is surging round him like the sea?'⁷²

The importance of these statements is that they demonstrate *Free Russia* was not only prioritizing a particular strand of Russian literature—that directly associated with the populists—it was also advocating a particular way of reading literature in general. Kropotkin spelled this out clearly in his influential 1905 book, *Russian Literature*. In the preface he made the familiar point that with no 'open political life', the 'best minds of the country have chosen the poem, the novel, the satire, or literary criticism as the medium for expressing their aspirations, their conceptions of national life, or their ideals'. Therefore, 'It is not to blue-books, or to newspaper leaders, but to its works of Art that one must go in Russia in order to understand the political, economical, and social ideals of the country'. But under the heading 'Literary Criticism' in his final chapter he explores the implications for how one reads. While 'the first questions considered' are 'of course' 'whether the novel or the drama is well built, well developed, and well written', he writes, 'they are soon answered; and there are infinitely more important questions'. They are:

the questions concerning the position of a Rúdin or a Katerína in society; the part, bad or good, which they play in it; the ideas which inspire them, and the value of those ideas; and then—the actions of the heroes, and the causes of these actions, both individual and social. In a good work of art the actions of the heroes are evidently what they would have been under similar conditions in reality; otherwise it would *not* be good art. They can be discussed as facts of life.

As the argument develops, it becomes clear that Kropotkin is not only discussing Russian literature: this is how *good* literature should be written, and should be read:

a good work of art gives material for discussing nearly the whole of the mutual relations in a society of a given type. The author, if he is a thoughtful poet, has himself either consciously or often unconsciously considered all that. It is his life-experience which he gives in his work. Why, then, should not the critic bring before the reader all those thoughts which have passed through the author's brain, or have affected him unconsciously when he produced those scenes, or pictured that corner of human life? ⁷³

Kropotkin subordinates questions of style and form to questions of 'life'. The novel should depict individual lives and the lives of societies, with characters depicted so plausibly that the novel becomes a means of studying the 'facts of life'. Furthermore, the lives depicted in the novel are directly related to the author's life—the author here is no detached *scriptor*, but is rather 'harnessed to his great subject—all human

⁷² I. Vovchenko, 'A Russian View of Tolstoi', *Free Russia*, 9.10 (November 1898), 64–6 (p. 65).

⁷³ P. Kropotkin, *Russian Literature* (London: Duckworth, 1905), pp. vi, 286–7. See Charles Rudd, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804–1906* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

life', as James wrote of Tolstoy.⁷⁴ Criticism too, then, will deal with life—both that of the characters and of their source, the author.

The *chaikovtsy's* literary criticism brought them and their cause to a wider audience, beyond the readership of *Free Russia* and the 'Foreign News' sections of the daily newspapers. They gave talks to a variety of audiences, and though most of the talks reported in *Free Russia* were on political topics, Kravchinsky, in particular, also lectured on Russian literature. On 6 June 1890 he spoke on 'Tolstoi, Tchernytchevsky and the Russian School' in the Fabian Society's 'Socialism in Contemporary Literature' series; on 16 July the same year on 'Tolstoy, as Novelist and Social Reformer' at an event to raise money for Russian refugees; on 14 February 1893 on 'Russian Literature' to a group of journalists called the 'Cemented Bricks'; on 14 January 1894 on 'The Russian Drama', in the first of the 'Sunday Popular Debates' organized by J. T. Grein at the Opera Comique; and between 28 February and 15 March he gave a series of four lectures on Russian literature at the home of the suffragist Conservative Marion Chadwick to 'about thirty people—mostly ladies'.⁷⁵ Volkhovsky's many talks usually concerned his experiences as a political prisoner, but by the winter of 1902 he had added lectures on 'Russian Women in History, Social Life & Letters', 'Great-Russian Heroic Folklore', and 'Fairy Tales and Fables of the North and South of Russia' to his repertoire.⁷⁶ The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom members G. H. Perris and J. M. Robertson gave lectures during the Fabian Society's 1898–99 season on, respectively, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky (the latter rarely mentioned in *Free Russia*); Perris, whose first book on Tolstoy was published with a preface by Volkhovsky in 1898, had lectured on Tolstoy to the Richmond Literary Society in October 1897 too.⁷⁷

Even more influential were the translations produced by the *chaikovtsy* and their collaborators. Though *Free Russia's* dissemination of Russian literature proved to be temporary (literary material reduced over the course of 1902, and from 1903 the journal focused primarily on conveying political news from Russia), Kravchinsky and Volkhovsky played an important role in fostering the publication of translations by other presses. Kravchinsky contributed to seven volumes of Russian fiction between 1890 and his death in December 1895, writing introductions to each, and co-translating three. In contrast with the novelists published by Walter Scott and Vizetelly, who had come to prominence in the mid-nineteenth century, the writers Kravchinsky first chose to present to British readers

⁷⁴ Henry James, 'Ivan Turgeneff', in Charles Dudley Warner, ed., *Library of the World's Best Literature Ancient and Modern* (New York: R. S. Peale & J. A. Hill, 1897), xxv: 15057–62, (p. 15059).

⁷⁵ Peaker, 'Reading Revolution', pp. 96, 97; Shaw, *Bernard Shaw: The Diaries, 1885–1897*, 1: 624; 'English Notes: Portman Rooms Lectures', *Free Russia*, 1.2 (September 1890), p. 18; Olive Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak: The Bloomsbury Diary of Olive Garnett, 1893–1895*, ed. by Barry C. Johnson (London: Bartlett's Press, 1993), pp. 44–5, 50, 55. On the Cemented Bricks, see 'The Literary Cranks of London: The Cemented Bricks', *The Sketch*, 9 (13 February 1895), 143.

⁷⁶ 'Meeting and Lecture', *Free Russia*, 13.11 (November 1902), p. 104.

⁷⁷ 'Meetings and Lectures', *Free Russia*, 9.10 (November 1898), p. 68; 'Our Diary', *Free Russia*, 8.10 (October 1897), 78–80 (p. 80); G. H. Perris, *Leo Tolstoy, The Grand Mujik: A Study in Personal Evolution* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1898); see also G. H. Perris, *The Life and Teaching of Leo Tolstoy: A Book of Extracts* (London: Grant Richards, 1901).

were his own contemporaries, born just before Aleksandr II became tsar, and, like him, active in, or sympathetic to, the populist movement of the 1870s. With the journalist and popular novelist William Westall, whom he had met in Geneva in 1883, he published two volumes of Korolenko's work, *The Blind Musician* (*Slepoi muzykant*, 1886), and *In Two Moods* (containing 'In Two Moods' ['S dvukh storon', 1888] and 'In Bad Society' ['V durnom obshchestve', 1885]), and a translation of Sof'ya Kovalevskaya's unfinished novel of 1889–90, *Nigilstka* (literally *The Female Nihilist*), as *Vera Barantzova*.⁷⁸ Kravchinsky also provided introductions to a collection of Vsevolod Garshin's short stories and a selection of humorous works, both translated by Ethel Lilian Voynich, the future novelist and musician, to whom he had taught Russian in preparation for her travel there between 1887 and 1889.⁷⁹ She had met Kravchinsky in 1886, and was the translator of several of his non-fiction works, as well as many of *Free Russia's* literary texts. She was on the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, and married to Mikhail Voynich, the first business manager of the Russian Free Press Fund.⁸⁰

While Kravchinsky's introductions to these volumes noted the literary quality of the texts translated, it was their status as interpretations of Russian contemporary history that they emphasized above all. *Vera Barantzova*, Kravchinsky writes, 'is a living page, giving from the inside the spirit of some of the most interesting episodes of modern Russian history—the emancipation of the serfs, on the one hand, and the beginning of the Russian revolutionary movement on the other'.⁸¹ And introducing Korolenko's 'In Two Moods', he remarks that 'No other writer has described so vividly and picturesquely, and with such convincing fidelity that idealistic generation, who "lived on arguments, fell in love over arguments, suffered and rejoiced in a cloud of arguments," and who believed that they should live to see the "bright future, the full new life" of which they dreamt'. Kravchinsky appears to have generally chosen works less for their literary qualities or importance in their author's oeuvre than the extent to which they could be interpreted as about recent political history. So, though 'In Two Moods' is 'in some sense a fragment', the fact that it 'deals with young revolutionary Russia, struggling through darkness towards freedom and light' recommends it, and 'it is right that [Korolenko's] readers should know him as he is, and learn that though he has splendid gifts he is not free from faults'.⁸²

⁷⁸ [Vladimir] Korolenko, *The Blind Musician*, trans. by Sergius Stepniak and William Westall (London: Ward and Downey, 1890); [Vladimir] Korolenko, *In Two Moods*, trans. by Sergius Stepniak and William Westall (London: Ward & Downey, 1892); Sophia Kovalevsky, *Vera Barantzova*, trans. by Sergius Stepniak and William Westall (London: Ward and Downey, 1895). On Westall, see Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 28, and E. S. Hooper, 'Westall, William Bury (1834–1903)', rev. Roger T. Stearn, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁹ V. Garshin, *Stories from Garshin*, trans. by E. L. Voynich (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893); E. L. Voynich, ed. and trans., *The Humour of Russia* (London: Walter Scott, 1895).

⁸⁰ E. A. Taratuta, *Etel' Lilian Voynich* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1960), pp. 19, 81, 87–9, 91; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, pp. 59, 81. In his entry on Voynich for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Patrick Waddington notes that 'a formal marriage was not registered until 1902': see Patrick Waddington, 'Voynich, Ethel Lilian (1864–1960)'.

⁸¹ S. Stepniak, 'Introduction', in Kovalevsky, *Vera Barantzova*, v–xxi (p. xvii).

⁸² S. Stepniak, 'Introduction', in Korolenko, *In Two Moods*, iii–vii (pp. vi, iv, vii).

The collaborations with Westall and Voynich appeared with publishers who were associated with the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: T. Fisher Unwin was on the Executive Committee of the Society from its beginning, and both Ward and Downey and Walter Scott were early advertisers in *Free Russia's* pages. But the *chaikovtsy's* best-known collaboration was with Constance Garnett, and it was through that collaboration that they brought Russian literature, and their interpretations of it, to a literary network with more mainstream associations—a network that would turn out to be one of the crucibles of modernism.

1.2 LIMPSFIELD MODERNISM

In January 1891, Thomas Fisher Unwin was considering publication of two books by Volkhovsky. One was a book about Volkhovsky's escape from Siberia a year and a half before, the other was a collection of fairy tales. The former never appeared: Volkhovsky confessed in 1895 that he had been unable to continue with it.⁸³ But the latter was published in 1891 as *The China Cup*, the second volume in T. Fisher Unwin's Children's Library, which had been launched at the end of the previous year with *The Brown Owl*, the first book by Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford Madox Ford).⁸⁴ The series had been proposed by Edward Garnett, one of Unwin's readers, who had also written the reports for both volumes. Both Ford's and Volkhovsky's manuscripts were, he wrote, 'of exceptional merit, much above the average in fact—& would be appreciated by intelligent children of ten upwards'.⁸⁵ Garnett

⁸³ Feliks Volkhovsky, letters to T. Fisher Unwin, 31 January 1891, 1 May 1895, Berg; Thomas Fisher Unwin, letters to Feliks Volkhovsky, 1 March 1895, 2 May 1895, MS Russ 51 (359), Houghton.

⁸⁴ Felix Volkhovsky, *A China Cup, and Other Stories for Children* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892 [1891]); Ford H. Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], *The Brown Owl* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892 [1891]). On the date of the latter's publication, see David Dow Harvey, *Ford Madox Ford, 1873–1939: A Bibliography of Works and Criticism* (New York: Gordian Press, 1972), p. 3. Unwin also published two volumes of anonymously translated 'Russian stories' in the Pseudonym Library, which may have been brought to him by Volkhovsky: *Russian Stories*, 1: *Makár's Dream and Other Stories* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), which contained 'The "New Life": A Siberian Story' by Volkhovsky, as well as the title story ('Son Makara', 1885) and 'Bad Company' ('V durnom obshchestve', 1885) both by Korolenko, and *Russian Stories*, 11: *The Saghalien Convict and Other Stories* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), which contained the title story ('Sokolinet's', 1885) and 'Easter Eve' ('V noch' pod svetlyi prazdnik', 1886) by Korolenko, 'Væ Victis: A Sketch of Siberian Life' ('My pobelili', 1884) by Grigory Machtet and 'Wounded in Battle' ('Chetyre dnya', 1877) by Garshin. The title story, but not the other stories, was translated by William Gaussen, whose translations of Ignaty Potapenko's *Na deistvitel'noi sluzhbe* (1890), 'General'skaya doch' (1891), 'Shestero' (1891) and 'Redkii prazdnik' (1881) were also published in Unwin's Pseudonym Library as I. N. Potapenko, *A Russian Priest*, trans. by W. Gaussen (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891), I. N. Potapenko, *The General's Daughter*, trans. by W. Gaussen (London: T. Fisher Unwin), and I. N. Potapenko, *A Father of Six and An Occasional Holiday*, trans. by W. Gaussen (London: Fisher Unwin, 1893). On the Pseudonym Library, see Troy J. Bassett, 'T. Fisher Unwin's Pseudonym Library: Marketing and Authorial Identity', *English Literature in Transition*, 47.2 (2004), 143–60; on Gaussen, see G. F. Browne, ed., *Memorials of a Short Life: A Biographical Sketch of W. F. A. Gaussen, with Essays on Russian Life and Literature* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895).

⁸⁵ [Edward Garnett], 'The Children's Library [proposal]'; Berg; George Jefferson, *Edward Garnett: A Life in Literature* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), p. 48.

first met Volkhovsky in person a few months after reading his manuscript: his wife Constance later recalled that:

One day in 1891 Edward on coming back from London told me 'I have met a man after your heart—a Russian exile—& I have asked him down for a weekend.' This was Felix Volkhovsky, who had recently escaped from Siberia & he soon became a great friend. He had no home & (I forget whether at his suggestion or ours) it was arranged that he should make our cottage his headquarters.⁸⁶

Constance and Edward Garnett were already interested in Russian literature by 1891. Constance Garnett's biographer, her grandson Richard Garnett, notes that she had been reading Turgenev, probably in French, in January the previous year, and Edward Garnett had written a review of Charles Edward Turner's *The Modern Novelists of Russia* the previous March that revealed both considerable knowledge and strong opinions about what British readers needed from a book about Russian literature. Turner's book 'should be considered as a sketch, and not as a criticism', Garnett wrote, because it 'deals with the least important half of an important subject'. While it provided important biographical information about its six authors, and was particularly useful in introducing Garshin and Korolenko 'who are all but unknown', he was disappointed that Turner said 'very little as to what the peculiar genius of these writers consists in, and nothing at all on the question of what the Russian novel has accomplished in literature'. 'It is time', Garnett concluded, 'that someone should estimate for us what the Russians have done in literature, should show clearly how they have successfully widened the whole scope and aim of the novel'.⁸⁷ His literary criticism aimed to do just this.

In her unpublished autobiography, Garnett recalls that later that year Volkhovsky 'suggested my learning Russian & gave me a grammar & a dictionary, & the first story I attempted to read—one of Stankevitch's'. Given the paucity of Nikolay Stankevich's oeuvre, this was likely to have been 'Neskol'ko mgnovenii iz zhizni grafa Z***' (1834) ('A Few Moments in the Life of Count Z***'), an autobiographical sketch of the Stankevich circle, the literary and philosophical group to which Bakunin, Belinsky, and Turgenev belonged during the 1830s. Garnett learned Russian through literary translation: when she began working on Ivan Goncharov's *Obyknovennaya istoriya* (1847) (*A Common Story*), 'the first sentence took hours to puzzle out', but soon she was able to translate a page a day, and by January 1892, she was able to 'do a few pages—some four or five—of a Russian novel every day, but want a dictionary still for every sentence'.⁸⁸ In September the following year, *A Common Story* was contracted by William Heinemann for his 'International Library' edited by the Russophile Edmund Gosse, and Garnett was

⁸⁶ Constance Garnett, *Memoirs*, p. 58, box 14, folder 5, Garnett Family Papers, MS 164, Northwestern.

⁸⁷ Richard Garnett, *Constance Garnett: A Heroic Life* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), p. 73; [Edward Garnett], 'The Russian Novel', review of Charles Edward Turner, *The Novelists of Russia, The Speaker* (1 March 1890), p. 241.

⁸⁸ C. Garnett, *Memoirs*, p. 58, box 14, folder 5, pp. 59, 78, Constance Garnett, letter to Richard Garnett, 5 January 1892, box 10, folder 25, Garnett Family Papers, MS 164, Northwestern.

also commissioned to translate a new book by Tolstoy, *Tsarstvo Bozhie vnutri vas* (1894) (*The Kingdom of God is Within You*): both were published in 1894.⁸⁹

Volkhovsky had introduced the Garnetts to Kravchinsky and his wife, Fanni Kravchinskaya, in 1892, and by October Garnett was visiting them in Bedford Park to read Russian once a week.⁹⁰ At the end of 1892 or early in 1893—before the commission from Heinemann—Kravchinsky had suggested that Garnett translate Turgenev's first novel, *Rudin* (1856). It would not be the first time it had appeared in English, but it would be the first English translation made from the Russian text, rather than from French and German translations.⁹¹ In the summer of 1893 Garnett wrote to Fanni Kravchinskaya:

Edward is very hot about a scheme for a complete edition of Tourgueneff—and he thinks if we don't make haste it will be too late perhaps. So he wants to get an answer from Stepniak to several questions about it.... Edward wants to know the total amount *about* Tourgueneff—how much there is besides the 13 vols which have already appeared in English. I enclose his note on the subject.

Could it all be got into 10 vols and would Stepniak write a critical introduction for £20, and a brief preface to each vol. for £4 (£60 altogether if 10 vols)? You see if Edward gets it all worked out in detail as to cost—size of matter etc—he can present a definite scheme to Unwin—which he can pass on to another publisher if refused by him. If we delay that shark will have worked out in his pottering way some cheaper scheme for utilizing the wretched translations from the French—and a bad edition will appear just fit to cut out all chance of a good one—also neither you nor we shall have any hand in the matter!

Unwin, as the Garnetts feared, rejected the proposition, but it was accepted by Heinemann.⁹²

Turgenev was the obvious choice for Constance Garnett's first collected edition of a Russian writer. Tolstoy was the more popular writer by the 1890s, but he was still writing; Turgenev's and Dostoevsky's oeuvres were complete (they had died in 1883 and 1881 respectively), and of the two Turgenev's reputation was the more secure. He was also the favourite Russian author of both Constance and Edward Garnett.⁹³ Just as importantly, the *chaikovtsy* rated him highly for his fictional accounts of the early revolutionary movement: 'His principal novels—the series of "Dmítri Rúdin," "A Nobleman's Retreat," "On the Eve," "Fathers and Sons," "Smoke," and "Virgin Soil" represent the leading "history-making" types of the

⁸⁹ Ivan Gontcharoff, *A Common Story: A Novel*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: William Heinemann, 1894); Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God is Within You: Christianity not as a Mystic Religion but as a New Theory of Life*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: William Heinemann, 1894); 'Yesterday's New Books', *The Standard* (3 February 1894), p. 3; 'Yesterday's New Books', *The Standard* (15 September 1894), p. 3; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, p. 107.

⁹⁰ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 81, 86.

⁹¹ The first translation in English was Ivan Turgénieff, *Dimitri Roudine* (London: Ward, Lock, 1883), first published as Ivan Turgénieff, *Dimitri Roudine* (New York: Holt, 1873), translated from Ivan Tourguenev, *Dimitri Roudine, Suivi du journal d'un homme de trop et de trois rencontres* (Paris: Hetzel, 1862), and Iwan Turgénjew, *Rudin. Drei Begegnungen. Mumu* (Mitau: Behre, 1870).

⁹² R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 95, 109.

⁹³ Constance Garnett, 'The Art of Translation', *The Listener*, 37.942 (30 January 1947), p. 195; Edward Garnett, *Turgenev: A Study* (London: Collins, 1917), pp. 3–23.

educated classes of Russia, which evolved in rapid succession after 1848', wrote Kropotkin in his *Memoirs*.⁹⁴ It is notable that it was these novels, published in this order, which made up the first seven volumes of Garnett's series. *Torrents of Spring*, the translation of *Veshnie vody* (1872), which had been published in Russia between *Dym* (1867) (*Smoke*) and *Nov'* (1877) (*Virgin Soil*) was held back to appear as volume eleven, amongst the short stories, presumably at least in part because its subject was not Russia nor Russian history.

Kravchinsky did not write the 'critical introduction' Garnett mentions in her letter to his wife, and according to Edward's sister, Olive, Heinemann did not want Kravchinsky to write the prefaces either. Heinemann 'is afraid of his politics', Olive wrote in her diary on 7 December 1893:

He would rather get Björnson, or Henry James to do the work. Edward has made an overture that Stepniak's name shall merely appear at the end of the introductions, not be advertised at all. Of course as Connie says she will not have half the pleasure in translating if Stepniak has no share, the idea was his, & no one else can give the facts about these epoch making novels as he can. Other writers may write their critical introductions, they cannot write the critical-historical introductions that he can, which will make the edition unique.⁹⁵

Edward Garnett's suggestion was approved, and Kravchinsky wrote the prefaces to the first two volumes in the series, *Rudin* and *A House of Gentlefolk* (*Dvoryanskoe gnezdo*, 1859), both published in 1894. Unsurprisingly, his introductions focused on interpreting Turgenev's novels as analyses of recent political history. Although he begins his introduction to *Rudin* by describing Turgenev as the best Russian stylist—'as an *artist*, as master of the combination of details into a harmonious whole, as an architect of imaginative work, he surpasses all the prose writers of his country'—he argues that Turgenev has only been admired as such in Russia as a result of the praise of foreign writers, such as George Eliot, Gustave Flaubert, William Dean Howells, and George Sand. In contrast, before his death in 1883, Russians read Turgenev primarily as 'a teacher, a prophet of new ideas' rather than 'a poet and artist'. Turgenev's novels are 'the intellectual history of modern Russia', Kravchinsky maintains; after all, 'a man with so ardent a love of liberty, and such radical views could not possibly banish them from his literary works, no matter how great his devotion to pure art'.⁹⁶ The introduction to *A House of Gentlefolk* moves more directly to its interpretation: 'I will not dwell upon the artistic qualities of the story; I will speak more fully upon its social and historical significance', Kravchinsky wrote.⁹⁷

On 10 November 1894, Olive Garnett recorded in her diary that Kravchinsky would not write further prefaces because 'Heinemann had treated him so badly etc'.⁹⁸ The subsequent seven prefaces were written not by the Heinemann authors

⁹⁴ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 219.

⁹⁵ O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, p. 236.

⁹⁶ S. Stepniak, 'Introduction', in Ivan Turgenev, *Rudin: A Novel*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1894), pp. v–xxix (pp. vii, xviii–xiv, xvii, xvi–xvii).

⁹⁷ S. Stepniak, 'Introduction', in Ivan Turgenev, *A House of Gentlefolk: A Novel*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1894), pp. v–xvii (p. vi).

⁹⁸ O. Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak*, p. 129.

Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson nor James, but by Edward Garnett, who took a different approach from Kravchinsky. As Helen Smith remarks, 'it is noticeable that when Garnett took over writing the prefaces... the portrait of Turgenev was shaded very differently, with Stepniak's picture of the author as the chronicler of social and historical dissent replaced by Garnett's view of Turgenev as the model of aesthetic perfection'.⁹⁹ This is not to say that Garnett's interpretation was the same as James's promotion of Turgenev as the master stylist in the French tradition, and Smith goes on to point out the important differences in the terms of Garnett's and James's praise. Above all, they had a different understanding of realism: where James's keyword was art, Garnett's was life. In his introduction to *A Desperate Character and Other Stories*, Garnett wrote that 'the Russians are *instinctive* realists, and carry the warmth of life into their pages, which warmth the French seem to lose in clarifying their impressions and crystallising them in art. *Pyetushkov* ['Petushkov', 1848] is not exquisite: it is irresistible'. As Smith comments, Garnett's characterization emphasizes 'a spontaneous, unmediated quality contrasting with the self-conscious refinement of writers like Flaubert or Henry James'.¹⁰⁰ While Garnett valued artistic technique highly, he believed Turgenev's greatness lay in welding that technique to social criticism: 'Turgenev's genius was of the same force in politics as in art; it was that of seeing aright', he wrote.¹⁰¹ Garnett clearly saw his theory of the novel as more Russian than British or French: a 1903 essay on Tolstoy praised his novels' ability to 'show society its real motives and what it *is* feeling, and not to cry out in admiration at what it pretends to feel', which meant that Tolstoy's 'realism' was 'more in line with the modern tendency and outlook than is the general tendency of other schools of Continental literature'.¹⁰² Equally, the *chaikovtsy* saw Garnett's literary criticism as allied to their cause: Volkhovsky's long essay on Gor'ky in the April 1902 issue of *Free Russia* praised Garnett's 'excellent exposition of the diametrically opposed views of the Russians and English on the problems of art' in his 'brilliant little introduction' to a new translation of *Dvadsat' shest' i odna* (1899) (*Twenty-Six Men and a Girl*). There, Garnett had argued that the British reading public favoured 'idealistic' novels, 'gorgeously-upholstered "works of art"', in comparison to Russian readers who were 'quite intolerant of cheap idealism' and considered it 'immoral to conceal or falsify the seamy facts in a world so constantly dominated by ugliness'.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Helen Smith, 'Edward Garnett: Interpreting the Russians', *Translating Russia*, special issue of *Translation and Literature*, 20.3 (2011), 301–13 (p. 305). Not all the volumes carried prefaces: none accompanied *A Sportsman's Sketches*, *Dream Tales and Prose Poems*, *The Torrents of Spring*, *The Diary of a Superfluous Man* and *Other Stories*, nor the two volumes that were added to the series in 1922, *The Two Friends* and *Other Stories*, *Knock, Knock and Other Stories*.

¹⁰⁰ Edward Garnett, 'Introduction', in Ivan Turgenev, *A Desperate Character and Other Stories*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1899), pp. vii–xiii (p. viii); Smith, 'Edward Garnett: Interpreting the Russians', pp. 307–8.

¹⁰¹ Edward Garnett, 'Introduction', in Ivan Turgenev, *On the Eve*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1895), pp. v–xvii (p. x).

¹⁰² Edward Garnett, 'Tolstoy's Place in European Literature', in G. K. Chesterton, G. H. Perris, et al., *Leo Tolstoy* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), pp. 25–36 (p. 36).

¹⁰³ Volkhovsky, 'The Poet of the Awakening Personality', pp. 42–3; Edward Garnett, 'Maxim Gorky', in *Twenty-Six Men and a Girl*, trans. by Emily Jakowleff and Dora B. Montefiore (London: Duckworth, 1902), pp. vii–xvi (pp. xi–xiii).

The impact of Constance Garnett's Turgenev edition has been much discussed. Individual volumes were reviewed on publication by *The Athenaeum*, *The Academy*, *The Bookman*, *The Outlook*, the *Saturday Review*, and *The Speaker*, and the reviews were almost uniformly positive. In the translation of *A House of Gentlefolk*, *The Speaker* judged Garnett to have achieved a 'marked success in this spirited rendering of Turgenev's virile prose, at once so simple and so strong'; in *Smoke*, *The Athenaeum* found her 'faithful to the author's text and yet always spirited and entertaining'; and *The Outlook* described the translation of *A Lear of the Steppes and Other Stories* as 'beautifully done' to the extent that 'Turgenev furnishes us now with some really great passages of English prose'.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, *The Outlook* judged the completion of the fifteen-volume edition in 1899 to be 'the most important literary event of the year': 'The sound scholarship, the artistic faculty of Mrs. Edward Garnett, and the commercial enterprise of Mr. Heinemann have for the first time placed within the reach of the English public, in scrupulously faithful translations, the complete works of one of the greatest novelists of the world'.¹⁰⁵ Arnold Bennett, in *The Academy*, 'vehemently congratulated' the Garnetts and Heinemann on their work.¹⁰⁶ The success of the translations (not only in Britain but also in the United States where they were published by Macmillan), ensured further commissions for Garnett, notably six volumes of Tolstoy between 1901 and 1904 and twelve volumes of Dostoevsky between 1912 and 1913, both for Heinemann, and seventeen volumes of Chekhov between 1916 and 1923 and six volumes of Gogol' between 1922 and 1926 for Chatto and Windus.¹⁰⁷

Subsequent commentators have been less complimentary about Garnett's translations. In 1944 Vladimir Nabokov remarked that 'though totally lacking verbal talent, Garnett has made hers [i.e. her translation of *Revizor*, *The Government Inspector*] with a certain degree of care and it is thus less irritating than some of the monstrous versions of *The Overcoat* and *Dead Souls*', but 'the English is dry and flat, and always unbearably demure'.¹⁰⁸ In 1958 Edmund Wilson wrote that her translations were 'full of omissions and errors'.¹⁰⁹ Though the several critics who have compared Garnett's work with that of other translators and with the source texts—Rachel May, Helen Muchnic, and Glyn Turton—have largely defended her accuracy, they have noted certain limitations in her rendering of dialogue and narrative voice. This results, May writes, in 'erasing those idiosyncrasies of narrative voice and dialogue that different authors possessed. Gogol's pounding repetitions,

¹⁰⁴ 'Fiction', review of Thymol Monk, *An Altar of Earth*, Morley Roberts, *Red Earth*, Ivan Turgenev, *A House of Gentlefolk*, *The Speaker*, 10 (1894), 628–29 (p. 629); 'Translations', review of Ivan Turgenev, *Smoke*, *The Athenaeum*, 3596 (1896), p. 415; 'By Ivan Turgenev', review of Ivan Turgenev, *A Lear of the Steppes, and Other Stories*, *The Outlook*, 2 (1898), p. 666.

¹⁰⁵ 'Turgenev', *The Outlook*, 4 (1900), 719–20 (p. 719).

¹⁰⁶ E. A. B. [Arnold Bennett], 'Ivan Turgenev: An Enquiry', *The Academy*, 1435 (1899), 514–17 (p. 514).

¹⁰⁷ Garnett also translated individual volumes of Goncharov, Ostrovsky, Constance Feldmann, Chekhov, Tolstoy, and Turgenev, and Aleksandr Gersten's (Herzen's) *Byloe i dumy (My Past and Thoughts)* in six volumes (1924–27).

¹⁰⁸ Vladimir Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1944), p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ Edmund Wilson, 'Turgenev and the Life-Giving Drop', in Ivan Turgenev, *Turgenev's Literary Reminiscences*, trans. by David Magarshack (London: Faber, 1958), pp. 9–59 (p. 46).

Dostoevsky's constant interruptions of the text or his tendency to put one character's words in another's mouth, Tolstoy's interminable sentences, Turgenev's tendency to allow his narrator's voice to echo the dialect of the character being described—all were smoothed over, brought closer to an ideal of good English'.¹¹⁰ Certainly, Garnett did not approach her translation project with a theory of foreignization. In a composite statement on translation published in *The Listener* just after her death in 1946, she said that:

Tolstoy's simple style goes straight into English without any trouble. There's no difficulty. Dostoevsky is so obscure and so careless a writer that one can scarcely help clarifying him—sometimes it needs some penetration to see what he is trying to say. Turgenev is much the most difficult of the Russians to translate because his style is the most beautiful.¹¹¹

Garnett's approach to translation, prioritizing fluency and readability, was typical of its time: the complaints of May, Nabokov, and Wilson derive from her translations being firmly oriented towards her English target culture. But it would be wrong to attribute this to a kind of linguistic imperialism on Garnett's part. Daniel Katz, Steven Yao, and others have discussed how the norms of nineteenth-century translation to which Garnett appears to conform would soon be challenged by modernist translators who bestowed on translation 'an explicitly primary and generative rather than derivative and supplementary, role in the process of literary culture formation', in Yao's words. Translations by poets such as Ezra Pound highlight the materiality of language and the visibility of the translator through techniques of foreignization, stylization, and manifestly creative intervention.¹¹² But in later chapters of this book I draw attention to a different strand of modernist translation that, like Garnett's, retains the values of fluency and clarity. These different approaches to translation are governed by the different responses to the nineteenth-century linguistic crisis explored in the introduction. As I discussed there, Russian literature began to be widely read in Britain during a period when comparative philology was replacing the romantic identification of language with nation with an understanding of language as an autonomous system indifferent to national cultures, histories and ambitions and, moreover, identifying language with living speech rather than the written masterpiece. While, as Linda Dowling describes, literary decadence and its French sources sought to make a virtue of this

¹¹⁰ Glyn Turton, *Turgenev and the Context of English Literature, 1850–1900* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 190–4; Rachel May, *The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1994), pp. 39, 40. See also Helen Muchnic, *Dostoyevsky's English Reputation, 1881–1936*, *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, 20.3/4 (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 1939), pp. 62–6. Augusta Tove's high estimation of Garnett's translations is interesting (and of its time) in connecting them to Garnett's sympathy for the revolutionary movement: see A. Tove, 'Konstantsiya Garnet—perevodchik i propagandist russkoi literatury', *Russkaya literatura*, 4 (1958), 193–8.

¹¹¹ C. Garnett, 'The Art of Translation', p. 195. See also Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 123.

¹¹² Daniel Katz, *American Modernism's Expatriate Scene: The Labour of Translation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), Steven G. Yao, *Translation and the Languages of Modernism: Gender, Politics, Language* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 2.

linguistic demoralization to 'establish a new mode of writing on its very morbidity', the reception of Russian literature in Britain can be seen as a more optimistic response to the same linguistic crisis.¹¹³ Where the Francophile decadents represented language as inadequate to the task of direct representation, requiring a stylized literature that could compensate through suggestion and evocation, readers of Russian literature emphasized its stylelessness, its directness, and the success of its representation of 'life'. In this chapter we have seen how closely the *chaikovttsy* associated Russian literature with lived experience, from *Free Russia's* use of literary translations to gloss contemporary history and ideas, to Petr Kropotkin's definition of good literature as not only well written, but representing, indeed constituting, 'facts of life' in his influential *Russian Literature*.¹¹⁴ Edward Garnett's prefaces to the Turgenev edition made the same point, making high claims for Turgenev's artistry whilst insisting on his relative lack of aesthetic mediation, his ability to 'carry the warmth of life' into his writing.¹¹⁵

Read in this context, Garnett's oft-mentioned 'care' and 'clarity' might be interpreted as having a slightly different ideological investment from that usually assumed. Lawrence Venuti has discussed the 'translator's invisibility' in British and North American literary cultures, and remarks how 'practicing translation as simple communication rewrites the foreign text according to such English-language values as fluency and the accompanying effect of transparency', eclipsing 'the translator's domesticating work', and consolidating the 'individualistic conception of authorship that continues to prevail'.¹¹⁶ But it is also a statement of linguistic optimism, of faith in language's ability to communicate experience. It is striking that Garnett is not haunted by anxieties about semantic equivalence to the same extent as linguistic pessimists such as Henry James. Aware that his ignorance of Russian prevented him from comparing the English and French translations he read with the Russian source, James nevertheless felt able to remark that 'we are conscious, reading him in a language not his own, of not being reached by his personal tone, his individual accent'.¹¹⁷ But for Garnett translation is not impeded by such concerns, on the contrary, Tolstoy's Russian 'goes straight into English without any trouble', and even if translation of Turgenev is 'difficult', and 'penetration' is required in translating Dostoevsky, translation can be achieved, language is adequate to the task of communicating the source text. Garnett included an instructive anecdote in her comments published in *The Listener*: she recalled re-translating part of *Zapiski okhotnika* (*A Sportsman's Sketches*) after Kravchinsky had lost her first draft. When he found it and she compared the two translations, 'to my surprise I found they were identical. I had hesitated in the same places, over the same words, and had written the same possible alternatives above the line in the same places'. Her conclusion was that 'though someone else might do a better

¹¹³ Linda Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 111.

¹¹⁴ Kropotkin, *Russian Literature*, pp. 286–7.

¹¹⁵ E. Garnett, 'Introduction', in Turgenev, *A Desperate Character and Other Stories*, p. viii.

¹¹⁶ Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 6.

¹¹⁷ James, 'Ivan Turgeneff', p. 15059.

version, it was clear that I could not myself. I had done the only version I was capable of'.¹¹⁸ Another conclusion is that she perceived the text's significance as singular enough to generate only one possible translation.

In Britain, readers encountered Russian literature as a collection of works that expressed national life in a way that British literature no longer seemed able to. Criticism of Russian literature, positive and negative, emphasized its artlessness, its lack of mediation in representing life as experienced by its people, rather than as pronounced by the State. Russian literature was read as making the argument that literature could express life directly; Garnett's translations made the argument that language, carefully treated, could attain the required clarity to communicate that life. Even the second layer of language, the translator's language, could be made invisible enough to reveal 'what [Dostoevsky] is trying to say'.¹¹⁹ That remark, which sounds so egotistical and interventionist to our twenty-first century ears, was in context quite the reverse: language for these linguistic optimists was not an end in itself, but a medium of communication, because literature had something to say. When Katherine Mansfield wrote to Garnett in 1921 to thank her 'for the whole other world that you have revealed to us through these marvellous translations from the Russian' which 'have changed our lives', Garnett replied that what had given her the courage to translate, despite the compromises translation inevitably entailed, was 'the hope that contact with the work of the great Russians—even at secondhand—must have its influence on the best of the younger generation—that it could not leave them unchanged'.¹²⁰

Even in 1946 Garnett expressed her linguistic optimism in characteristically romantic, Herderian terms: 'The language of a country is the soul of its people, and if you debase the language you debase the people and rob them of their heritage'.¹²¹ Language for Garnett was not an inert material for the individual writer or translator to mould, but the *Volksstimme*, the living voice of a national people. And, as the *chaikovtsy's* criticism insisted, that voice had made an effective appeal to British readers, whose sympathy could be used by the revolutionary movement to put pressure on their government and, in turn, the Russian State. Kravchinsky reported to his Russian colleagues:

At the present time there are, among our 'historical enemies' the English, just as among our 'transatlantic friends,' thousands of persons who have become true friends to the real Russia, the Russia of the people. They know and appreciate Russian literature; they understand the Russian race, know of its troubles, fervently desire its well-being, and believe in its future. We have even, to our astonishment, met with persons who look to Russia for the 'new world.'

¹¹⁸ C. Garnett, 'The Art of Translation', p. 195.

¹¹⁹ C. Garnett, 'The Art of Translation', p. 195.

¹²⁰ Katherine Mansfield, letter to Constance Garnett, 8 February 1921, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield, iv: 1920–1921*, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 176–7, Constance Garnett, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 19 February 1921, folder 36, MS Papers 4003, Turnbull.

¹²¹ C. Garnett, 'The Art of Translation', p. 195.

Such persons are, of course, exceptional natures, peculiarly impressionable and responsive to the afflictions of others. They are rare in any one spot; but, counted together, their name is legion; and all these are potential workers for the Russian cause abroad.

With the mass of the reading public the interest in Russia is, of course, superficial. This could not be otherwise, considering the intensity of life in Europe and the press of burning home-questions. But the interest undoubtedly exists, and, being spread over so wide a field, forms an enormous total strength, capable of being utilised for practical work.¹²²

Garnett did indeed do 'practical work' for the Russian revolutionary movement, beyond that of translation. She was already politically sympathetic before meeting the *chaikovsky*: when she moved to London from Cambridge in 1884 she had entered the socialist milieu of her older sister Clementina Black, which included Eleanor Marx, Sydney Olivier, Edward Pease, George Bernard Shaw, and Graham Wallas. She had read *Das Kapital*, attended meetings of the Fabian Society and the Socialist League, and, before her marriage to Edward Garnett, had been governess to Charles Booth's children and Head Librarian at the People's Palace in the East End.¹²³ For two years she lived in rooms in Whitechapel, the centre of the Russian emigration. Her name is surprisingly absent from the pages of *Free Russia* and accounts of the Society of Friends for Russian Freedom, though her Newnham friend Ada Radford was on its Executive Committee from 1893 to 1900, the General Committee from 1905, and was for a time sub-editor of *Free Russia*; and her sister-in-law Olive Garnett attended meetings and contributed to *Free Russia*.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, Garnett was clearly involved in the Society of Friends for Russian

¹²² Stepniak, 'The Agitation Abroad', in *Nihilism As It Is*, pp. 67–8.

¹²³ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 37–47, 55–64. The Library's catalogue Garnett compiled lists disappointingly few Russian works: no Dostoevsky, Lermontov, Pushkin, nor Turgenev. Gogol' and Tolstoy are represented, tellingly, by *Home Life in Russia*, the 'edition' of *Mertvyie dushi* (*Dead Souls*) that obscured Gogol's authorship and represented it as a documentary exposé by 'A Russian Noble', and Comte Léon Tolstoï, *L'École de Yasnaïa Poliana*, trans. by B. Tseytline and E. Jaubert (Paris: Savine, 1888). Nor does the catalogue include introductions to Russian literature, such as those by Morfill and Turner, though it did hold several works of history, geography, and travel writing on Russia, and the Bible in Russian. See C. C. Black [Constance Garnett], and O. Dymond, *Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the People's Place for East London, Mile End Road* (London: Harrison, 1889).

¹²⁴ Radford's election is recorded in 'Meetings', *Free Russia*, 4.12 (December 1893), p. 136, and the last executive meeting she is recorded to have attended (by this point referred to as Mrs. Graham Wallas) was that held on 7 March 1900, see 'Meetings and Lectures', *Free Russia*, 11.4 (April 1900), p. 48; she is listed on the General Committee in 'The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom', *Free Russia*, 16.2 (February 1905), p. 14: lists of committee members were not published after 1905. Radford resigned her editorial role in October 1894: see Ada Radford, letter to Feliks Volkhovskiy, 14 October 1894, box 9, folder 33, Felix Vladimirovich Volkhovskii papers, Hoover, and the report on the Executive Committee meeting of 6 February 1895, *Free Russia*, 6.3 (March 1895), p. 24; Olive Garnett's diary records her attending her first meeting on 2 December 1891 and another in December 1899, and mentions that she had two reviews published in *Free Russia*, one in April 1899, and a review of Kropotkin's memoirs, which appeared in January 1900. A letter from Kravchinsky in the Garnett Family Papers at Northwestern dated 28 June 1893 asks her 'to help me with Free Russia for this month. My regular reader is out of town'. See O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, pp. 58–9, and Olive Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood, 1890–1906', ed. by Anne Lee Michell, Olive Garnett Collection, MS 1543, Box 1, Folder 3, pp. 388, 400, 401, 476–7, 481, HRC, Sergey Kravchinsky, letter to Olive Garnett, box 23, folder 15, Garnett Family Papers, MS 164, Northwestern.

Freedom's activities, compiling with Volkhovsky lists of 'respectable & reliably permanent addresses' that could receive correspondence between revolutionaries and, according to David Garnett, on her first trip to Russia in 1894 she transported funds raised in Britain for famine relief, 'and under cover of this humanitarian errand arranged to meet friends of Stepniak's and Tchaykovsky's, to carry letters and to arrange channels of communication between the exiles and the secret revolutionary organisations in Russia'.¹²⁵ Famously, during the 1907 Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party in London, she and Fanni Kravchinskaya attended a fund-raising dinner to interpret for the Russian delegation, including Gor'ky, Lenin, and Plekhanov, who were being introduced to sympathetic English liberals.¹²⁶ In June 1917 she wrote to Edward Garnett that 'there is nothing—outside personal life—I have ever cared so much about as the R.[ussian] revolution'.¹²⁷

While Garnett's translations may be the most well-known product of the *chaikovtsy's* British collaborations, they were just one manifestation of the new literary culture taking form within a network of young socialists, Fabians, anarchists, and simple lifers engaged with Russian literature and politics. The Garnetts' circle in London and the Surrey village of Limpsfield Chart was one of the crucibles in which the alternative modernism described in this book was forged.¹²⁸ The Garnetts moved to Limpsfield Chart in February 1896, in the wake of Constance's friends Margaret and Sydney Olivier and Edward and Marjory Pease. All four were active in the Fabian Society, on whose Executive Constance Garnett had recently served, and Edward Pease had also been a member of the original, abortive, Society of Friends of Russia formed in 1885, and was on the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom.¹²⁹ Olive Garnett was a frequent guest of the Garnetts, and a close friend of Kravchinsky's and Volkhovsky's: as a result of Kravchinsky's encouragement she contributed to *Free Russia*, she conducted research for Volkhovsky, and visited Russia for an extended stay in 1896 and 1897.¹³⁰ In London, she often visited her former home in Primrose Hill, occupied since 1890 by her father's close friends, William Michael Rossetti and Lucy Rossetti, whose children edited an anarchist newspaper, *The Torch*, and were friends of the *chaikovtsy*, especially Kropotkin. Lucy Rossetti's father Ford Madox Brown lived two doors down, and his grandchildren, Ford and Oliver Hueffer, lived with

¹²⁵ O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, p. 73; David Garnett, *The Golden Echo* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1953), p. 11; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 115–16, 128.

¹²⁶ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 232–4; Arthur P. Dudden and Theodore H. von Laue, 'The RSDLP and Joseph Fels: A Study in Intercultural Contact', *American Historical Review*, 61.1 (1955), 21–47 (pp. 33–4).

¹²⁷ Constance Garnett, letter to Edward Garnett, 27 June 1917, MS 445, Garnett Family Papers, Eton College.

¹²⁸ See Robin Peel, 'Literary' Oxted and Limpsfield, 1895–1937 (Torquay: South Devon College of Arts and Technology, 1984).

¹²⁹ D. Garnett, *The Golden Echo*, pp. 16–21; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 146–7, 154, 136, 148; Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', p. 36; [Report on Executive Committee Meeting], *Free Russia*, 7.3 (March 1896), p. 30.

¹³⁰ O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, pp. 126, 146; O. Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak*, pp. 194–6; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, p. 158.

him for three years after their father's death in 1889.¹³¹ Their sister Juliet Hueffer lived with the Rossettis during the same period, taking part in their anarchist activities.¹³² The Garnetts, Hueffers, and Rossettis were close as children, and when Ford eloped with his school friend Elsie Martindale in 1894, it was the Garnett family who were his chief confidants. To be closer to the Garnetts, the Hueffers moved in 1898 to Grace's Cottage in Limpsfield Chart, a house built for Constance Garnett's sister Grace, and though the Hueffers moved south-east to Aldington a year later and then to Winchelsea in East Sussex in 1901, the couples continued to exchange frequent visits.¹³³ Also in 1898 Constance Garnett found a house for a newly arrived associate of the *chaikovtsy*, David Soskis (Soskice), and his wife near Limpsfield Chart: Soskis divorced his wife and married Juliet Hueffer in 1902.¹³⁴ The Kravchinskys themselves had lived in Limpsfield Chart close to the Peases for part of 1895, and after Sergey Kravchinsky's death, Fanni Kravchinskaya returned to the area, living in Crockham Hill until 1908. A nearby group of shacks that housed reportedly eccentric inhabitants became known as 'Dostoevsky corner'.¹³⁵ Distinct from these socialist and *chaikovtsy* connections, but also drawn by the presence of the Garnetts, were writers Edward Garnett met in the course of his publishing career: Joseph Conrad was a frequent visitor from London and took over Pent Farm on the Kent Downs from the Hueffers when they moved into Grace's Cottage; and Stephen Crane moved into a villa in nearby Oxted in 1897, then further south to Brede near Rye in 1898.¹³⁶

Some of the literary works produced by this network drew directly on information, ideas, or characters the *chaikovtsy* brought into their authors' lives. In *Petersburg Tales* (1900), for example, Olive Garnett structures one story around a student demonstration, and another is based on her friendship with Vasily Bervi-Flerovsky and his wife, friends of the Kravchinskys; the rival philosophies of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social Democrats play an important role in her later (and only) novel *In Russia's Night* (1918), and in both volumes characters based on Kravchinsky appear as heroes. Helen and Olivia Rossetti's *A Girl Among the Anarchists* (1903) was a *roman à clef* of their anarchist activities, including portrayals of Kravchinsky, Kropotkin, and Volkhovsky. Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907) also portrayed anarchist activity in London, drawing in part on information provided by Ford, and his *Under Western Eyes* (1911) concerns a Russian political assassin and contains partial portraits of Kropotkin and Sof'ya Perovskaya. Ford's *The Simple Life Limited* (1911) satirizes the Garnett circle and its Russophile socialism

¹³¹ Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life, 1: The World Before the War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 38, 43, 47.

¹³² Juliet M. Soskice, *Chapters from Childhood: Reminiscences of an Artist's Granddaughter* (London: Selwyn & Blount, [1921]), pp. 1, 75.

¹³³ M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford, 1: 76–85, 98–9, 115, 130*; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 164, 168–9.

¹³⁴ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, p. 170; M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford, 1: 100*, Barry Hollingsworth, 'David Soskice in Russia in 1917', *European Studies Review*, 6 (1976), 73–97 (pp. 77–8).

¹³⁵ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 149, 156, 246, 285.

¹³⁶ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, p. 165–70; M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford, 1: 111*.

in toto. Just before he met the Garnetts, Kravchinsky himself had published a novel in English about the revolutionary movement, *The Career of a Nihilist* (1889), his story 'Skazka o kopeike' (1874) ('The Story of a Kopeck') was included in Voynich's collection, *The Humour of Russia* (1895), and his play *The Convert* was performed posthumously in 1898.¹³⁷

While the correspondences between these works of fiction and the lives of the Garnett network are interesting, they are—bar Conrad's, discussed in the next chapter—minor works that are not in themselves, active agents in the development of modernism. They do, however, shed light on this important moment in modernism's pre-history, by highlighting the conflict that was developing between the two sets of literary values promoted within this small group, a conflict that would shape the parameters of modernism.

In his 'reminiscences' of 1894 to 1914, *Return to Yesterday*, Ford Madox Ford (he had changed his surname from Hueffer in 1919) described Limsfield as 'the extra-urban headquarters of the Fabian Society', whose members 'wore beards, queer, useful or homespun clothes and boots and talked Gas and Water Socialism. They were the Advanced'.¹³⁸ He was, for a time, very much one of them, a bearded farmer, wearing 'a smock frock and gaiters', as David Garnett recalled. But Garnett also noted that there was 'a deep temperamental difference' between 'the young Garnetts, who were sceptical, unworldly and over-critical' and Ford and his brother Oliver, 'who were credulous, worldly (without being worldly-wise) and over-confident'. The Hueffers 'became more and more exasperated by [the Garnetts'] sceptical attitude and their strait-laced almost puritanical contempt for success and notoriety, which constituted the breath of romance for Ford and Oliver'.¹³⁹ The Rossettis also maintained a certain distance from Ford and Oliver, though they were close to Juliet Hueffer: Olive Garnett recorded in her diary that the Rossettis did not talk about their socialist and anarchist activities to them, and when she arranged a tea party for the Rossettis to meet Volkhovsky on 24 February 1892 she gave 'strict orders that no uninvited person should be allowed to stray in & William Sharp & Uncle W. J. & Ford Hueffer were successfully intercepted... Ford,

¹³⁷ Olive Garnett, *Petersburg Tales* (London: Heinemann, 1900); Olive Garnett, *In Russia's Night* (London: Collins, 1918); Isabel Meredith [Olivia Rossetti Agresti and Helen Rossetti Angeli], *A Girl Among the Anarchists* (London: Duckworth, 1903); Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (London: Methuen, 1911); Daniel Chaucer [Ford Madox Ford], *The Simple Life Limited* (London: John Lane, 1911); Stepniak, *The Career of a Nihilist* (London: Walter Scott, 1889); S. Stepniak, 'The Story of a Kopeck', in Voynich, *The Humour of Russia*, pp. 254–72; Sergei Stepniak, *The New Convert: A Drama in Four Acts*, trans. by Thomas B. Eyges (Boston: Stratford, 1917). See Robert Hampson, *Conrad's Secrets* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 87–97; Keith Carabine, 'Introduction', in Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. xxvii–liii (pp. xxxix–xl); Thomas C. Moser, 'An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters: Sergey Stepniak and the Diary of Olive Garnett', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 11.1 (1984), 3–44; Anat Vernitski, 'Russian Revolutionaries and English Sympathisers in 1890s London: The Case of Olive Garnett and Sergei Stepniak', *Journal of European Studies*, 35.3 (2005), 299–314 (pp. 305–7, 309–11). For commentary on Ford's *The Simple Life Limited*, see the main discussion of the novel later in this section.

¹³⁸ Ford Madox Ford, *Return to Yesterday: Reminiscences, 1894–1914* (London: Gollancz, 1931), p. 33.

¹³⁹ D. Garnett, *The Golden Echo*, pp. 35–6. Ford was briefly a member of the Fabian Society in 1906, in order to support H. G. Wells's proposals for its reform: see Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 35, and M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 206–7.

who came to bring his novel for Edward, actually had his hand on the door, I am told. For my part he would have been a welcome guest, but I suppose the Rossettis would have thought I had arranged it, and would have been terribly disgusted'.¹⁴⁰

The temperamental difference translated not only into a political difference—Ford later wrote, 'whether it was the Rossettis or the Garnetts of the Left or straight Labour, Fabian or Morris-Socialist agitators I was seldom between the ages of twenty or thirty without someone putting Left pressure upon me'—but also a difference in literary aesthetics.¹⁴¹ Both differences would become more marked in later years, but they were already perceived on both sides by the mid-1890s. In her diary Olive Garnett described an evening in November 1895, when Ford 'threw back his head & in his slowest & most tempered tones inveighed bitterly against Stepniak, myself & my family' for their drive to analyse, interpret and explain: 'You are all alike; the simplest, most sacred indisputable altruism is twisted & turned by you to suit your own worldly convenience', he said. The outburst had been triggered by an explanatory note Kravchinsky had added to Garnett's translation of Ermiona Bervi's autobiography: Ford complained, 'Stepniak puts in his own wretched, philistine, bourgeois note to *explain* forsooth, to explain it away, & you agree'.¹⁴²

The distinction between Ford's commitment to presentation and the Garnetts' to explanation appears again in Edward Garnett's introduction to Constance Garnett's translation of *A Lear of the Steppes and Other Stories* (1898). There Garnett made a distinction between Turgenev's style and that of a group of unnamed writers he calls 'the Impressionists'. Echoing Matthew Arnold's remarks about Tolstoy eleven years before, he writes that in 'A Lear of the Steppes' 'we are living a piece of life: here we are verily plunging into life itself', and this is achieved by Turgenev's ability to make 'his characters reveal themselves by the most ordinary details of their everyday life' in such a way as not only to depict 'the whole life of the people, and their inner life as well', but also so that 'the novel's significance is being built up simply out of these details, built up by the same process, in fact, as nature creates for us a single strong impression out of a multitude of details'. In contrast, 'the Impressionists' 'give us amazingly clever pictures of life, seen subtly and drawn naturally; but in general, their able pictures of the way men think and act do not reveal more than the actual thinking and acting that men betray to one another—they do not betray the whole significance of their lives more than does the daily life itself. And so the Impressionists give pictures of life's surface, and not interpretations of its eternal depths: they pass away as portraits of the

¹⁴⁰ O. Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood', pp. 36, 37–8; O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, p. 62. Thirty-five years later, Ford represented his friendship with the *chaikovtsy* as closer than contemporary accounts suggest: 'I remember between 1894 and 1895 going home for longish periods almost every night from London University to a Western suburb with Stepniak, Volkhovsky and Prince Kropotkin, who were then most prominent members of the Russian Extreme Left and who were lecturing at the university on political economy, Russian literature and, I think, biology respectively': see Ford Madox Ford, *A History of Our Own Times*, ed. by Solon Beinfeld and Sondra J. Stang (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 84.

¹⁴¹ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 77.

¹⁴² O. Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak*, p. 220.

time, amazingly felicitous artistic portraits'.¹⁴³ The Impressionists' representation of life is self-evidently art—they paint 'portraits', give 'pictures'—but their lack of interpretation limits their significance, confining them to the realm of art, rather than life. Garnett associated the term impressionism chiefly with Stephen Crane during this period—two months later he published an article calling Crane the 'chief impressionist of this age', and describing Crane's strengths and limitations in very similar terms to those of the 'Impressionists' of the introduction.¹⁴⁴ But as Max Saunders has noted, Garnett's 'assault on impressionist writers...probably has Conrad, Ford, and James in mind', too.¹⁴⁵ Garnett was writing in October 1898 while Ford was his neighbour, living in Grace's Cottage, and he had introduced Ford to Conrad earlier that year. Both had met Crane the previous year, and found common literary ground, particularly in their shared admiration for Henry James.¹⁴⁶

During 1898 Olive Garnett was working on the stories that were published as *Petersburg Tales* two years later, and she recorded the literary advice of her friends and family in her diary. Kravchinsky had been a valued interlocutor about her writing: he sent her detailed suggestions for revision of her work, and read her unpublished novel 'The Provincials' closely, recommending as a model Turgenev's *Dvoryanskoe gnezdo*, translated by Constance Garnett as *A House of the Gentlefolk* the following year.¹⁴⁷ But by the time Kravchinsky died in 1895, her principal influence was that of Henry James. She had read *The Princess Casamassima* (1886) twice in one week at the end of 1895—its subject of socialist revolution of obvious interest—and she wrote to James about her own work on 4 December. His reply advised her to 'live your life & stick to your table'. 'I don't in the least believe in going in *pursuit* of subjects. The real subjects are the subjects that come, that are already here', he wrote. 'I *do* believe in going in pursuit of *form*: but one does that by sitting in one's chair'.¹⁴⁸ When Edward Garnett read one of the stories that would be included in *Petersburg Tales*, 'The Case of Vetrova', in December 1898 he told his sister it was 'very good' and showed her 'how to make the phrasing shorter, in the manner of Stephen Crane'. But when he read 'The Secret of the Universe' in

¹⁴³ Edward Garnett, 'Introduction', in Ivan Turgenev, *A Lear of the Steppes and Other Stories*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1898), pp. v–xv (pp. vi, ix–x); Arnold, 'Count Leo Tolstoi', p. 785.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Garnett, 'Mr. Stephen Crane: An Appreciation', *The Academy*, 1389 (17 December 1898), 483–4 (p. 484).

¹⁴⁵ M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 151.

¹⁴⁶ Brita Lindberg-Seyersted, *Ford Madox Ford and His Relationship to Stephen Crane and Henry James* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1987), pp. 15–16, 19, Joseph Conrad, letter to Edward Garnett, 14 October 1897, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, 1: 1861–1897, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 396. See also Ford Madox Ford, *The English Novel: From the Earliest Days to the Death of Joseph Conrad* (London: Constable, 1930), p. 138: 'James, Conrad, and Crane different from each other in minute points and indeed in broader characteristics... But their common, Gallic origin united them, so that they had before all for their strongest passion the desire to convey vicarious experience to the reader'.

¹⁴⁷ Sergey Kravchinsky, letters to Olive Garnett, 23, 31 March, 4 September 1893, box 23, folder 15, Garnett Family Papers, MS 164, Northwestern; O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, pp. 165–6, 177, 179, 192, 200–1. Olive Garnett read William Ralston's translation: Ivan Turguenief, *Liza*, trans. by W. R. S. Ralston (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869).

¹⁴⁸ O. Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak*, pp. 118, 225, 272.

September 1899, Garnett recorded that her brother told her, 'I must take out the expressions that would remind people of Henry James; that I was too literal, and that I must cut down the field of battle in the same way that I cut Vetrova. It was too life-like and diffuse, not crisp like art'. The following year, he criticized the beginning of her next manuscript too, 'saying it was "Too intimate", too like Henry James, who had invented that way of telling a story. Too like in method, that is, not in phrasing'. What Edward Garnett appears to object to here is not his sister's impressionist style—the reference to Crane and to increasing her work's 'art' suggest he is encouraging her impressionism—but that it is too recognizably derivative. Garnett's Russian friends gave advice on the Russian settings: 'Kropotkin wrote that he found *The Case of Vetrova* excellent; true to reality and a correct rendering of the Russian atmosphere', Garnett recorded with pleasure in February 1899; David Soskis 'was offended' by what he thought were portraits of his acquaintances, but 'he admitted that the characters were mostly true to life and the scenes also'.¹⁴⁹

Ford was not shown *Petersburg Tales* during its composition, but he wrote to Olive Garnett soon after it was published. His long letter begins by listing the various reasons he did not want to read the book: there are only 'three or four living, & a few more dead, souls who count, who have the right to write', 'I hate all Russians with a bitter, temperamental shuddering (I except Kropotkin)', and 'I don't believe that any women CAN write'. However, he told Garnett that when he read the second story in the volume, 'Roukoff', he realized that 'This is the Real Thing', Garnett had got 'hold of the Real Thing in Techniques'. Furthermore, he wrote that when he gave it to Conrad to read, Conrad 'damned me severely for not having told him that the thing was a masterpiece "Dans Ma Note"'. Ford continued:

The merits of 'Roukoff' are very great. It stands on its own legs, it walks, it gets there. I can find no fault with mannerisms in the writing, but it is WRITTEN. I dislike the characters but they live & the carpet has its figure. "The Secret of the Universe" is to me more get-at-able, I suppose because it is laid to take place in England, it pleases me better tho' I don't think it is as good. As for 'Out of It', I do not understand it but take it on trust because, on the strength of the others you have the right to do what you like. As for 'The Case of Vetrova' it affects me with extreme aversion—but that is the measure of its merit I being I & Petersburg what you choose to represent it. The fact of the matter is—you have temperament & you express it, you have the gift of presenting things & you present them, you have a pen & you use it & a sardonic humour &, by Jove, you use that too.¹⁵⁰

Garnett's *Petersburg Tales* are skilful experiments using the Jamesian method, as Ford recognizes in his allusion to James's 'The Figure in the Carpet' (1896). Since it was the method of which Ford himself was a student (it is 'Dans Ma Note'), it is not surprising he appreciated its technical achievements. What is surprising about this book, given Olive Garnett's fascination with Russia, her knowledge of Russian literature, and her close friendships with Russian revolutionaries, is how satirically

¹⁴⁹ O. Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood', pp. 394, 423, 383–4.

¹⁵⁰ Ford Madox Ford, letter to Olive Garnett, 3 November 1900, qtd in O. Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood', pp. 413–16.

it treats its subject matter. Rather than being a story in the anti-Jamesian Russophile tradition, as Ford clearly expected, *Petersburg Tales* looked back to *The Princess Casamassima* and forward to *Under Western Eyes* in using the Jamesian method to satirize revolutionaries and Russians, and the values associated with Russia and Russian literature.

The narrator of the first two stories is an English woman, Miss Foster, whose narration is characterized by its markedly Jamesian detachment and obscurity of expression. Miss Foster's detachment is repeatedly contrasted with the emotional engagement, indeed the passion, of the Russian characters, and this opposition creates their plots as well as their argument, their 'figure in the carpet'. Though Miss Foster's detachment is questioned ('Bother good sense!... what of the times when intense feeling, boiling emotion, alone can carry us convincingly, triumphantly along?'), it is ultimately valued. In 'The Case of Vetrova', Miss Foster helps a young Russian towards the realization that 'understanding', 'seeing things as they are', is as important as taking part in action and as suffering, so that he does not attend a students' demonstration; in 'Roukoff', the swindler of the title is able to take in the Russian characters by playing on their emotions, while Miss Foster remains insusceptible. 'The Secret of the Universe' is the story of a Russian philosopher, Alexander Barry, who commits suicide in despair at the lack of recognition for his life's work, the 'atrocious, fantastic, impossible, and utterly unintelligible book' of the story's title: his lack of self knowledge is contrasted with the perspicacity of Emmie, the English narrator. Finally, in 'Out of It', the most Jamesian and self-reflexive of the four stories, the unnamed narrator describes an affair and 'intricate play' of obscure activities she undertakes with a man who is 'in it' (what 'it' is is not explained), while she is 'out of life, aside, without a stake in it'.¹⁵¹ Anne Lee Michell, Garnett's niece, described the story as an attempt to crystallize 'a dream of what it would be like to love and be loved by Henry James'.¹⁵²

It was not only Ford and Conrad who were surprised by the conjunction of James's style and Russian subject matter—but they were among the few who found it an effective combination. The *Saturday Review*'s notice read:

It is perhaps due to American influence that so many authors think that to make a book one need only write of uninteresting people in elusive language. Around the "Petersburg Tales" there lies the pall of that monotony which the English reader sometimes feels in a Russian novel, but Miss Garnett, though she may in some sense have absorbed the atmosphere, has hardly won the qualities which the Russian novelists show. Her stories are spun out to interminable length: in fact all the essential features of the short story are absent.¹⁵³

For this reviewer, Garnett has taken the worst features of the Russian novel and the Jamesian style. If Garnett did take Turgenev as a model, as Kravchinsky had recommended, it was James's Turgenev, not Kravchinsky's, nor her brother's.

¹⁵¹ O. Garnett, *Petersburg Tales*, pp. 21, 69, 98–9, 205, 277, 276.

¹⁵² O. Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood', p. 387.

¹⁵³ 'Novels', review of William Le Queux, *In White Raiment*, Olive Garnett, *Petersburg Tales*, John Robe Adamson, *The Hidden Scar*, *Saturday Review*, 91 (2 March 1901), p. 277.

Petersburg Tales is unusual in presenting literary values at odds with its author's personal allegiances; the other works produced within the Garnett-Rossetti-Ford network were more predictable in their approach. Though the Rossettis' *A Girl Among the Anarchists* ends with disillusionment in the futility of the narrator's own anarchist work, its portraits of Kravchinsky, Kropotkin, and Volkhovsky are positive.¹⁵⁴ Even Olive Garnett's one other published volume, *In Russia's Night*, presents the Russophile values expected from *Petersburg Tales*. In a reversal of the latter's valorization of detachment over engagement, the novel sets detached aesthetic perfection, represented by the narrator's artist husband Dmitry and his patron Pavel Arabagine, against the engaged aesthetic socialism espoused by the revolutionary exile Piotr Muromsky, the Kravchinsky character. Arabagine is associated with luxury, misogyny, duplicity, and lack of sympathy, while Muromsky is associated with freedom, love, sincerity, and community.¹⁵⁵

But the most thoroughgoing exploration of the political and aesthetic values being debated in Limpsfield Chart is Ford's *The Simple Life Limited* (1911), the first of two novels Ford published under the pseudonym of Daniel Chaucer.¹⁵⁶ The novel looks back to the period of Ford's friendship with Conrad, the Garnetts, and their circle in the 1890s from the perspective of 1911, by which time his relationships with them had cooled considerably. It launches a sharp satire on what Ford saw as the hypocrisies of socialists and simple lifers. In particular, Ford targets those involved in literature and publishing for turning a supposedly anti-commercial movement to commercial account. In the course of the novel, he includes unflattering vignettes of many of his relations and former friends. Mr Parmont, for example, is clearly a portrait of Edward Garnett: Parmont is introduced as a London critic, who in the 'glorious nineties' 'had possessed a remarkable power to boom authors into positions of prominence', just as Garnett did as a reader for T. Fisher Unwin, Heinemann, and Duckworth. One of the authors Parmont discovers before the novel begins is the figure modelled partly on Conrad, 'the possibly Polish, possibly Lithuanian, possibly Little Russian Jew', Simeon Brandetski, renamed by Parmont Simon Bransdon. Introduced by Parmont into socialist circles, Bransdon slides into mental illness and becomes the seer of a simple life community initially based at Froghole, the Kent village that was the Garnetts' home in

¹⁵⁴ Meredith [Rossetti Agresti and Rossetti Angeli], *A Girl Among the Anarchists*, pp. 21–5, 271.

¹⁵⁵ O. Garnett, *In Russia's Night*, pp. 215–17.

¹⁵⁶ The other was Daniel Chaucer [Ford Madox Ford], *The New Humpty-Dumpty* (London: John Lane, 1912). Ford sent Violet Hunt an entertaining biography for his *alter ego*, see Ford, letter to Violet Hunt, 9 April 1911, in *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, ed. by Richard M. Ludwig (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 49–51. He had first used the pseudonym for the introduction to 'The Old Story', an early draft of *The Nature of a Crime* (1909; 1924), and used it again for his unpublished novel of the nineteen twenties, variously titled *The Wheels of the Plough*, *That Same Poor Man* and *Mr Croyd*. See Ford, letter to James. B. Pinker, 17 May 1921, *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, pp. 131–2, Ford Madox Ford, 'The Old Story', box 15, folder 19.3, 'That Same Poor Man', boxes 23, 24, Bound MS. 2–3+, Ford Madox Ford Collection, # 4605, Cornell. He also published a series of articles in the *Transatlantic Review* over this pseudonym: Daniel Chaucer [Ford Madox Ford], 'Stocktaking: Towards a Re-Valuation of English Literature', *Transatlantic Review*, 1–2 (January–July, September–November, 1924), 65–76, 56–65, 51–7, 168–76, 321–9, 442–52, 64–74, 274–83, 394–404, 502–10.

1895, and subsequently at Luscombe Green, evidently corresponding to Limpsfield Chart. Parmont, although a relatively minor character and 'not by any means an orthodox Simple Lifer', is nevertheless responsible for the relationships between characters on which the novel's plot development depends. Most significantly for this discussion, Parmont is the vehicle for an extended debate about Russian literature in *The Simple Life Limited*, a debate that Ford places at the structural centre of the novel.¹⁵⁷

Parmont, we are told at an early stage of the narrative, 'like most literary men of that date ... had a cant, or perhaps it was a craving for introducing what they called Life into English Literature', and the reason for Bransdon's literary success is Parmont's argument, 'in three morning papers on the day of publication, and in four weekly periodicals of the succeeding Saturday' that Bransdon's first novel, *Clotted Vapours*, 'disclosed the coming of a new life-force in British Literature'. The echoes of Garnett's praise of Conrad are strong.¹⁵⁸ They become still clearer when Ford subsequently connects this argument directly to Parmont's devotion to Russian literature. Sitting on the terrace of an inn near Heidelberg, to which Hamnet Gubb, a young simple lifer, has been removed by the orthodox socialist Miss Stobhall (who recalls Constance Garnett and Marjory Pease), Parmont puts forward his literary theories to Gubb's friend, the Russian student, aristocrat, and revolutionary, Lboff:

They began by discussing Russian literature, Mr Parmont keeping up his share of the discussion by embroideries upon the theme that Germans were hogs, the English selfish commercialists, and the French too material ever to produce any satisfactory literature. It was only Russians who could write because they hadn't any conventions, they went straight to life, they went straight to nature.

Ford then has Parmont run through the clichés of British criticism of Russian literature to the boredom of Lboff, who 'did not in the least care whether Tourgeniev were more artistic than Dostoievsky or that Dostoievsky had travelled deeper into the bye-ways of the soul', 'He agreed that Gorky expressed more exactly the cry of the wounded beast than did Count Tolstoi', 'and then he agreed once more that Korolenko had written some charming stories, but Tchegov immensely surpassed him in gloom and power', 'then he drew a trail across the discussion by saying that books, books, books, were a weariness and that the future of humanity was to be found in the forges and the laboratories of the world. From them would come the salvation and ease of the groaning multitudes'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Chaucer [Ford], *The Simple Life Limited*, pp. 65, 69, 76, 55.

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, [Edward Garnett], 'Academy Portraits, xxxix.—Mr. Joseph Conrad', *The Academy*, 1380 (15 October 1898), 82–3, [Edward Garnett], 'Mr. Conrad's New Book', *Academy and Literature*, 1596 (6 December 1902), 606–7. For a full discussion of Garnett's early reviews, see Helen Smith, 'Edward Garnett: Midwife of Genius: The Influence of Edward Garnett on Early Twentieth Century Fiction', PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2003, pp. 110–22, and the shorter discussion in Helen Smith, *The Uncommon Reader: A Life of Edward Garnett* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2017), pp. 109–11.

¹⁵⁹ Chaucer [Ford], *The Simple Life Limited*, pp. 72, 75, 204–5.

The argument of this scene is that Parmont's world, with its veneration of literature, Russian revolutionaries, and 'Life', is a romantic and out-of-date construction, unconnected with the contemporary world of either English literature or Russian revolutionary politics: 'most of poor Mr Parmont's friends, though they might have been good revolutionary leaders and thrown good bombs in their day, were by that time quite out of date and forgotten'. More importantly, the novel portrays Mr Parmont's literary philosophy as part of an institutionalizing and commodifying of 'life' that is ultimately life-denying. The novel's argument is stated in the conclusion by Hamnet Gubb, the sole character represented as living an authentically simple life:

Don't you see? That's the Simple Life, to know the life you like and to have the courage to lead it. You don't want to organise: you don't want to make it the Simple Life Limited. If you think about Life it isn't Life. If you think about the sort of man to model yourself on, you aren't a man. You're a trained rat.¹⁶⁰

In *The Simple Life Limited* Ford develops his socio-literary criticism of the Garnetts and their circle into an allegory: those who explain, interpret, and organize life destroy its value by reducing it to rules and formulae. Their didacticism is self-serving. By contrast, those who live for themselves retain the value of life. The former lose contact with life itself by producing accounts of it, the latter simply live.¹⁶¹

1.3 SOCIALISMS

Ford's relationship with the Garnetts made it inevitable that one of the ingredients in his satire of socialism and the simple life would be their association with Russian revolutionaries and Russian literature. But it was by no means the case that all translators, critics, and readers of Russian literature had come to it through socialism or through their support of the revolutionary movement. Frederick Whishaw, the translator of Vizetelly's five volumes of Dostoevsky during the 1880s, and author of many Russian-themed novels, histories, and children's books, had been born in Russia, where his family were grain exporters in St Petersburg.¹⁶² Charles Turner, author of *Studies in Russian Literature* (1882), *Modern Novelists of Russia* (1890), and translations of Pushkin and Turgenev, went to Russia as a schoolteacher,

¹⁶⁰ Chaucer [Ford], *The Simple Life Limited*, pp. 206, 384.

¹⁶¹ For fuller accounts of *The Simple Life Limited*, see Tony Davenport, 'From *What Maisie Knew* to *The Simple Life Limited*: James's Late Fiction and Ford's Social Comedy', in Robert Hampson and Tony Davenport, eds, *Ford Madox Ford: A Reappraisal* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 7–30; Robin Peel, 'Ford and the Simple Life: Gender, Subjectivity and Class in a Satirized Utopia', in Robert Hampson and Max Saunders, eds, *Ford Madox Ford's Modernity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp. 59–70; Nathan Waddell, *Modernist Nowheres: Politics and Utopia in Early Modernist Writing, 1900–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 100–7.

¹⁶² James Whishaw, *A History of the Whishaw Family*, ed. by M. S. Leigh (London: Methuen, 1935), pp. 180, 182. Though a number of bibliographies state that Whishaw was not the translator of *Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel* (London: Vizetelly, 1886), which does not attribute the translation, it is identical to the 1911 Walter Scott and Dent editions that credit him.

before becoming English Lector at the St Petersburg Imperial University from 1864 to his death in 1903.¹⁶³ Emile Dillon, the *Daily Telegraph's* Russian correspondent who also wrote books on Gor'ky and Tolstoy, supported liberal reform in Russia but was critical of the revolutionary movement, seeing it as impractical and out of touch with the people they aimed to enfranchise.¹⁶⁴ Most famously, the liberal editor W. T. Stead, whose campaign for political amity between Britain and Russia involved frequent discussion of Russian literature in his journals the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Review of Reviews*, was an apologist for tsarist autocracy, in part due to the influence of his mistress, the Slavophile Ol'ga Novikova.¹⁶⁵

British knowledge of Russian literature and culture was created by anti-revolutionary liberals, conservatives, and supporters of tsarism, as well as revolutionaries, populists, socialists, and radical liberals. But the points of contact between Russian literature and an incipient British modernism were made primarily through the networks influenced by socialists and revolutionaries. This point is borne out by the membership of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, founded in January 1893 by Edward A. Cazalet, a retired industrialist who had spent his career in Russia, where his family had well-established business interests.¹⁶⁶ Like Kravchinsky, Cazalet believed Russian literature could be used to promote Anglo-Russian friendship, but where the *chaikovtsy* aimed to promote friendship between Britain and the Russian people against the tsarist regime, Cazalet aimed to promote friendship with that regime. The society's patrons were the Tsesarevich Nikolay (and from 1897, three years after Nikolay had become tsar, his consort the Empress Aleksandra Feodorovna), Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, and his wife, the Grand Duchess Mariya Aleksandrovna, the daughter of Aleksandr II.¹⁶⁷ The society met monthly at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, to hear papers such as 'Tolstoi at Home', 'Goncharov', 'The Works of V. G. Korolenko', and 'The Love of Song as a Russian National Characteristic', but also 'Some Notes upon the Monks and Monasteries of Russia', 'Glimpses of Russia; With Some

¹⁶³ 'Literary Gossip', *The Athenaeum*, 3957 (29 August 1903), 291–2; Charles Edward Turner, *Studies in Russian Literature* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882); and *The Modern Novelists of Russia* (London: Trübner, 1890).

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, E. J. Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia* (London: Dent, 1918), pp. 68–9.

¹⁶⁵ Frederic Whyte, *The Life of W. T. Stead*, 2 vols (London: Jonathan Cape, 1925), 1: 44–50, Joseph O. Baylen, *The Tsar's 'Lecturer-General': W. T. Stead and the Russian Revolution of 1905*, Georgia State College School of Arts and Science Research Papers, 23 (Atlanta, GA: Georgia State College, 1969), p. 52, W. T. Stead, ed., *The M. P. for Russia: Reminiscences & Correspondence of Olga Novikoff*, 2 vols (London: Andrew Melrose, 1909), Mary F. Zirin, 'Meeting the Challenge: Russian Women Reporters and the Balkan Crises of the Late 1870s', in Barbara T. Norton and Jehanne M. Gheith, eds, *An Improper Profession: Women, Gender, and Journalism in Late Imperial Russia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 140–66 (pp. 145–8), C. N. Tret'yakova, 'Londonskii salon O. A. Novikovoi v kontekste rossiisko-britanskii otnoshenii', in A. V. Kobak and O. L. Kuvaldina, eds, *Rossiia-Velikobritaniia: Pyat' vekov kul'turnykh svyazei* (St Petersburg: Institut Petra Velikogo/Evropeiskii Dom, 2015), pp. 341–9.

¹⁶⁶ 'Anglo-Russian Literary Society', *The Academy*, 1080 (14 January 1893), p. 39; D. Galton, 'The Anglo-Russian Literary Society', *Slavonic Review*, 48.111 (1970), 272–82 (p. 272). See also I. V. Arshinova, 'Serebryanyi vek v "Trudakh Anglo-Russkogo Literaturnogo obshchestva"', *Russkaya literatura*, 4 (2018), 91–6.

¹⁶⁷ 'Patrons', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 3 (May–July 1893), pp. [4], 7–10; 'The Empress Patroness', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 17 (February–April 1897), p. 5.

Account of her Army', 'Commercial Relations between British Columbia and Siberia', and 'English Physicians at the Court of Moscow in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries'.¹⁶⁸ The quarterly *Proceedings* published the meetings' papers, and reviews and translations (including of works by its imperial patrons). Its membership included many figures involved in the dissemination of Russian culture in Britain: in the period with which this chapter is concerned, members included W. J. Birkbeck, the foremost British authority on the Russian Orthodox Church, Ol'ga Novikova, the Russian Ambassador Baron Egor Staal', the historian Pavel Vinogradov (Paul Vinogradoff), the French diplomat and literary critic Eugène Melchior de Vogüé, and Donald Mackenzie Wallace, who had been the *Times* correspondent in St Petersburg, and had recently returned from accompanying the Tsesarevich Nikolay on his tour of India. In later years, the society also contained more liberal and more cultural figures, such as the expert on Russian music, Rosa Newmarch, the journalist, Harold Williams, the Librarian of the London Library, Charles Hagberg Wright, and the founders of Russian studies in Britain, Nevill Forbes, Alexander Goudy, and Bernard Pares—indeed Pares brought the society under the ægis of the University of London's School of Slavonic Studies in 1922.¹⁶⁹ But, with the exception of the Tolstoyan and Fabian, Aylmer Maude, and Tolstoy himself, the Anglo-Russian Literary Society included no prominent members of socialist or radical liberal networks: its membership and that of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom are almost entirely mutually exclusive. Forbes, Goudy, Pares, and also John Pollen, who worked in the Indian Civil Service and was on the Society's Committee from the beginning, all contributed to the dissemination of Russian literature through their translations.¹⁷⁰ But they were not part of networks that included modernist writers. The few writers who did belong to the society—

¹⁶⁸ Sophie Malewsky-Maléwitsch, 'Tolstoi at Home [read by Alexander Kinloch]', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 5 (November-January 1894), 6–14; W. J. Birkbeck, 'Some Notes upon the Monks and Monasteries of Russia', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 5 (November-January 1894), 27–46; Clive Philipps-Wolley, 'Commercial Relations between British Columbia and Siberia', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 10 (February–April 1895), 11–16; H. Havelock, 'Goncharov', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 11 (May–July 1895), 49–66; C. P. Lynden-Bell, 'Glimpses of Russia; With Some Account of her Army', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 12 (August–October 1895), 5–20; N. M. Klimov-Detlov, 'The Works of V. G. Korolenko', trans. by H. Havelock, *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 21 (April–June 1898), 7–17; Anna Laura K. Bezant, 'The Love of Song as a Russian National Characteristic [read by John Davis]', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 21 (April–June 1898), 18–34; Frank G. Clemow, 'English Physicians at the Court of Moscow in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries [read by J. Pollen]', *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 21 (April–June 1898), 35–48.

¹⁶⁹ The *Proceedings* give full lists of members, and further detail is provided in the membership and subscription ledgers in the Society's archives: ANG/1/2–5, the Anglo-Russian Literary Society Collection, SSEES. Galton provides a helpful annotated list of well-known members at the end of her article: see Galton, 'The Anglo-Russian Literary Society', pp. 280–2; [Bernard Pares], 'Copy of proposals for the future arrangements of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society put forward at a meeting of the Committee on Tuesday, Dec. 5th, 1922', ANG/1/11/1, Correspondence (1895–1935), Anglo-Russian Literary Society Collection, SSEES.

¹⁷⁰ John Pollen, *Rhymes from the Russian, Being Faithful Translations of Selections from the Best Russian Poets: Pushkin, Lermontof, Nadson, Nekrasof, Count A. Tolstoi, Tyoutchef, Maikof, Lebedef, Fet, K. R., etc.* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1891). Pollen republished his translations in 1917 as *Russian Songs and Lyrics, Being Faithful Translations of Selections from Some of the Best Russian Poets: Pushkin, Lermontof, Nadson, Nekrasov, Tolstoi, Tyoutchev, Maikou, Lebedev, Fet, K. R., Klushnikov,*

Maurice Baring, Stephen Graham, Hugh Walpole—were conservative writers. Cazalet attempted to involve the Garnetts in the Society at least twice. In October 1900, he wrote to Olive Garnett to compliment her on *Petersburg Tales* and ask her if she might present a paper to the Society the following summer, warning her that ‘As the Emperor and Empress of Russia expressed their desire to be among the Patrons of the A. R. L. S. we avoid politics’. Her reply is not known, but she did not give a paper, nor she did not become a member. Eighteen years later, Cazalet wrote to Garnett again, this time in the course of reading *In Russia’s Night*, to ask if she, Constance, and Edward might present papers or become members, and if she might send him *Petersburg Tales*, which he had apparently forgotten saying he had read in 1900. This time Garnett’s reply survives. She politely rejected his invitation for herself, Constance, and Edward—and told him that if *Petersburg Tales* was no longer available from Heinemann, a copy ‘would almost certainly be got from the London Library’.¹⁷¹ The Garnetts rightly recognized their literary politics as quite distinct from those of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society.

Yet for most of the twentieth century, the idea that British modernism might trace its genealogy back to nineteenth-century socialist movements ran counter to critical orthodoxy.¹⁷² That critical orthodoxy was established early: *The Simple Life Limited* argued that socialism is inimical to literature: socialism produces ‘trained rats’, not imaginative individuals, Ford argued. Bransdon’s writings are manufactured by imitation and critical fashion, the simple lifers consider most classical literature ‘lumber we shall throw into the wastepaper basket of eternity’, and the communal library they plan will ‘entirely banish’ fiction ‘except perhaps for the works of Richardson and for one or two Utopian novelists such as Mr Wells, Mr Galsworthy and Mr Upton Sinclair’.¹⁷³ The mention of Wells and Galsworthy inevitably recalls Virginia Woolf’s similar categorization of those writers and Arnold Bennett in ‘Modern Fiction’: they are, she writes, ‘materialists... concerned not with the spirit but with the body’.¹⁷⁴ As Anne Fernihough has recently discussed, Woolf’s dismissal of three of the most successful Edwardian novelists ‘exerted an extraordinary influence on literary studies, partly because it provides a comforting myth about the beginning of the modern’: use of Woolf’s deliberately polemical opposition between materialist Edwardians and spiritual Georgians as a shorthand for early twentieth-century literary debates inevitably obscured their complexity. To make only the most obvious point for this study, in the same essay Woolf attributes to ‘the Russians’ ‘a natural reverence for the human spirit’ that is the most effective riposte to Edwardian materialism, yet it is the Edwardians

Anatole Kremlev, Myatlev, etc. (London: East and West, 1917), with additional appendices. For translations by Forbes, Goudy, and Pares, see interchapter three: ‘Modern Languages’.

¹⁷¹ Edward Cazalet, letters to Olive Garnett, 6 October 1900, 15 April 1918, Olive Garnett, letter to Edward Cazalet, 19 April 1918, box 23, folder 21, Garnett Family Papers, MS 164, Northwestern; *Anglo-Russian Literary Society: Proceedings*, 31 (May–July 1901).

¹⁷² A still useful summary of these arguments is Stanley Sultan, ‘Was Modernism Reactionary?’, *Journal of Modern Literature*, 17.4 (1991), 447–64.

¹⁷³ Chaucer [Ford], *The Simple Life Limited*, pp. 72–6, 31, 264. Ford refers here to Samuel Richardson, not Dorothy Richardson.

¹⁷⁴ Virginia Woolf, ‘Modern Fiction’, in *The Common Reader*, p. 185.

Bennett, Galsworthy, and Wells, not the novelists she praises, Conrad, Hardy, and Joyce, who were the major promoters of Russian literature. Fernihough's recovery of modernism's close relationship with Edwardian literature overlaps in a number of places with the history this book traces. In particular, her interest in Edwardian radicalism demonstrates the variety of socialisms at the turn of the century, and the range of literary responses they inspired, which include anti-materialism specifically.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, to understand how the literature and literary theory the *chaikovtsy* brought to Britain was taken up in socialist literary networks, it is necessary to look more closely at some of the differences between British socialist groups at the end of the nineteenth century.

The arrival of the *chaikovtsy* in the 1880s coincided with the revival of British socialism. In 1884, the year Kravchinsky arrived in London, the Fabian Society held its first meeting, the Socialist League was founded by William Morris, and Henry Hyndman's Democratic Federation (founded in 1881) became the overtly Marxist Social Democratic Federation. Socialism's revival was rapid: only three years before, Kropotkin had spent a year in London that he described as 'a year of real exile. For one who held advanced socialist opinions, there was no atmosphere to breathe in. There was no sign of that animated socialist movement which I found so largely developed on my return in 1886'. Continuity with earlier Chartist or Owenite socialisms was limited at the beginning of the 1880s: when Kropotkin and Chaikovsky gave lectures, 'occasionally some gray-bearded Chartist would rise from the audience and tell us that all we were saying had been said forty years before, and was greeted then with enthusiasm by crowds of workers, but that now all was dead, and there was no hope of reviving it'.¹⁷⁶ As Martin Crick has discussed, during the thirty years that had elapsed since the demise of Chartism, 'Labour gave partly apathetic, partly active, adherence to the existing order. This was the golden age of British capitalism, with free trade and individualism as the dominant ideologies'.¹⁷⁷

The *chaikovtsy* were involved with the revival of British socialism from the beginning. Introduced by Joseph Cowen to Hyndman, Chaikovsky and Kropotkin attended meetings of Hyndman's Democratic Federation in 1881, which introduced them to a number of radicals and socialists, some of whom became involved in the Russian revolutionary cause.¹⁷⁸ Herbert Burrows, a long-serving member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom's Executive Committee, Walter Crane, who redesigned *Free Russia's* masthead in 1899, and J. F. Green, who became assistant editor of *Free Russia* in 1895 and secretary of the Society of Friends of Russian

¹⁷⁵ Anne Fernihough, *Freewomen and Supermen: Edwardian Radicals and Literary Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1–9, 23–4. See also Thomas Linehan, *Modernism and British Socialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).

¹⁷⁶ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 251–2.

¹⁷⁷ Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation*, p. 13.

¹⁷⁸ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, II: 252–3; Henry Mayers Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p. 262; Woodcock and Avakumović, *The Anarchist Prince*, p. 184.

Freedom in 1897, were all members of the Social Democratic Federation.¹⁷⁹ John Slatter notes that by 1883 Chaikovsky had established contacts in the British labour movement, and cites two letters to John Burns—a leading figure in the Social Democratic Federation during the 1880s—that give evidence of his involvement in the unemployed workers' movement in the East End.¹⁸⁰ Hyndman himself offered to translate Kravchinsky's *La Russia Sotterranea* (*Underground Russia*) into English to raise funds for *Obshchestvo krasnogo kresta Narodnoi voli* (the Red Cross of the People's Will), and he introduced Kropotkin to James Knowles, the editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, which became Kropotkin's primary mainstream British outlet for the rest of his career.¹⁸¹

Kravchinsky's writings generated correspondence with several British sympathizers to the revolutionary cause before he arrived in July 1884: Edward Pease had already met Chaikovsky in the course of the latter's fundraising for the People's Will and, inspired by Kravchinsky's essay on terrorism in the *Contemporary Review*, he wrote to Zaslulich with the offer of financial support in April 1884, which elicited a response from Kravchinsky.¹⁸² Eleanor Marx, a member of the Social Democratic Federation's first Executive Committee, reviewed *Underground Russia* for the secularist journal *Progress* in 1883 as 'a work of the utmost historical value' and set the Russian revolutionary struggle in the context of international socialism. The following year she translated a French translation of Kravchinsky's article 'Russian Political Prisons' for Ernest Belfort Bax's and James Leigh Joynes's new socialist periodical *To-Day*, and at least one more unidentified article in March 1885.¹⁸³ William Morris read *Underground Russia* within a month of its translation into English, having joined the Social Democratic Federation four months earlier. What he learned from it regarding the persecution of the revolutionary opposition was, Edward Burne-Jones wrote, 'one of the inciting causes' of Morris's socialism.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, just a few weeks after arriving in London, Kravchinsky had

¹⁷⁹ Burrows was elected to the Executive Committee in November 1896: see 'Meetings and Lectures', *Free Russia*, 7.12 (Dec 1896), p. 102; Crane's new design was announced in 'Meetings and Lectures', *Free Russia*, 9.11 (December 1898), p. 76, and appeared in the next issue, January 1899; Green's election to Honorary Secretary is recorded in 'News and Notes of the Month', *Free Russia*, 8.5 (May 1897), 33–6 (pp. 33–4); Crick, *The History of the Social-Democratic Federation*, pp. 302, 305; David Murray Young, 'People, Place and Party: The Social Democratic Federation, 1884–1911', PhD thesis, Durham University, 2003, p. 209.

¹⁸⁰ Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', p. 35.

¹⁸¹ Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life*, pp. 87, 267. Hyndman writes that his proposal was turned down by George Meredith, who was the publisher's reader for Chapman and Hall; it was brought out instead by Smith and Elder: the translator is unknown.

¹⁸² S. Stepniak, letter to Edward Pease, 29 April 1884, in Ermasheva, ed. and trans, *S. M. Stepnyak-Kravchinsky v londonskoi emigratsii*, p. 191; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 25.

¹⁸³ Eleanor Marx, 'Underground Russia' (review), *Progress*, 1 (August 1883), 106–11, (September 1883), 172–6 (p. 176); Stepniak, 'Russian Political Prisons', *To-Day*, 1.6, 2.7 (1884), 401–15, 1–19. See Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx, 1: Family Life, 1855–1883* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972), pp. 283, 303–7; Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx, 11: The Crowded Years, 1884–1898* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), pp. 33–5, 93–4.

¹⁸⁴ William Morris, letter to Jenny Morris, 19 May 1883, and Frederick Startridge Ellis, 23 May 1883, in *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, 11 [A]: 1881–1884, ed. by Norman Kelvin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 194–5; Philip Henderson, 'Introduction', in *The Letters of William Morris to his Family and Friends*, ed. by Philip Henderson (London: Longmans, Green and

been publicly welcomed at the Franchise Demonstration in Hyde Park on 21 July 1884. It was on this occasion that he first met George Bernard Shaw and, probably, Morris.¹⁸⁵

Karl Marx died on 14 March 1883, just over a year before Kravchinsky arrived in London, but Marx met Chaikovsky in 1881, and was in contact with several members of the Russian revolutionary movement (notably Nikolay Daniel'son, Lev Gartman (Hartman), Lavrov, German Lopatin, and, briefly, Zasulich).¹⁸⁶ Kravchinsky met Friedrich Engels in October 1884 at one of Engels's regular Sunday 'at home's, attended by 'socialists, critics and writers', remembered Fanni Kravchinskaya, and the two continued 'to see each other and meet to talk about various political subjects; they sometimes had arguments and misunderstandings'.¹⁸⁷ The relationship between socialist networks in Britain and this particular group of Russian revolutionary émigrés was evidently strong.

However, certain parts of those networks were more sympathetic to the *chaikovtsy's* revolutionary cause than others. Although as early as the 1850s Marx had singled out Russia as the bulwark of European reaction, and its military power a major threat to any revolution on the European continent, British socialists did not see the dissolution of Russian autocracy as a major priority at the beginning of the 1880s.¹⁸⁸ The fact that a group of them sought to establish a Society of Friends of Russia in 1885 is testimony to the efficacy of the *chaikovtsy* during their first years in Britain. But it is noticeable that this group was drawn from a particular segment of British socialism. It was not the Social Democratic Federation leaders, Burns, Hyndman, Eleanor Marx, or Morris, who formed the Society, but rather the leaders of the Fabians, Annie Besant, Edward Pease, George Bernard Shaw, and Charlotte Wilson.¹⁸⁹ Pease and Wilson were also members of the Social Democratic Federation at this time, but were much more centrally involved in the Fabian Society, where they—like Besant and Shaw—were members of the Executive.¹⁹⁰

Co., 1950), pp. xix–lxvii (p. lv), Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber, 1994), p. 469.

¹⁸⁵ Bernard Shaw, 'A Word About Stepniak', *To-Morrow*, 1.2 (February 1896), 99–107 (pp. 101, 102).

¹⁸⁶ Haruki Wada, 'Marx and revolutionary Russia', and Derek Sayer, 'Marx after *Capital*: A Biographical Note (1867–1883)', in Teodor Shanin, ed., *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and 'the Peripheries of Capitalism'* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 40–75, 142–71 (p. 168). See *Perepiska K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa s russkimi politicheskimi deyatelyami*, 2nd edn (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1951).

¹⁸⁷ F. M. Kravchinskaya, 'Reminiscences', in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957), pp. 335–9 (pp. 335, 337), Grant, 'British Radicals and Socialists and their Attitudes to Russia', pp. 23–4, Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', p. 36.

¹⁸⁸ Grant, 'British Radicals and Socialists and their Attitudes to Russia', p. 9; Burke, 'Theodore Rothstein and Russian Political Emigre Influence on the British Labour Movement', pp. 17–18; Henry Collins and Chimen Abramsky, *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement: Years of the First International* (London: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 19, 106, 189, 285–6.

¹⁸⁹ Slatter, 'Stepniak and the Friends of Russia', pp. 36–9; Annie Besant, *An Autobiography* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893), pp. 311–12.

¹⁹⁰ Edward R. Pease, 'Appendix III: List of the names and years of office of the ninety-six members of the Executive Committee, 1884–1915', in Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society* (London: Arthur Fife, 1916), pp. 270–2; George Bernard Shaw, qtd in Doris Langley Moore, *E. Nesbit: A Biography*, rev. edn (London: Ernest Benn, 1967) p. 122; Anne Taylor, *Annie Besant: A Biography* (Oxford:

Fabians were also prominent on the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom founded in 1890: of the original group, only Pease was involved again, but he was joined on the first committee by fellow Fabians Stopford Brooke, Margaret Roscoe (Mrs Charles Mallet), Adolphe Smith, and Graham Wallas, and early issues of *Free Russia* advertised Fabian membership and the *Fabian Essays* (Fig. 4).¹⁹¹ In 1886 Charlotte Wilson and Kropotkin founded *Freedom: A Journal of Anarchist Socialism*.

The closer association between the *chaikovtsy* and the Fabians was fostered by a number of similarities between the groups. Unlike the leaders of the Social Democratic Federation, characterized by Mark Bevir as 'secularists and either Tory radicals or republican positivists', the socialism of the early Fabians was, like the *chaikovtsy*'s, motivated principally by ethical and spiritual concerns.¹⁹² The Society had its origins in a group gathered around Thomas Davidson, a Scottish scholar and teacher associated with the American transcendentalists, who came to London in 1882 to set up a community to achieve 'the realization of the highest ideal life, and to bring about the same conditions for others, and especially children, to do the same'.¹⁹³ Though Davidson was described by his colleagues in the group as unsympathetic to socialism, 'cherishing the idea that it was possible to remove social evils by individual remedies alone, or, at most, by voluntary coöperation', his initial statement of principles for the group stated that 'the society purposes ultimately to live in community', and the first meetings discussed 'the formation of a community, the surplanting of the spirit of competition, the highest education of the young, simplicity of living, the importance of manual labour and religious communion'.¹⁹⁴ The group generated two societies with overlapping membership: the Fellowship of the New Life, closely based on Davidson's original ideal, 'the cultivation of perfect character in each and all' and 'the subordination of material things to spiritual'; and the Fabian Society, founded in January 1884 by those members who sought greater practical (including political) commitment to the reconstruction of society, based not on competition but 'general welfare and happiness'.¹⁹⁵ In naming themselves after the Roman general Quintus Fabius, the Fabians defined themselves against the revolutionary politics of the Social Democratic Federation. On the title page of their first tract, Frank Podmore

Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 177–8; Besant did not join the Social Democratic Federation until 1888 (p. 213).

¹⁹¹ R. S. W. [Spence Watson], 'The Movement in England', p. 18; 'Fabian Society [advertisement]', *Free Russia*, 1.2 (September 1890), p. 2; 'Socialism: Fabian Essays [advertisement]', *Free Russia*, 2.1 (January 1891), p. 18.

¹⁹² Mark Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 132–3.

¹⁹³ Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism*, pp. 240–4; Ian Britain, *Fabianism and Culture: A Study in British Socialism and the Arts, c. 1884–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 25–6; Kevin Manton, 'The Fellowship of the New Life: English Ethical Socialism Reconsidered', *History of Political Thought*, 24.2 (2003), 282–304; William Knight, ed., *Memorials of Thomas Davidson: The Wandering Scholar* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. 22.

¹⁹⁴ Knight, *Memorials of Thomas Davidson*, pp. 18, 22; Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁵ Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, pp. 32, 34, 37.

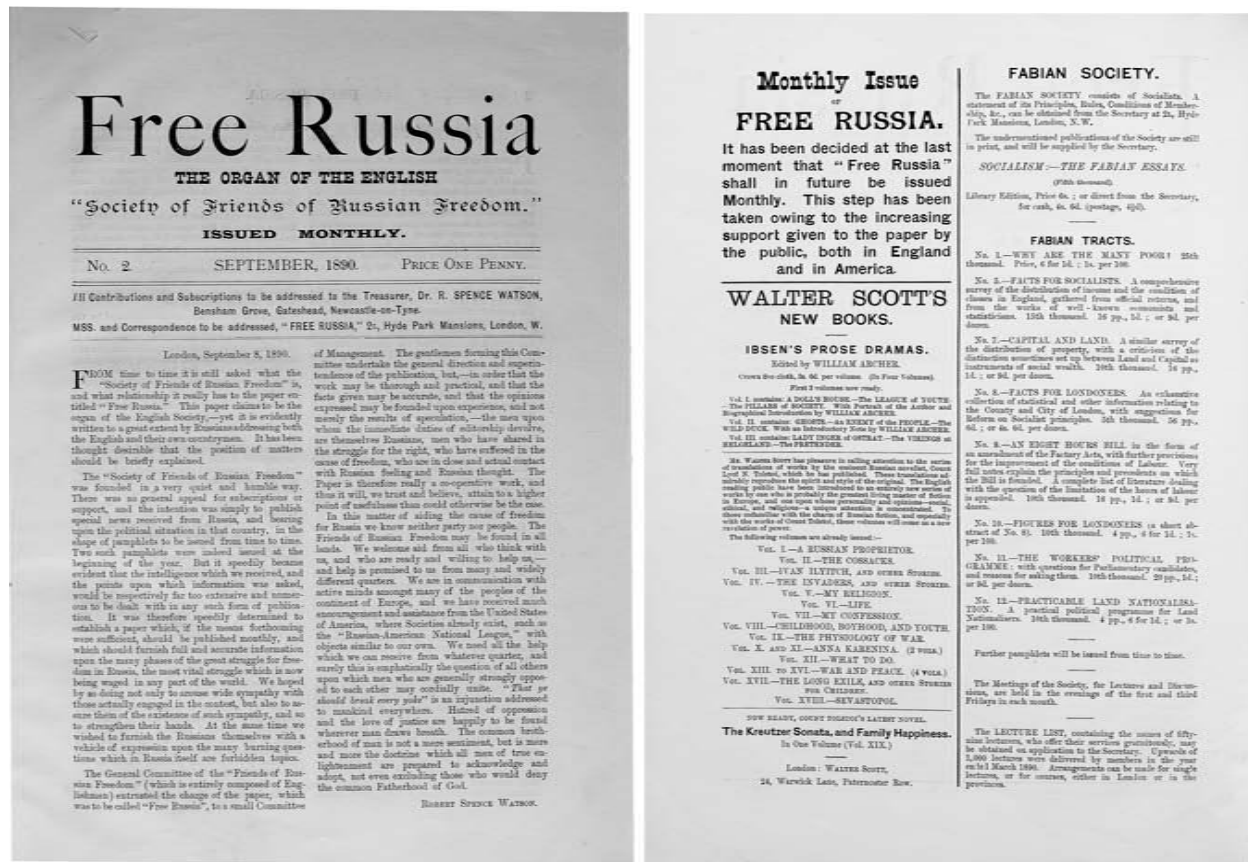


Fig. 4. *Free Russia*, 1,2 (September 1890), pp. 1–2. Shelfmark Per. 244155 d.13, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

explained their name: 'For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless'. Pease acknowledged in his *History of the Fabian Society*, 'it has been pointed out by Mr. H. G. Wells, and by many others before him, that Fabius never did strike hard'.¹⁹⁶

The Fabian Society also shared the original Chaikovskiy circle's commitment to political change through self-education. At the Society's first meeting in January 1884 its most substantive agreements concerned the collection of information. In order to determine which practical measures it would take to reconstruct society, it was agreed the Society would:

- (a) Hold meetings for discussion, the reading of papers, hearing of reports, etc.
- (b) Delegate some of its members to attend meetings held on social subjects, debates at Workmen's Clubs, etc., in order that such members may in the first place report to the Society on the proceedings, and in the second place put forward, as occasion serves, the views of the Society.
- (c) Take measures in other ways, as, for example, by the collection of articles from current literature, to obtain information on all contemporary movements and social needs.¹⁹⁷

The Fabians also placed a higher value on literature and culture than the Social Democratic Federation, as the *chaikovskys* did in comparison with the Russian Marxists. Ian Britain has demonstrated that despite their reputation for philistinism, Fabians routinely cited literary works as influences on their own socialism, and as a causal factor in the socialist revival. Percival Chubb, a leading figure in the original group who became a member of both the Fellowship of the New Life and the Fabians, wrote in 1887 that the socialist movement had drawn 'its vital force, not from its economists, its Marx and his coadjutors; these are its enlighteners, but not its inspirers and instigators. These latter we find in such names as Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Carlyle, Emerson, Dickens, Ruskin, George Eliot, Thoreau, Whitman and the younger Swinburne'. In her autobiography, Beatrice Webb concurred, naming 'Dickens, Carlyle, Ruskin and William Morris' as awakening class-consciousness. In 1894 William Clarke, also a member of both groups and their predecessor, cited 'the new spirit in literature' as one of six causes of the socialist revival, and in 1911 Ramsay MacDonald, who had belonged to the Fabian Society until 1900 and was on the Fellowship of the New Life's committee from 1892 until its demise in 1898 (acting as its secretary from 1892 to 1893), similarly argued that 'some of the best literary and artistic work of the last century has been but as drum taps to which the step of Socialism kept time'.¹⁹⁸ Fabian lecture series

¹⁹⁶ Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, p. 39.

¹⁹⁷ Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, p. 34, Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism*, p. 133.

¹⁹⁸ Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, pp. 2, 39–43; Percival Chubb, 'The Two Alternatives', *To-Day: A Monthly Magazine of Scientific Socialism*, 46 (1887), 69–77 (p. 76); Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1926), p. 79; William Clarke, 'The Fabian

and summer schools included lectures and whole courses on literature, Holbrook Jackson and A. R. Orage founded a Fabian Arts Group in 1907, and the Fabian membership contained a number of well-known writers—including two fundamental to its identity: George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells.¹⁹⁹

Wells's interest in Russia developed later.²⁰⁰ Shaw, as we have seen, was involved with the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom from the beginning, and though his name does not appear in *Free Russia*, his diaries show that he attended meetings and he came to know Kravchinsky particularly well, as Olga Soboleva and Angus Wrenn have discussed.²⁰¹ Their sympathy was not only political but literary. When Kravchinsky's novel *The Career of a Nihilist* was published in 1889, Shaw told Kravchinsky that he had 'bought one of the first copies sold in London', and arranged to review it for *The Star*, where he was music critic. His letters at the turn of the century show familiarity with Turgenev, and enthusiasm for Chekhov, Gor'ky, and above all, Tolstoy. Shaw rated Tolstoy's works 'in some respects . . . most certainly' greater than Shakespeare's, and included him alongside Ibsen, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Wagner in 'the Grand School' he saw it as 'his business' to promote.²⁰²

On 17 March 1894 Shaw read a draft of *Arms and the Man* to Kravchinsky and Kravchinsky's friend, Esper Serebryakov, a populist and former officer in the Russian and Bulgarian navies, who had commanded the Bulgarian Danube fleet in the Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885.²⁰³ Shaw told the actor Charles Charrington that as a result of Serebryakov's advice he 'had to shift the scene from Servia to Bulgaria,

Society', *New England Magazine*, 16.1 (1894), 89–100 (p. 95); J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1911), p. 88; David Marquand, *Ramsay MacDonald* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), pp. 24–7, 66.

¹⁹⁹ Britain, *Fabianism and Culture*, pp. 192–219, 168–74. Other writers who were members of the Fabian Society included Grant Allen, Alfred Hayes, E. Nesbit, Emma Brooke, Ernest Radford, and, in its so-called second generation, Harley Granville Barker, Arnold Bennett, Rupert Brooke, and Jerome K. Jerome.

²⁰⁰ Maria Kozyreva and Vera Shamina, 'Russia Revisited', in Patrick Parrinder and John S. Partington, eds, *The Reception of H. G. Wells in Europe* (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), pp. 48–62 (p. 48): Wells corresponded with Tolstoy in 1906, and met Gorky the same year. His work was well known in Russia, and he visited the country in 1914, 1920, and 1934, on the last occasion meeting Stalin.

²⁰¹ Shaw, *Bernard Shaw: The Diaries, 1885–1897*, 11: 944, 1072, Olga Soboleva and Angus Wrenn, *The Only Hope of the World: George Bernard Shaw and Russia* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 17, 21–4; Bernard Shaw, *Collected Letters*, 1: 1874–1897, ed. by Dan H. Laurence (London: Max Reinhardt, 1965), pp. 137, 140, 142, 214, 227, 323, 424. In the event, however, *The Career of a Nihilist* was reviewed by H. W. Massingham, because, Shaw told Kravchinsky, 'so pleased with it that he wants to do the review himself': see Shaw, letter to Sergius Stepniak, 17 November 1889, in *Collected Letters*, 1: 227. See also W. Earl Hodgson, *A Night with a Nihilist* (Cupar: Fifeshire Journal, 1886), an account of Hodgson's meeting with Kravchinsky in Edward Pease's home, at which Shaw ('Mr. B. S—', 'a Socialist litterateur of fearful and wonderful dress') was also present (p. 6).

²⁰² Shaw, letter to Janet Achurch, 8 May 1903, letter to Laurence Irving, 25 October 1905, letter to Vladimir Chertkov, [c. August 1905], letter to William Archer, 27 August 1903, in Bernard Shaw, *Collected Letters*, 11: 1898–1910, ed. by Dan H. Laurence (London: Max Reinhardt, 1972), pp. 323, 569. See also A. G. Obratsova, *Bernard Shou i russkaya khudozhestvennaya kul'tura na rubezhe XIX i XX vekov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1992), pp. 8–66.

²⁰³ Shaw, *Bernard Shaw: The Diaries, 1885–1897*, 11: 1019, Shaw, 'A Word About Stepniak', pp. 106–7; F. V. Volkhovsky, biographical note to Esper Serebryakov, 'How to check Militarism', *Free Russia*, 10.6–7 (June–July, 1899), p. 55.

and to make the most absurd alterations in detail for the sake of local color, which, however, is amusing & will intensify the extravagance of the play & will give it realism at the same time'.²⁰⁴ But though it is set during and after the Serbo-Bulgarian war, its subject is not that war. Shaw remarked in an interview that, after writing the play with the names of the places left blank, he had 'asked Mr. Sidney Webb to find out a good war for my purpose', who told him 'the Servo Bulgarian was what I wanted'.²⁰⁵ In fact, its subject is not even war in general. Shaw's subject is idealism, and war in this play, like love, is significant primarily in so far as it is a part of life particularly dominated by romantic ideals. But it is nevertheless precisely in this choice of subject, rather than in the superficial connections suggested by the South Eastern European setting and Shaw's adoption of Kravchinsky's first name for one of his protagonists, that underlines the relevance of the *chaikovtsy* to the Fabians, and to British literary culture in the period.

Shaw introduces the theme of misplaced idealism within the first minutes of the play, when Raina, the romantic heroine, wonders whether her own and her family's admiration for her fiancée Sergius, a major in the Bulgarian army, might be based less on his worth than on their own romantic ideas: 'it came into my head just as he was holding me in his arms and looking into my eyes, that perhaps we only had our heroic ideals because we are so fond of reading Byron and Pushkin, and because we were so delighted with the opera that season at Bucharest. Real life is so seldom like that!' Shaw proceeds to dismantle his romantic heroine's illusions, deploying his protagonist, the Swiss mercenary Captain Bluntschli, to articulate her pretensions: 'when you get into that noble attitude and speak in that thrilling voice, I admire you', he has Bluntschli tell Raina, 'but I find it impossible to believe a single word you say'. As contemporary commentators noted, much of the comedy turns on having the actors critique theatricality: 'You know, I've always gone on like that—I mean the noble attitude and the thrilling voice. I did it when I was a tiny child to my nurse. S h e believed in it. I do it before my parents. T h e y believe in it. I do it before Sergius. H e believes in it'.²⁰⁶

Always implicit in their commitment to education, by the 1890s the drive to demythologize was central to the Fabians' self-definition. Indeed *Arms and the Man* is in a loose sense a Fabian allegory: in a letter to William Archer Shaw identified the main characters with contemporary socialist colleagues. Raina's model was the former Fabian Annie Besant, renowned for her beautiful voice and oratory, Sergius was based on the Liberal Radical Robert Bontine Cunninghamhame Graham, and Bluntschli himself, the location of the play's values, portrayed Shaw's friend and colleague in the Fabian society, the pragmatic Sidney Webb.²⁰⁷ But if the play's

²⁰⁴ Shaw, letter to C. T. H. Helmsley, 17 April 1894, in *Collected Letters*, 1: 424; Shaw, letter to Charles Charrington, 21 March 1894, in Bernard Shaw, *Selected Correspondence of Bernard Shaw*, 1: *Theatrics*, ed. by Dan H. Laurence (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 12.

²⁰⁵ 'Ten Minutes with Mr. Bernard Shaw', *To-day*, 2.25 (28 April 1894), p. 373.

²⁰⁶ Bernard Shaw, 'Arms and the Man: a Comedy', in *Plays: Pleasant and Unpleasant*, 2 vols (London: Grant Richards, 1898), 11: 1–76 (5–6, 53–4): Shaw uses spaces rather than italics for emphasis here; 'Avenue Theatre', *Daily Chronicle* (23 April 1894), p. 6.

²⁰⁷ Shaw, letter to William Archer, [21 April 1898], in *Collected Letters*, 11: 34; see the discussion of Cunninghamhame Graham and Sidney Webb in Louis Crompton, *Shaw the Dramatist: A Study of the*

approval of Bluntschli implied esteem for the pamphlets and histories that were Webb's means of educating his audience, the play also self-evidently made the case for the educative role of drama, even while it critiqued theatricality.²⁰⁸ In the preface to the 1898 publication of the play Shaw argued that 'public and private life become daily more theatrical', and that the theatre's ability to provide its public with the tools to critique the performances of everyday life gave it its importance as 'a social organ'. He characterized *Arms and the Man* 'and the realistic plays of the modern school' as 'a general onslaught on idealism': 'idealism, which is only a flattering name for romance in politics and morals, is as obnoxious to me as romance in ethics or religion', he wrote. 'I can no longer be satisfied with fictitious morals and fictitious good context, shedding fictitious glory on robbery, starvation, disease, crime, drink, war, cruelty, cupidity, and all the other commonplaces of civilization which drive men to the theatre to make foolish pretences that such things are progress, science, morals, religion, patriotism, imperial supremacy, national greatness and all the other names the newspapers call them'.

In this period, Shaw was probably the most influential advocate of the idea that literature and socialism were, or at least should be, engaged in essentially the same task, that is, the promotion of realism. But he was not alone in drawing such a direct connection. The argument by the Fabian and member of the Fellowship of the New Life, William Clarke, referred to earlier, that 'the new spirit in literature' was a cause of the socialist revival, was published the month before *Arms and the Man* opened and expressed in markedly similar terms to Shaw's: 'The genteel, the conventional, the thinner kind of romantic literature began to die out; and the powerful realistic school began to attract men's minds. There was a desire to know things as they are, to sound the plummet in the sea of social misery, to have done with make-believe and get at realities'. The first example Clarke gives of 'the new spirit' is that 'The Russian writers, with their intense Socialistic feeling, attracted great numbers of readers, who seemed to find in them something entirely new and immensely powerful'.²⁰⁹ Though the impact of Russian literature on his drama would not really become evident before the Chekhovian and, Soboleva and Wrenn have argued, Gor'kian *Heartbreak House* (1919), Shaw's literary views were brought close to those of the *chaikovtsy* by other influences during this period, notably the influence of Henrik Ibsen.²¹⁰ In *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1891), which had its origin in a lecture he gave in the Fabian lecture series 'Socialism in Contemporary Literature' the previous summer, Shaw develops his opposition of realism to idealism, in the course of arguing that Ibsen's 'thesis' is 'that the real slavery of to-day is slavery to ideals of virtue'. This entails an argument against those 'who have conned Ibsen through idealist spectacles' and read him as a poet rather than a moralist:

Intellectual Background of the Major Plays (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), pp. 21–3, and Norma Jenckes's introduction in Bernard Shaw, *Arms and the Man: A Facsimile of the Holograph Manuscript*, ed. by Norma Jenckes (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. xiii–xxiii.

²⁰⁸ See G. Bernard Shaw, 'A Dramatic Realist to His Critics', *New Review*, 11 (July 1894), 56–73, where Shaw defends the play's portrayal of militarism as 'the plainest matter-of-fact' (p. 68).

²⁰⁹ Clarke, 'The Fabian Society', p. 95.

²¹⁰ Soboleva and Wrenn, *The Only Hope of the World*, pp. 73–99.

‘many of those who are most fascinated by the poetry of the plays will plead for any explanation of them rather than that given by Ibsen himself in the plainest terms through the mouths of Mrs Alving, Relling, and the rest’, Shaw writes, ‘No great writer uses his skill to conceal his meaning’.²¹¹ Like the *chaikovsky*, Shaw insists the value of literature lies in its lessons for life: ‘There can be no question as to the effect likely to be produced on an individual by his conversion from the ordinary acceptance of current ideals as safe standards of conduct, to the vigilant open-mindedness of Ibsen. It must at once greatly deepen the sense of moral responsibility’.²¹² Literature, like socialism, must give readers the tools to improve their and others’ lives, and Shaw admired writers who placed ethical concerns at the centre of their writing. Unsurprisingly, Henry James did not fall into this category. Writing to him in November 1909 on behalf of the Stage Society to reject *The Saloon*, James’s adaptation of his short story ‘Owen Wingrave’, Shaw recommended changing the ending and commented, ‘As the thing stands now, it is very talented; but is it any better than Turgenief? People don’t want works of art from you: they want help: they want, above all, encouragement, encouragement, encouragement, encouragement, encouragement and again encouragement until there is no more room on the paper’.²¹³

Literary history has favoured James, not Shaw, and the fact that James’s meticulous examinations of upper middle-class domestic life have a more secure place in genealogies of modernism than Shaw’s popular, scandalizing, demythologizing dramas is indicative of the strength of literary values otherwise at odds with avant-garde experiment. As Michael Levenson has recently discussed, neither Shaw himself, nor any member of what he called the ‘world movement’ he promoted, is seen today as representative of modernism. The figures in the list Shaw gave in the preface to the 1913 edition of *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*—Bergson, Chekhov, Gor’ky, Ibsen, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Strindberg, Wagner, and ‘post-Ibsen English drama’—characteristically appear, Levenson remarks, under the heading of ‘precursor’ or ‘context’. But this reminds us, he continues, that ‘Modernism has become circumscribed as a history of techniques, a species of formalism in which the figures he names here are typically set aside... Shaw’s cohort of revolutionary figures deserves prominence because we need more acknowledgment of a “philosophic” modernity that challenged the self-understanding of the greater public’. Levenson’s term for this strand of modernism is ‘discursive modernism’, clearly closely aligned to Shaw’s ‘realism’.²¹⁴

Levenson’s discursive modernism intersects substantially with the Russophile strand in modernism this book traces, because both derive from close contact with anti-authoritarian political movements. Both stimulate debate with the aim of bringing about change. But not all Russophile modernism is discursive modernism: the former is not simply a subset of the latter. If the Fabian route through

²¹¹ G. Bernard Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (London: Walter Scott, 1891), pp. v, 122.

²¹² Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, p. 131; Kropotkin, *Russian Literature*, p. 286.

²¹³ Shaw, letter to Henry James, 17 November 1909, in *Collected Letters*, II: 828.

²¹⁴ Michael Levenson, *Modernism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 18–19.

which Russian literature made contact with progressive British literary culture leads into a discursive modernism represented in Britain by Shaw and Wells, another form of Russophile modernism was reached by a different, if related, route that we have already briefly encountered through Ford Madox Ford: the simple life.

1.4 THE SIMPLE LIFE

It was a fundamental tenet of Russian populism that, first, the peasant commune would provide the model for, and the basis of, socialism in Russia, and that, second, the commune's existence demonstrated that Russian peasants were naturally collectivist and socialist. These principles were theorized for the populist movement of the 1870s by Petr Lavrov, Nikolay Mikhailovsky, and Vasily Bervi-Flerovsky, but the outline of a socialism based on the peasantry and the commune had first been set out twenty to thirty years before in the writings of Bakunin, Chernyshevsky, and Gertsen (Herzen).²¹⁵ Following from these principles, the populists argued that Russia could bypass the capitalist phase of economic development and pass directly from semi-feudalism to socialism. This was the argument of Bervi-Flerovsky's *Polozhenie rabocheho klassa v Rossii* (1869) (*The Situation of the Working Class in Russia*), the work Marx learned Russian to read in 1869–70.²¹⁶ As Marx's social theory became more influential towards the end of the 1870s, opinion about the commune's role in a socialist future became divisive. Zasulich wrote to Marx in 1881 to ask him to settle the 'life-and-death question' that was fragmenting Russian socialism: whether 'the rural commune, freed of exorbitant tax demands, payment to the nobility and arbitrary administration, is capable of developing in a socialist direction' (in which case 'the revolutionary socialist must devote all his strength to the liberation and development of the commune'), or 'the commune is destined to perish' (in which case, their task would be to wait for

²¹⁵ Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, pp. 1–3; Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought*, pp. 222–7. The key works here are: P. L. Lavrov, *Istoricheskie pis'ma* (St Petersburg: A. Kotomin, 1870); N. Flerovsky [Vasily Bervi], *Polozhenie rabocheho klassa v Rossii: Nablyudeniya i issledovaniya* (St Petersburg: N. P. Polyakov, 1869); Nik. Mikhailovsky, 'Chto takoe progress?', review of Gerbert Spenser, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Herbert Spencer, *Collected Works*), *Otechestvennye zapiski*, 182.2.1, 186.9.2, 187.11.2 (1869), 225–80, 1–45, 1–39; Michael Bakunin, *Anruf an die Slaven. Von einem russischen Patrioten* (Köthen: the author, 1848); N. Chernyshevsky, 'Kritika filosofskikh predubezhdeniy protiv obshchinnogo zemlevladieniya', *Sovremennik*, 72 (1858), 575–614; 'Un Russe' [Aleksandr Gertsen], 'La Russie', *Voix du peuple* (supplements), 50, 57, 71 (19, 26 November, 10 December 1849) [n. pag.]; A. Iscander [Aleksandr Gertsen], *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (Paris: Franck, 1851); Iscander, *Le Peuple russe et le socialisme: Lettre à Monsieur J. Michelet* (Paris: Franck, 1852).

²¹⁶ Karl Marx, letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, 29 November 1869, in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, XLIII (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), pp. 389–90; Karl Marx, letter to Committee Members of the Russian Section of the First International in Geneva, 24 March 1870, N. F. Daniel'son, letter to Marx, 30 September 1869, in *Perepiska K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa s russkimi politicheskimi deyatelyami*, pp. 39, 70–1, pp. 368–69, B. Nikolaevsky, 'Russkie knigi v bibliotekakh K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa (materialy dlya izucheniya ikh otnosheniya k Rossii)', in D. Ryazanov, ed., *Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa*, IV (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1929), pp. 355–423 (pp. 368–9).

capitalism to develop the means of production, and 'conduct propaganda solely among the urban workers'). Though Marx responded that *Das Kapital's* argument about the historical inevitability of capitalism had been 'expressly restricted to the countries of Western Europe', he concluded, surprisingly, that his study of writings about the commune had convinced him 'that the commune is the fulcrum for social regeneration in Russia. But in order that it might function as such, the harmful influences assailing it on all sides must first be eliminated, and it must then be assured the normal conditions for spontaneous development'.²¹⁷ Neither this, nor the equally carefully worded preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, published the following year, provided the unequivocal rejection of populism's faith in the commune expected by the Russian Marxists, who would, with Zasulich, form the Emancipation of Labour Group in 1883.²¹⁸

As we have seen, the *chaikovtsy* continued to promote populism, and the natural socialism of the peasant commune was a central point in Kravchinsky's writings for Western readers. In *Underground Russia*, he wrote that 'there is no country in the world where the peasantry would be so ready to accept the principles of Federative Socialism as Russia', and in the far more detailed study, *The Russian Peasantry* (1888), first published as articles in *The Times* and the *Fortnightly Review*, he concluded by suggesting the peasantry would 'in the natural course of their intellectual and economic growth pass from communal and local co-operation to general national co-operation, gradually embracing all the branches of national industry, which is nothing but socialism'.²¹⁹ Kravchinsky did not recommend the commune as a social model outside Russia, nevertheless the *chaikovtsy's* approbation of the commune and rural socialism was timely. In Britain, the combined forces of agricultural decline, agitation for land reform, and anti-capitalist attraction to a simpler life prompted new interest in the countryside from the 1870s: rural communities became a subject of political debate, academic research, and artistic endeavour.²²⁰ Conservation bodies were set up to preserve the countryside and its

²¹⁷ Vera Zasulich, letter to Karl Marx, 16 February 1881, Karl Marx, letter to Vera Zasulich, 8 March 1881, in Ryazanov, ed. *Arkhiv K. Marksa i F. Engel'sa*, 1: 269, 286; 'Marx-Zasulich correspondence: letters and drafts', in Shanin, ed., *Late Marx and the Russian Road*, pp. 97–126 (pp. 98, 124). See also Teodor Shanin, 'Late Marx: gods and craftsmen' in the same volume, pp. 3–40 (pp. 13–19); Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought*, p. 408; and Bergman, *Vera Zasulich*, pp. 74–3.

²¹⁸ Karl Marks i Fridrikh Engel's, 'Predislovie avtorov k russkomu izdaniyu', in *Manifest kommunisticheskoi partii* (Geneva: Vol'naya Russkaya Tipografiya, 1882), pp. 6–8.

²¹⁹ Stepniak, *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (London: Smith, Elder, 1883), p. 26; Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion*, 2 vols (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowery, 1888), II: 641.

²²⁰ Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880–1914* (London: Quartet, 1982), pp. 3–5; J. W. Burrow, 'The Village Community' and the Uses of History in Late Nineteenth-Century England', in Neil McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb* (London: Europa, 1974), pp. 255–84 (p. 256). Influential studies written in this period include Henry Sumner Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West: Six Lectures Delivered at Oxford* (London: John Murray, 1871); Emile de Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, trans. by G. R. L. Marriott (London: Macmillan, 1878); Frederic Seebohm, *The English Village Community Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of Husbandry: An Essay in Economic History* (London: Longmans, Green, 1883); George Laurence Gomme, *The Village Community with Special Reference to the Origin*

ancient buildings: the Commons Preservation Society was founded in 1865, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877, the National Footpaths Preservation Society in 1884, and the National Trust in 1895.²²¹

New communities were created too. One of the first was St George's Farm in Totley, near Sheffield, which was established by John Ruskin's 'utopian social mission', the Guild of St George, in 1877 with a group of Sheffield workers who wanted to create a self-sufficient commune.²²² In 1892, following Ruskin's example, Herbert Mills, a Unitarian minister, and two friends founded a colony near Starnthwaite in the Lake District. In 1895 four men and two women set up the anarcho-communist Clousden Hill Free Communist and Cooperative Colony near Newcastle, farming dairy, poultry, and vegetables. The founding colonists of the Norton Colony, formed in 1896 near Sheffield, committed themselves to 'vegetarianism, teetotalism, non-smoking and abstention from salt, chemicals, drugs and minerals and all fermenting and decomposing foods', inspired by Edward Carpenter's writings about farming and sandal-making at his smallholding at nearby Millthorpe.²²³ The Purleigh colony in Essex was also founded in 1896 as the basis of 'a new society, rid of old cruelties and dishonesties'. It was formed by a group including John Kenworthy, a Companion of the Guild of St George and a committee member of the New Fellowship (as the Fellowship of the New Life had renamed itself), beginning with three colonists, and a professional gardener and his family.²²⁴ These experiments had varied success. Starnthwaite had twenty-two colonists at its peak in 1893, but was turned over to the English Land Colonisation Society and then to the Christian Union for Social Service in 1900. The Norton colony, which had grown to seven members, also closed in 1900, and Clousden

and Form of its Survival in Britain (London: Walter Scott, 1890); Paul Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England: Essays in English Mediaeval History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892).

²²¹ Marsh, *Back to the Land*, pp. 39–59.

²²² W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560–1960* (London: Routledge, 1961), pp. 292–94; Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 52–63; Mark Frost, *The Lost Companions and John Ruskin's Guild of St George: A Revisionary History* (London: Anthem Press, 2014); Marsh, *Back to the Land*, pp. 94–6.

²²³ Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp. 312–15; John Field, *Working Men's Bodies: Work Camps in Britain, 1880–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 77–85; Marsh, *Back to the Land*, pp. 100–2. On Carpenter and Millthorpe, see Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008), pp. 87; Edward Carpenter, *England's Ideal and Other Papers on Social Subjects* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co, 1887); Edward Carpenter, *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure, and Other Essays* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1889); Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1916), pp. 147–89.

²²⁴ Charlotte Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples: The History of a Radical International Movement* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 128–33; Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp. 336–9, 342–9; W. H. G. Armytage, 'J. C. Kenworthy and the Tolstoyan Communities in England', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 16.4 (1957), 391–405; M. J. de K. Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony: Tolstoyan Togetherness in the Late 1890s', in Malcolm Jones, ed., *New Essays on Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 194–222; Manton, 'The Fellowship of the New Life', pp. 286, 299; Marsh, *Back to the Land*, pp. 102–11, John Ruskin, 'The Guild of St. George: Master's Report, 1884', in *The Works of John Ruskin*, xxx: *The Guild and Museum of St George*, ed. by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1907), p. 86; Nellie Shaw, *Whiteway: A Colony on the Cotswolds* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1935), pp. 32–8.

Hill grew to a colony of twenty-six, but closed in 1902. The first group at St George's Farm relinquished the experiment within a year, but in 1888 a new group of tenants, recommended to Ruskin by Carpenter, established a more permanent and successful community, one of whom bought the land from the Guild in 1929.²²⁵ The Purleigh colony had largely broken up by 1900, but some of its members founded a colony in 1898 at Whiteway, near Stroud, which still exists.²²⁶

Ruskin, Carpenter, and William Morris provided the chief British literary and theoretical inspirations for the simple life movement. But it was shaped by influences from beyond Britain too. The land reform and single tax arguments of *Progress and Poverty* (1879) by the North American journalist Henry George were profoundly important to the whole socialist revival, and Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854) was a major inspiration for Carpenter, who read it in 1883 just after buying his land in Millthorpe, and for many more simple lifers when it was finally published in Britain three years later.²²⁷ Thomas Davidson, the founder of the Fellowship of the New Life, who had taught at summer schools in the United States alongside Amos Bronson Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a conduit between American romanticism and British socialism.²²⁸ Robert S. Fogarty lists 141 'communal societies' established in the United States between 1860 and 1914, and references to North American colonies, such as Brook Farm in Massachusetts (1841–47), the Oneida Community in New York State and Connecticut (1848–54), and the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee (1894–99), recur in the writings of British simple lifers.²²⁹ But there was a significant Russian influence too, which reached British simple lifers via two key figures. The first was Kropotkin, whose *Nineteenth Century* essays of the late 1880s and 1890s (published as *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1898) and *Mutual Aid* (1902)) were widely cited. Both the Norton and the Clousden Hill colonies were based on his anti-Darwinian theory of mutual co-operation.²³⁰ Olive Garnett relates that his practical example even temporarily turned the metropolitan anarchist Rossettis into simple life gardeners.²³¹ But even more significant for the simple life movement was Tolstoy. The colonies at Purleigh

²²⁵ Frost, *The Lost Companions*, pp. 160, 172; Marsh, *Back to the Land*, pp. 97–8; E. C. [Edward Carpenter], 'A Minstrel Communist', *Commonweal*, 5.165 (9 March 1889), 74–5 (p. 75).

²²⁶ Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', p. 216.

²²⁷ Henry George, *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth: The Remedy* (London: Kegan Paul, 1881); Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (London: Walter Scott, 1886); Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams*, pp. 114–16; Peter d'A. Jones, 'Henry George and British Socialism', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 47 (1988), 473–91.

²²⁸ Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism*, p. 244.

²²⁹ Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp. 331, 336, 346; Robert S. Fogarty, *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements, 1860–1914* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1990), pp. 227–33.

²³⁰ P. Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (London: Hutchinson, 1899); P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (London: William Heinemann, 1902).

²³¹ Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, 11: 306; O. Garnett, 'A Bloomsbury Girlhood', p. 64: on 14 June 1892 the Rossettis had been to see Kropotkin at his home in Acton 'and found him gardening, and strong on the subject of manures. So they came home and set to work to garden also, and are growing beans, wheat, barley and Indian corn as well as flowers, and are trying to reclaim the soil with kegs of manure from the Stores'.

and Whiteway were specifically Tolstoyan, as were smaller turn-of-the-century colonies at Leeds, Braunstone, near Leicester, and Tuckton, near Christchurch. Nellie Shaw, a founding member of Whiteway, recalled the 'heart-searchings' as she and her fellow Croydon socialists 'tried to put the teaching of Tolstoy into practice' in normal society. Inspired by the colonies at Starnthwaite and Clousden Hill, they 'finally... decided to begin a land colony, as agriculture seemed to be the basis of all constructive work'.²³²

The Tolstoyan movement had a substantial impact on the way Tolstoy's works were translated and disseminated in Britain. Tolstoy had first appeared in English in 1862, when the London firm Bell and Daldy published a translation of *Detstvo* (1852) and *Otrochestvo* (1854) in one volume, as *Childhood and Youth*.²³³ In 1878 Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington reprinted Eugene Schuyler's translation of 'Kazaki' (1863), *The Cossacks*, which had been published in New York by Scribner's.²³⁴ In 1885 his work started appearing more regularly. That year, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. published *Christ's Christianity*, an edition of Tolstoy's religious writings, 'How I Came to Believe' (*Isповed' [A Confession]*), 'What I Believe' (*V chem moya vera*) and 'The Spirit of Christ's Teaching' (from *Kratkoe izlozhenie Evangeliiya [The Gospel in Brief]*, 1883; 1899), put together by Tolstoy's close friend and Russian publisher, Vladimir Chertkov.²³⁵ *What I Believe* was also published the same year in a different translation by a Ms L. Frears and Constantine Popoff by Elliott Stock.²³⁶ In 1886 Henry Vizetelly published *War and Peace* (*Voina i mir*, 1869), in 1887 *Anna Karenina* (*Anna Karenina*, 1877), and in 1888 *The Cossacks and Other Stories* ('Kazaki', 1863, 'Sevastopol'skie rasskazy' ('Sevastopol Sketches'), 1855–56, 'Tri smerti' ('Three Deaths'), 1859, 'Kavkazskii plennik' ('A Prisoner of the Caucasus'), 1872).²³⁷ *The Cossacks* was also published that year by a Newcastle press, Walter Scott. Scott published thirty-two works by Tolstoy between 1888 and 1910—fifteen appearing the following year.²³⁸ Since Tolstoy had renounced fiction

²³² Shaw, *Whiteway*, p. 31; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, p. 120.

²³³ Nicola Tolstoi, *Childhood and Youth: A Tale*, trans. by Mawilda von Meysenbug (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862). As well as the oddity of rendering a version of Tolstoy's patronymic as his first name, the title chosen here is potentially confusing because, since Isabel Hapgood's 1886 translation, the third volume of Tolstoy's, *Yunost'* (1857), not included in Meysenbug's translation, has been translated as *Youth*, and *Otrochestvo* (usually) as *Boyhood*.

²³⁴ Leo Tolstoy, *The Cossacks: A Tale of the Caucasus in 1852*, trans. by Eugene Schuyler, 2 vols (London: Samson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878).

²³⁵ Leo Tolstoi, *Christ's Christianity*, [ed. and trans. by Vladimir Chertkov, with Henry Francis Prevost Battersby, Charles Heath, Charles Turner] (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1883). See L. N. Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 90 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1928–58) LXXXV: 63–4.

²³⁶ Leon Tolstoi, *What I Believe*, trans. by [L. Frears and] Constantine Popoff (London: Elliott Stock, 1885). See Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, LXXXV: 203–4.

²³⁷ Lyof Tolstoi, *War and Peace* [trans. from French by Clara Bell], 3 vols (London: Vizetelly, 1886); Lyof N. Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina: A Russian Realistic Novel* [trans. by Nathan Haskell Dole] (London: Vizetelly, 1887); Lyof Tolstoi, *The Cossacks; and Other Stories* (London: Vizetelly, 1888). The Vizetelly *War and Peace* lightly revises the Bell translation, which had been published in New York by Gottsberger the same year; 'The Cossacks' appears to be a lightly revised version of Eugene Schuyler's translation, a revised edition of which had been published by Gottsberger in 1887.

²³⁸ Lyof N. Tolstoi, *The Cossacks: A Tale of the Caucasus in the Year 1852*, trans. by Nathan Haskell Dole (London: Walter Scott, 1888). See John R. Turner, *The Walter Scott Publishing Company: A Bibliography* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997).

after completing *Anna Karenina* in 1877, the majority were translations of his moral and religious writings and, as Michael Holman amongst others has noted, Tolstoy's British reception was fundamentally determined by the rapidity with which the works of his long career were published. 'Whereas in Russia he had revealed himself gradually' to his readers, writes Holman, in Britain:

Tolstoy the artist and Tolstoy the social reformer were revealed to them almost simultaneously. And being unaware of the sequence in which works of fiction and works of social criticism had been written, his English readers could hardly appreciate, for example, that twenty years separated the writing of *War and Peace* and works such as *What then Must We Do?*, *What I Believe* and *Walk in the Light While There is Light*. They could only marvel at the remarkable combination in one man of the imaginative artist and the political polemicist.²³⁹

Holman remarks that 'nowhere, outside Russia was Tolstoy's popularity greater in the last twenty years of his life than in England', an assessment also made by contemporary Tolstoyans.²⁴⁰ But, as we have seen, though Tolstoy's literary stature was acknowledged by the *chaikovtsy*, they did not promote his religious and pacifist work, rightly seeing its potential to undermine the revolutionary cause.²⁴¹ They were not involved in the publication of his works: though Constance Garnett translated *Tsarstvo Bozhie vnutri vas* in 1894 (as *The Kingdom of God is Within You*) and the major fiction between 1901 and 1904, the initiative came from Heinemann and Garnett herself, not the *chaikovtsy*.²⁴² Charlotte Alston attributes Tolstoy's popularity to the fact that his 'Christian anarchist tracts directly addressed social, religious and political questions that were being earnestly discussed by the country's numerous reform-minded movements at the turn of the century', and certainly Tolstoy's name recurs in contemporary accounts of the simple life canon. As Alston remarks, 'if they were reading Tolstoy, they were likely also to be reading other "prophets" of the day: John Ruskin, Edward Carpenter, Thomas Carlyle, Walt Whitman or William Morris'.²⁴³

It was, indeed, 'from the circles of thought and life' created by Morris and Ruskin that John Kenworthy, the founder of the Purleigh colony and one of the leaders of British Tolstoyism, wrote that he 'at last saw Tolstoy'.²⁴⁴ The first works he read, around 1890, were not the novels, but *My Religion* (*V chem moya vera*, better known as *What I Believe*) and *What to Do?* (*Tak chto zhe nam delat'*, 1886; 1889), both published by Scott in 1889, followed by *The Kreutzer Sonata* (*Kreitzerova sonata*, 1889), which he read while working in the United States.²⁴⁵

²³⁹ Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', pp. 194–5.

²⁴⁰ Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', p. 194; John Coleman Kenworthy, *Tolstoy: His Life and Works* (London: Walter Scott, 1902), p. 20.

²⁴¹ Offord, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement in the 1880s*, p. 79.

²⁴² R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 107, 191.

²⁴³ Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, pp. 7, 5.

²⁴⁴ Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*, p. 12.

²⁴⁵ L. N. Tolstoi, *My Religion*, trans. by Huntington Smith (London: Walter Scott, 1889); Lyof N. Tolstoi, *What to Do?*, [trans. by N. H. Dole] (London: Walter Scott, 1889). Three translations of *Kreitzerova sonata* were published in Britain in 1890: Lyof N. Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata and Family Happiness* (London: Walter Scott, [1890]); Lev Nikolaievitch Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata* [trans. by H. Sutherland Edwards] (London: Eden, Remington, 1890); Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata*,

'Surprised and glad to find a mind working on my own lines, but in advance, with a wider and mature discussion', Kenworthy decided to give up his commercial career in 1893 and 'live among the poor', working with the Mansfield House University Settlement in Canning Town. It was during this period that Kenworthy wrote the book that would bring him into personal contact with Tolstoy, *The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures on Economics* (1893), conceived as a successor to Ruskin's *Unto This Last* (1860). At his friend Semen Rapoport's suggestion, he sent a copy to Tolstoy, who replied that he had already obtained the book and was having it translated into Russian; he later provided an introductory note for the 1900 new edition. Kenworthy visited Tolstoy during the winter of 1895 to 1896 and again in 1900. 'I had not realised how completely the position thus disclosed [by *The Anatomy of Misery*] is the position taken these twenty years past by Leo Tolstoy, until this book established with him that friendship which has been an inexpressible encouragement and source of strength to me', Kenworthy wrote in the preface to the second edition. 'With the names of Ruskin and Tolstoy I would wish "The Anatomy of Misery" to be always associated'.²⁴⁶

The transformation of Kenworthy's personal interest in Tolstoy into a movement and a commune began with his collaboration with John Bruce Wallace, an Irish Christian Socialist, who edited a popular monthly, *Brotherhood*. Kenworthy and Wallace appear to have met through Mansfield House. Wallace spoke at its Sunday Evening Discussion Society a few months after moving to London at the end of 1891, *Brotherhood* reported on the settlement regularly, and in December 1892 Kenworthy made his first appearance in the journal to invite readers to participate in a conference at Mansfield House.²⁴⁷ On 3 May 1893 Wallace and Kenworthy both spoke at the annual meeting of the Nationalization of Labour Society (Wallace had become vice-president and *Brotherhood* had incorporated its magazine), and in January 1894 Wallace and Kenworthy set up the Brotherhood Trust together to establish a system of co-operative enterprises. Over the next few years they and their colleagues set up a Brotherhood House and a Brotherhood Store, which sold provisions from co-operative societies and 'Labour Socialist and Vegetarian and other advanced periodicals and literature', and provided a base for

trans. by William M. Thomson (London: Thomson, 1890). The novel was also published simultaneously in English, French, German, and Russian by the Bibliographic Office in Berlin: Leo Tolstoj, *The Kreutzer Sonata* (Berlin: Bibliographic Office in Berlin, 1890). Kenworthy, however, read the novel while in the United States, where three further English translations were published: Leo Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata*, trans. by Benj. R. Tucker (Boston, MA: Benj. R. Tucker, 1890); Leo Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata* (Chicago, IL: C. H. Sergel, [1890]); Lyof Tolstoi, *The Kreutzer Sonata* (New York: Pollard, 1890).

²⁴⁶ Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*, pp. 12–14, 214–16; John C. Kenworthy, *My Psychic Experiences: Being an Address given before the London Spiritualist Alliance in St. James's Hall, Piccadilly on April 12th, 1901* (London: 'Light', 1901), pp. 6–8; John Coleman Kenworthy, *The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures on Economics*, 2nd edn (London: John C. Kenworthy, 1900), p. 10; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, p. 72.

²⁴⁷ Percy Alden, 'What they are doing at Mansfield House', *Brotherhood*, 6.9 (April 1892), 206–7; John C. Kenworthy, 'Mansfield House University Settlement [letter to the editor]', *Brotherhood*, 6.17 (1892), p. 404.

dressmaking, tailoring and boot-making co-operatives.²⁴⁸ The Trust developed not only out of activities at Mansfield House (a Brotherhood Society had been founded there in 1892), but also the Brotherhood Church, as Wallace had renamed the Southgate Road Congregational Church in Hackney, of which he had been 'honorary minister' since May 1892.²⁴⁹

None of these activities appear to have been specifically Tolstoyan. Wallace's Brotherhood movement, though avowedly Christian, was primarily concerned with local co-operative initiatives and the promotion of parliamentary socialism. Indeed, on the occasions Tolstoy's philosophy was discussed in *Brotherhood*, it tended to be with scepticism.²⁵⁰ But in June 1894 the opportunity came for Kenworthy to spread the Tolstoyan gospel. A group of socialists in Croydon, who had been attending Wallace's Brotherhood Church, decided to found a local church along the same lines, and they asked Kenworthy to become the pastor of their 'West Croydon Brotherhood Church'.²⁵¹ Croydon had become something of a socialist hub: it was not far from Fabian Limpsfield, and had a particular concentration of New Fellowship members. The Fellowship had established a kindergarten in nearby Thornton Heath in 1889, the Croydon Ethical and Religious Fellowship in 1890, and a Fellowship Gild 'for poor children' in 1893.²⁵² Though W. H. G. Armytage is wrong to suggest the Fellowship became a Tolstoyan movement, there was clearly sympathy between the Fellowship's endeavours and Kenworthy's. The only explicit advocate of Tolstoy in *Seed-time*, the Fellowship's journal, was Herbert Rix, a member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, who became the leader of the Croydon Ethical and Religious Fellowship.²⁵³ But Kenworthy lectured to the Fellowship on 'Christian anarchism' in October 1893, *The Anatomy of Misery* was positively reviewed in *Seed-time* in 1894, he reported on the progress of the Brotherhood Church in 1895, and he served on the Fellowship's committee from 1894 until its demise in 1898.²⁵⁴ Kenworthy's church initially attracted a congregation representing a broad spectrum of socialism but, as Nellie

²⁴⁸ Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp. 344–5; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, pp. 89–91; John Orme, 'Nationalization of Labour Society', *Brotherhood*, ns 1.2 (May 1893), 26–7; J. Bruce Wallace, 'Towards a Fraternal Organization: A Plan for Immediate Action', *Brotherhood*, ns 1.9 (January 1894), 127–9; J. Bruce Wallace, 'More about the Brotherhood Trust', *Brotherhood*, ns 1.10 (February 1894), 143–5; J. Bruce Wallace, *Towards Fraternal Organisation: An Explanation of the Brotherhood Trust*, 2nd rev. edn (London: Brotherhood Trust, [1894]), pp. 1–6.

²⁴⁹ 'The Brotherhood Society at Mansfield House', *Brotherhood*, 6.16 (November 1892), p. 382; 'The Editor's New Sphere of Ministry', *Brotherhood*, 6.10 (May 1892), p. 240.

²⁵⁰ 'Gourmandising', *Brotherhood*, 6.13 (August 1892), p. 305; 'Reviews: Count Tolstoi's Basic Work', review of Tolstoy, *The Four Gospels*, *Brotherhood*, ns 3.2 (June 1895), 24–6.

²⁵¹ 'A New Brotherhood Church', *Brotherhood*, ns 2.2 (June 1894), p. 30; Shaw, *Whiteway*, pp. 20–1. See also John C. Kenworthy, 'A Change of Name', *New Order*, 3.10 (October 1897), 73–4.

²⁵² 'The New Fellowship', *The Sower*, 1 (July 1889), 11–12 (p. 12); 'The New Fellowship', *Seed-time*, 2 (October 1889), 11–12 (p. 11); J. F. Oakeshott, 'The New Fellowship: A Retrospect', *Seed-time*, 29 (July 1896), 1–3; Harold Oakeshott, 'The Fellowship Gild', *Seed-time*, 29 (July 1896), 3–4 (p. 4).

²⁵³ 'Fellowship Meetings', *Seed-time*, 4 (April 1890), p. 15; Herbert Rix, 'The Later Works of Count Leo Tolstoi', *Seed-time*, 15 (January 1893), 1–5.

²⁵⁴ 'The New Fellowship', *Seed-time*, 18 (October 1893), 16; 'Our Library Table', *Seed-time*, 19 (January 1894), 12–15; John C. Kenworthy, 'Correspondence: The "Brotherhood Church" at West Croydon', *Seed-time*, 24 (April 1895), 14; 'Annual Meeting of the New Fellowship', *Seed-time*, 22 (October 1894), 15.

Shaw, one of the church's founders, recalled, 'it soon became apparent that the gospel of Tolstoy, which Kenworthy preached, was nothing more or less than Communist Anarchism, for he delivered a lecture one Sunday night in which he denounced voting and the whole political machine. This gave great offence, and a good many local Socialists left, only those remaining who were under the spell of this highly magnetic man, and prepared to stand by his teaching'.²⁵⁵ As Kenworthy's church became more committed to Tolstoyism, its attention turned to establishing an agricultural commune, which led to the founding of the Purleigh colony. As Charlotte Alston has discussed, though Kenworthy's Croydon church was the centre of British Tolstoyism, there were also Tolstoyan groups established in Blackburn, Christchurch, Derby, Leeds, London, Manchester, and Wickford in Essex.²⁵⁶

The translation and dissemination of Tolstoy's writings was central to the work of British Tolstoyism. Even Walter Scott, which was not a Tolstoyan publisher as such, appears to have had an ideological commitment to the publication of Tolstoy. Alston has argued that the commitment was primarily commercial: 'Both Walter Scott and Crowell were interested in publishing European "classics" that would sell to a broad market. They benefitted from the relatively low cost of Russian translations, as Russia did not subscribe to the 1887 Berne convention on copyright', she writes.²⁵⁷ Certainly, several of the early publications used the translations by Nathan Haskell Dole (sometimes uncredited) for the New York publisher Thomas Crowell (as Viztelly also had). Carol Peaker, however, cites a number of reasons for the firm's particular interest in Tolstoy. She notes that Scott was based in Newcastle, the home of Joseph Cowen and Robert Spence Watson, important figures in the city's political and literary circles and early friends of Kravchinsky and Kropotkin. But her strongest pieces of evidence are, first, that between 1886 to 1889 Edward Pease—connected to the Fabians and the *chaikovsky*—was living in Newcastle, where he became a friend of Will Dircks, one of Walter Scott's readers, and second that the person appointed as Scott's London manager in 1887 was Frank Henderson. Henderson and his older brother James were members of the group that founded the Croydon Brotherhood Church in 1894, and he became the editor of Kenworthy's journal, the *New Order*, in February 1898.²⁵⁸

Translations were also published from within the Tolstoyan movement. In 1895 Kenworthy established the Brotherhood Publishing Company and began publishing

²⁵⁵ Shaw, *Whiteway*, p. 25. The relationship between Kenworthy, Wallace, their churches, and the Fellowship of the New Life is considerably obscured by incorrect dating and local misunderstandings in the existing secondary criticism, much of it the result of mistakes in W. H. G. Armytage's nevertheless important *Heavens Below*.

²⁵⁶ Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, pp. 92, 128, 93–4. See also Ernest Ames, 'The Brotherhood Church', *The Tolstoyan*, 1.6 (April 1903), 217–25; A. G. Higgins, *A History of the Brotherhood Church* (Stapleton: Brotherhood Church, 1982).

²⁵⁷ Turner, *The Walter Scott Publishing Company*, p. xiii; Tolstoï, *The Cossacks* (Scott), back matter; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, p. 53.

²⁵⁸ Peaker, 'Reading Revolution', pp. 92–3; Diana Burfield, 'F. R. Henderson and the Bomb Shop', *Bookdealer*, 1680 (19 August 2004), 9–13 (pp. 9–10); Turner, *The Walter Scott Publishing Company*, p. xv; Shaw, *Whiteway*, pp. 20–1; F. R. Henderson, 'Editorial', *New Order*, 4.2 (March 1898), p. 14. Though I have not been able to date Dircks' appointment, he wrote the introduction to Scott's edition of *Walden*, dated 'Newcastle-on-Tyne, March 1886'.

and re-issuing previously published volumes of Tolstoy's work. The following year, Kenworthy received a letter from Tolstoy 'to put at your disposition the first translation of all my writings as yet unpublished, as well as forthcoming', and assure him that 'should any pecuniary profit there from ensue, I would desire it to be devoted to the work of your Brotherhood Publishing Company'.²⁵⁹ But there was considerable collaboration with Walter Scott, presumably through Henderson who was still working for Scott and 'acting as honorary manager of the "Brotherhood Publishing Co."' in his free time in 1897.²⁶⁰ *The Four Gospels Harmonised and Translated* (1895–96) (*Soedinenie i perevod chetyrekh Evangelii*, written 1880–84, 1892–94) and *The Gospel in Brief* (1896) (*Kratkoe izlozhenie Evangeliiya*) were joint publications. In 1895 Scott also published Semen Rapoport's and Kenworthy's translation of 'Khozyain i rabotnik' (1895) ('Master and Man'), Kenworthy provided a note to *Patriotism and Christianity* ('Khristianstvo i patriotizm', 1894), published by Scott in 1896, and Scott published Kenworthy's books *From Bondage to Brotherhood* (1894) and *Tolstoy: His Life and Works* (1902).²⁶¹ In February 1897 Vladimir Chertkov, the manager of Tolstoy's publishing house, *Posrednik* (Mediator), was sent into exile. Since he had met Kenworthy—he had organized Kenworthy's visit to Tolstoy just over a year before to discuss Kenworthy's plans for the *New Order*—he and his household moved first to Croydon, 'obtaining a large house adjacent to the Brotherhood House on Duppas Hill', and then rented a house near the Purleigh Colony.²⁶² Shortly after Chertkov arrived, the Tolstoyans were joined by two more members of the Russian Tolstoyan movement: Aylmer and Louise Maude. Aylmer Maude had lived and worked in Moscow since 1874, latterly as the director of the Anglo-Russian Carpet Company; Louise Maude was the daughter of a Moscow-based British businessman. Coming under the influence

²⁵⁹ Lev Tolstoy, letter to John Kenworthy, 4 February 1896, in Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, LXIX: 33; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, p. 143. See Alexandra Popoff, *Tolstoy's False Disciple: The Untold Story of Leo Tolstoy and Vladimir Chertkov* (London: Pegasus, 2014), pp. 121–2.

²⁶⁰ This is according to Aylmer Maude, *A Report and Account of the "Resurrection" Fund and of the Difficulties Encountered in Administering It* (Great Baddow: Aylmer Maude, 1901), p. 8. Maude writes that Henderson held both positions when he first met him 'about the year 1896', but Maude must surely mean 1897, when he moved to Britain. Maude also quotes a letter from Henderson dated 31 March 1899 that states "Brotherhood Publishing Co." is now myself; J. C. Kenworthy having withdrawn from all responsibility, January 1898. Since then no one has accepted financial responsibility with me; and the others associated with me in the affairs of the Company, act merely as an advisory board. It is just the same as if I were publishing in my own name with the guidance and advice of a "Company" of friends interested in the works published' (p. 9).

²⁶¹ Leo Tolstoy, *The Four Gospels: Harmonised and Translated*, 2 vols (Croydon: Brotherhood Publishing Company/London: Walter Scott, 1895–96); Leo Tolstoy, *The Gospel in Brief* (Croydon: Brotherhood Publishing Company/London: Walter Scott, 1896). The translator is not given in either case, though 'the English editor' of *The Gospel in Brief*, surely Kenworthy, refers to the work of 'several persons' in his 'Note', pp. v–viii (p. v); Leo Tolstoi, *Master and Man*, trans. by S. Rapoport and John C. Kenworthy (London: Walter Scott, 1895); Leo Tolstoy, *Patriotism and Christianity, To Which is Appended 'A Reply to Criticisms' of the Work and 'Patriotism or Peace', with a Note to English Readers by John C. Kenworthy* (London: Walter Scott, 1896); John C. Kenworthy, *From Bondage to Brotherhood: A Message to the Workers* (London: Walter Scott, 1894); Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*.

²⁶² Lev Tolstoy, letter to Vladimir Chertkov, 1 December 1895, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, LXXXVII: 341–5. Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*, p. 61; Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', p. 204; Shaw, *Whiteway*, pp. 30–1, 35.

of Tolstoy in the late 1880s, Aylmer Maude decided to retire to England and 'at Tolstoy's request and recommendation, allied myself with him [Chertkov] and with the movement led by J. C. Kenworthy, whose writings Tolstoy much admired'.²⁶³ Like Chertkov, they moved first (in 1897) to Croydon—into the Brotherhood House, managed by Frank Henderson and his wife—and then to a house near Purleigh. Chertkov, Maude, and Kenworthy, who also moved from Croydon to Purleigh (but not into the colony) 'became honorary colonists, taking part in the monthly meetings and having an equal voice in all Colony affairs'.²⁶⁴

Kenworthy later wrote that, when Chertkov arrived, 'naturally, I immediately surrendered all my control of Tolstoy's literary interests to him, Tolstoy's old and valued friend in these matters'.²⁶⁵ But during his first years in Britain, Chertkov appears to have let the Brotherhood Publishing Company continue to take responsibility for publications in English, while he published works in Russian in a series printed initially by the *chaikovtsy's* Russian Free Press Fund and, from 1899, by his own publishing house the *Izdatel'stvo 'Svobodnogo slova'* (the Free Word Press).²⁶⁶ In 1900, as the Purleigh colony disintegrated and Kenworthy sought solace in his second visit to Tolstoy, Chertkov set up an English branch of his publishing house, the Free Age Press, under the management of Arthur Fifield, the former Secretary of the Croydon Brotherhood Church, who had worked on the editorial staff of the publishers Ward, Lock & Co., and James Bowden.²⁶⁷ For the first few months, the Press operated from Fifield's home in Catford, but in the autumn the Chertkovs left Purleigh for Tuckton, near Christchurch in Dorset, followed at the end of the year by Fifield.²⁶⁸ The series was launched in the early summer with a series entitled 'New Booklets on Important Subjects', consisting of six booklets of Tolstoy's writings, translated by Maude and Chertkov with 'some unknown helpers'. 'Five thousand copies of each were sold swiftly', Fifield wrote, 'They were all reprinted frequently, and continued in request throughout my period'. Though Fifield was, he later remarked, 'publisher, manager, joint editor, joint translator, publicity agent, advertising expert, warehouseman, porter, packer, clerk, book-keeper, office boy and stamp lick', during his two and a half years managing the Press he estimated that he produced in total two hundred thousand books and booklets and two hundred and fifty thousand leaflets, of forty-three separate editions of Tolstoy's writings. Since Fifield's practice was to send a copy of each new publication out to

²⁶³ Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years* (London: Constable, 1910), p. 532. A detailed summary of Maude's career is provided by Darya Protopopova, 'Leo Tolstoy's Translator Aylmer Maude (1858–1938) and his Correspondence on Tolstoy: Holdings in the Bodleian Library and the Brotherton Library (University of Leeds)', *Bodleian Library Record*, 22.1 (2009), 49–73.

²⁶⁴ Shaw, *Whiteway*, p. 35; Holman, 'The Purleigh Colony', pp. 204–5.

²⁶⁵ Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*, pp. 15–16.

²⁶⁶ Michael J. De K. Holman, 'Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press: Vladimir Chertkov and his English Manager Arthur Fifield', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 66.2 (1988), 184–97 (p. 185).

²⁶⁷ A. C. Fifield, 'The Free Age Press (English Branch): A Brief Statement of its Work' (1933), MS 1381/1238a, p. 1, Tuckton House Papers, Leeds; Coulson Kernahan, *Celebrities: Little Stories about Famous Folk* (London: Hutchinson, 1923), p. 126; Holman, 'Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press', p. 187.

²⁶⁸ Holman, 'Translating Tolstoy for the Free Age Press', pp. 185–6, 189; Shaw, *Whiteway*, p. 35.

three or four hundred 'newspapers of every degree of orthodoxy or heterodoxy', and the title page slogan of 'no rights reserved' made clear that neither Tolstoy nor his publishers claimed copyright, the Press's translations were liberally reprinted and anthologized, bringing Tolstoy's philosophy before a very large international audience.²⁶⁹

For the first year, Chertkov, Maude, and an unidentified 'Madame Kosnakoff' (credited as 'N' or 'B' 'for political reasons') were the Press's translators, but Maude translated little after the summer of 1901 as his relationship with Chertkov deteriorated. As well as being temperamentally opposed, Maude and Chertkov disagreed about aspects of Tolstoy's philosophy, notably his doctrine of non-resistance to evil by violence, a point Maude debated in his introduction to *The Slavery of our Times* (*Rabstvo nashego vremeni*, 1900), to Chertkov's and Fifield's consternation.²⁷⁰ Maude also criticized the quality of the Free Age Press translations. The second volume of his biography of Tolstoy included an appendix on 'English translations of Tolstoy', which gave qualified praise to Isabel Hapgood's and Constance Garnett's translations and hoped 'the volumes done by my wife and myself may also pass muster', but stated that some of the Free Age Press's translations 'clearly lacked the supervision of any one who knew Russian; others were spoilt by an effort to be too literal'.²⁷¹ In a 1933 'Brief Statement of [the Free Age Press's] Work', Fifield argued against this charge at length, comparing Free Age Press translations with later versions by Maude. He concluded that he found the Free Age Press translations 'at once more spirited, simple, and smooth', and further questioned Maude's prioritizing the letter of the source text over its spirit. While 'no one would challenge Mr Maude's competency in both languages, or his care, or literary honesty', Fifield wrote, 'it might be that other workers, with less skill, but with a living realisation and full acceptance of the thought being rendered, might intuitively give as sensitive and accurate a translation'.²⁷² The multiple translations of Tolstoy's works, allowed by the lack of copyright, inevitably produced arguments about the respective merits of translations and the best method. Chertkov told Aleksandr Sirnis, who managed the Tuckton House community after Chertkov returned to Russia in 1908, that 'the translation should be as literal as possible, preserving the style, the repetitions, and all the peculiarities of Tolstoy's composition, as long as the English version be quite correct as to grammar and, of course, the sense is quite clear'.²⁷³ Yet Chertkov revised and abridged Tolstoy's texts himself, and letters from Tolstoy to Chertkov during this period show that Tolstoy repeatedly relinquished control to Chertkov, describing his desire to be translated

²⁶⁹ Fifield, 'The Free Age Press', pp. 2–6.

²⁷⁰ Fifield, 'The Free Age Press', pp. 9, 11, 6–7; Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years*, pp. 568–9; Aylmer Maude, 'Introduction', in Leo Tolstoy, *The Slavery of Our Times*, trans. by Aylmer Maude (Maldon: Free Age Press, 1900), pp. 5–16.

²⁷¹ Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years*, pp. 667–8.

²⁷² Fifield, 'The Free Age Press', pp. 8, 6.

²⁷³ Vladimir Chertkov, letter to Aleksandr Sirnis ['How to Translate Tolstoy'], 26 October 1909, p. 2, MS 1381/641, Tuckton House Papers, Leeds. On Sirnis, see David Burke, *The Spy Who Came in from the Co-op: Melita Norwood and the Ending of Cold War Espionage* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 29–35.

in full and to monitor translations of his work as a vanity ('*tshcheslavie*') that must be discarded.²⁷⁴

Tshcheslavie is a word that Tolstoy would use repeatedly in his most important critical work, a work that even the followers of the Christian and ethical Tolstoy described as 'his most masterly work' (Kenworthy), and 'one of Tolstoy's greatest contributions to the welfare of mankind' (Maude).²⁷⁵ Tolstoy completed *Chto takoe iskusstvo?* (*What is Art?*) in 1898 after fifteen years of work, and Aylmer Maude's translation, produced in consultation with Tolstoy, was issued first in three 'New Order Extra' instalments in January, March, and May 1898. A revised version, incorporating changes by Tolstoy, was published in seven supplements to the *New Order* from June to December, in book form by the Brotherhood Publishing Company in June, and in a library edition by Walter Scott the following year.²⁷⁶ In chapter five of the treatise, having addressed and rejected a series of aesthetic positions, Tolstoy defines art as follows:

To evoke in oneself a feeling one has once experienced, and having evoked it in oneself, then, by means of movements, lines, colours, sounds, or forms expressed in words, so as to transmit that feeling that others may experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art.

Art is a human activity, consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings, and also experience them.

Art is not, as the metaphysicians say, the manifestation of some mysterious Idea of beauty, or God; it is not, as the aesthetical physiologists say, a game in which man lets off his excess of stored-up energy; it is not the expression of man's emotions by external signs; it is not the production of pleasing objects; and, above all, it is not pleasure; but it is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings, and indispensable for the life and progress toward well-being of individuals and of humanity.

Art, for Tolstoy, is fundamentally communication, 'one of the means of intercourse between man and man'. The point of that communication is not pleasure, but 'the purpose it may serve in the life of man and of humanity'.²⁷⁷

In this definition of art, personal vanity—*tshcheslavie*—is an obstruction to sincere communication, and it is in Tolstoy's distinctions between the authenticity of art made and experienced as a 'condition of human life' and that made for the pleasure of an elite class that the word proliferates. At the end of chapter nine,

²⁷⁴ Tolstoy, letter to Vladimir Chertkov, 6 June 1884, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, LXXXV: 65; see Popoff, *Tolstoy's False Disciple*, p. 37.

²⁷⁵ Kenworthy, *Tolstoy*, p. 191; Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: Later Years*, p. 544.

²⁷⁶ Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art? Chapters 1. to IX.*, trans. by Aylmer Maude, *New Order Extra* (London: Brotherhood Publishing, 1898), Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art? Chapters X. to XIV.*, trans. by Aylmer Maude, *New Order Extra* (London: Brotherhood Publishing, 1898), Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art? Chapters XV. to XX.*, trans. by Aylmer Maude, *New Order Extra* (London: Brotherhood Publishing, 1898); Leo Tolstoy, 'What is Art?', trans. by Aylmer Maude, *New Order Supplement*, 4 (June, [July], August, September, October, November, December, 1898), Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, trans. by Aylmer Maude, (London: Walter Scott, [1899]).

²⁷⁷ Leo Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, trans by Aylmer Maude, 4th edn (London: Brotherhood Publishing Company, 1899), pp. 50, 47. Tolstoy's italics.

Tolstoy turns his attention to contemporary literature. Focusing on French poets and novelists ('because they, more decidedly than any others, indicate the new direction of art, and are imitated by most European writers'), he argues that, as art has become detached from religious sources and from ordinary people, its subject-matter has become impoverished, and it 'has sunk to the transmission of the feelings of pride [*tshcheslavie*], discontent with life, and above all, of sexual desire'. As art has become the preserve of the wealthy and artists write for an ever smaller circle of patrons, art has become 'more and more involved, affected, and obscure... until it has, apparently, at last reached its utmost limits in the so-called art of the Decadents'. Where peasant art is always sincere, 'upper-class art... is continually produced by artists actuated by personal aims of covetousness or vanity [*tshcheslavie*]'. In the future, the only works that will be considered art will be those which 'transmit feelings drawing men together in brotherly union, or such universal feelings as can unite all men'. Art that transmits 'feelings flowing from antiquated, worn-out religious teaching,—Church art, patriotic art, voluptuous art, transmitting feelings of superstitious fear, of pride, of vanity [*tshcheslavie*], of ecstatic admiration of national heroes,—art exciting exclusive love of one's own people, or sensuality, will be considered bad, harmful art, and will be censured and despised by public opinion'.²⁷⁸ Art is defined both by its subject matter and its style: it must serve the purpose of uniting people, and it must be easily understood by all.

Does Tolstoy value any contemporary art? In chapter sixteen, Tolstoy provides examples of the two types of art that 'can be considered good in our time': first, 'religious art,—transmitting both positive feelings of love to God and one's neighbour, and negative feelings of indignation and horror at the violation of love', and second, 'universal art', 'transmitting feelings accessible to all'. In the first category, he places '*The Robbers* by Schiller: Victor Hugo's *Les Pauvres Gens* and *Les Misérables*: the novels and stories of Dickens—*The Tale of Two Cities*, *The Christmas Carol*, *The Chimes*, and others: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Dostoievsky's works—especially his *Memoirs from the House of Death*: and *Adam Bede* by George Eliot'. In the second, though he considers '*Don Quixote*, Molière's comedies, *David Copperfield* and *The Pickwick Papers* by Dickens, Gogol's and Pushkin's tales and some things of Maupassant's', he concludes that none achieve the universality of 'ancient art (such, for instance, as the story of Joseph)'. Indeed, the implication of his argument is that most literary works that his contemporaries consider art will inevitably be false art because they are defined according to aesthetic criteria his treatise argues against. Even his own taste has been compromised, he admits: 'I belong to the class of people whose taste has, by false training, been perverted. And therefore my old, inured habits may cause me to err, and I may mistake for absolute merit the impression a work produced on me in my youth'. The art most unequivocally admired by Tolstoy is the art present in 'all human life': 'from cradle-song, jest, mimicry, the ornamentation of houses, dress and utensils, up to church services, buildings, monuments, and triumphal processions'.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, pp. 47, 83, 78, 79, 155, 192–3.

²⁷⁹ Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, pp. 166–7, 168, 170, 51.

In his introduction to the fourth and library editions, Maude notes that, though Tolstoy refers to many writers on aesthetics, 'English readers [will] miss the names of John Ruskin and William Morris, especially as so much that Tolstoy says, is in accord with their views'. He hastens to reassure his readers that Tolstoy 'has a very high opinion' of Ruskin, and Ruskin 'has said many things with which Tolstoy fully agrees'; and while 'Tolstoy sweeps over a far wider range of thought' than Morris, 'he and Morris are not opposed. Morris was emphasising part of what Tolstoy is implying'.²⁸⁰ As Stuart Eagles has discussed, Tolstoy was reading Ruskin through the 1880s and 1890s, and 'it can be said with confidence that Tolstoy knew Ruskin's work intimately'. His publishing house *Posrednik* published seven volumes of Ruskin between 1896 and 1894, and for the first he wrote a short preface praising him as 'one of the most remarkable men not only of England and of our generation, but of all countries and times'.²⁸¹ Tolstoy knew Morris's work less well. When Morris's former secretary Sydney Cockerell visited Tolstoy in 1903, he reported to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt that 'we talked much of Ruskin and Morris. I told Tolstoy that Ruskin had wished that he had renounced his riches. "That interests me very much, he said, for it is my case also." He had read *News from Nowhere* but not much else of Morris's and I promised to send him some of his other prose writings'.²⁸² In 1906 Tolstoy would make brief reference to *News from Nowhere* in *O znachenii russkoi revoliutsii* (1906) ('The Meaning of the Russian Revolution') and he included a quotation from Morris's lecture 'The Prospects of Architecture in Civilisation' (written 1880, 1882) in his *Krug chteniya* (1904–08) (*Circle of Reading*). By contrast, over eighty quotations from Ruskin were included.²⁸³

Tolstoy's treatise had much in common with the ethical arguments of Ruskin and Morris, and shared many of the values of the arts and crafts movement more generally. When Kenworthy reviewed *What is Art?* for the Ruskin Society's journal, he described it as 'Ruskin systematised, simplified, clarified and proved "to the hilt"'.²⁸⁴ Godfrey Blount, who co-founded the Peasant Arts Society with Joseph King in 1897, cited Tolstoy's 'trenchant work on the nature of Art' in his influential

²⁸⁰ Aylmer Maude, 'Introduction', in Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, pp. v–xxxii (viii–ix).

²⁸¹ Stuart Eagles, *Ruskin and Tolstoy* (Bembridge: Guild of St George, 2010), pp. 14, 8, 4–5. Eagles explains that the preface was censored and did not appear with the volume for which it was written, but was published instead two years later, as the forward to Dzhon Reskin, *Vospitanie. Kniga. Zhenshchina* (Moscow: I. A. Balandin, 1898).

²⁸² Wilfrid Blunt, *Cockerell: Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, friend of Ruskin and William Morris and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964), p. 106.

²⁸³ L. N. Tolstoy, *O znachenii russkoi revoliutsii* (Izдание knigoizdatel'stva 'Posrednik', 1906), p. 70; Leo Tolstoy, 'The Meaning of the Russian Revolution', trans. by Louise and Aylmer Maude, in *The Russian Revolution* (Christchurch: The Free Age Press/London: Everett & Co, 1907), pp. 1–52 (p. 41); L. N. Tolstoy, *Krug chteniya (1904–1908 gg.)*, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, xli: 137: 'Mozhno dopustit', chto iskusstvo umret, no nemyslimo, chtoby iskusstvo moglo zhit', rabolepstvuya pered bogatstvom i glumyas' nad bednost'yu'. William Morris, 'The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization', in *Hopes and Fears for Art: Five Lectures Delivered in Birmingham, London, and Nottingham, 1878–1881* (London: Ellis & White, 1882), pp. 169–217 (p. 176): 'it may be she [art] will die, but it cannot be that she will live the slave of the rich, and the token of the enduring slavery of the poor'.

²⁸⁴ John C. Kenworthy, 'Tolstoy's "What is Art?"', *Saint George: The Journal of the Ruskin Society of Birmingham*, 1.2 (April 1898), 67–71 (p. 71).

guide to handicraft design, *Arbor Vitæ* (1899).²⁸⁵ Indeed, the arts and crafts movement had created a British audience and market for the Russian peasant art and craft Tolstoy praised. As Louise Hardiman has discussed, it was during precisely this period, the late 1890s, that Netta Peacock began writing about Russian arts and crafts in British magazines and Aleksandra Pogosskaya was establishing her highly successful 'Russian Peasant Industries' business. Pogosskaya exhibited and sold goods from Russia in a series of permanent shops (in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, ending up on Old Bond Street from 1910 to 1918), and also at temporary events, including at least two organized with the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in 1899. She also organized a major exhibition of peasant embroideries at the Doré Galleries from October 1905 to 1906.²⁸⁶ 'English people, being so long divorced from their own handicrafts, were very keen on original artistic handwork', wrote Pogosskaya in 1918. To her British audience, Russia seemed admirably in contact with the pre-industrial craft culture Ruskin and Morris had endeavoured to foster.²⁸⁷ Indeed, Cockerell described Tolstoy's estate as 'like a Morrisian dream—the men and women splendidly dignified and handsome, and dressed in beautiful garments... I could not help feeling how enormously inferior we are to these Russians, whom we are in the habit of regarding as only half civilized'.²⁸⁸ When, in 1909, the Peasant Arts Society bought a collection of six hundred examples of European peasant art from a local teacher, Gerald Davies, to display as an educational collection at their Peasant Handicraft Museum in Haslemere, they acquired a substantial group of objects from Northern Russia. Russia was one of the countries Davies celebrated for still producing art which, though 'unrecorded by writers, unsuspected by lovers of Art, beneath the notice of the dilettante... always expressed the joy of simple life'; by the end of the nineteenth century, such art in other countries, 'our own most of all, left barely a memory'.²⁸⁹

There are multiple ironies in this history. While the British arts and crafts movement at the end of the century looked to Russian peasant art as an example of a national art untarnished by Western influence and industrialization, it was in fact probably informed by knowledge of the British arts and crafts movement. Rosalind Blakesley and Hardiman have discussed the 'parallel ideas' of the arts and crafts movement and the Abramtsevo artists' colony, where 'knowledge of Morris's precedent

²⁸⁵ Godfrey Blount, *Arbor Vitæ: A Book on the Nature & Development of Imaginative Design for the Use of Teachers, Handicraftsmen & Others* (London: J. M. Dent, 1899), p. 215.

²⁸⁶ Louise Hardiman, 'The Firebird's Flight: Russian Arts and Crafts in Britain, 1870–1917', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2014, pp. 97–104, 157–76; 'Our New Departure', *Free Russia*, 10.8–10 (August–October 1899), p. 68; 'Russian Peasant Applied Art', *Free Russia*, 11.1 (December 1900), 103–4. See also Viktor Viktorovich Kulikov, 'Aleksandra Pogosskaya: Apostol russkoi kustarnoi promyshlennosti', *Vestnik Yaroslavl'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. P. G. Demidova. Seriya Gumanitarnye nauki*, 3 (2015), pp. 28–33 (pp. 30–2).

²⁸⁷ A. L. Pogosky, *Revival of Village Industries in Russia* (Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House, 1918), p. 4.

²⁸⁸ Blount, *Cockerell*, p. 106.

²⁸⁹ Gerald S. Davies, 'The Peasant Arts Museum at Haslemere', *The Vineyard*, 1 (1910), pp. 9–17 (p. 10); Emma Shepley, 'The Haslemere Context', in David Crowley and Lou Taylor, eds, *The Lost Arts of Europe: The Haslemere Museum Collection of European Peasant Art* (Haslemere: Haslemere Educational Museum, 2000), pp. 3–12 (pp. 5, 9).

may have reached Abramtsevo through informal, oral routes', and the more substantial connections between the British movement and Mariya Tenisheva's colony at Talashkino. Zinaida Vengerova, a friend of Kravchinsky's who was Constance Garnett's host in St Petersburg in 1894, had introduced Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites to Russia through a series of articles in the 1890s.²⁹⁰ A more direct link was established by Pogosskaya herself, who had attended the first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (1888) and exhibited at the second (1889), both of which were held in London. She met and was deeply influenced by Morris, and her knowledge of his work, particularly his use of natural dyes, appears to have informed the artists' colony at Talashkino, the products of which she sold at a shop in Moscow and her successive shops in Britain.²⁹¹ Blakesley notes that for Russian artists the second generation Pre-Raphaelites 'served as shorthand for something peculiarly modern', and suggests they shared the view of Polish and Hungarian artists who saw the Pre-Raphaelites 'as part of a "modern" European aesthetic in the 1890s, valuing the fact that they and other British artists and designers had maintained their identity against the supposed onslaught of "cosmopolitan" influences radiating from France'.²⁹² Her point is borne out by Kropotkin's obituary for Morris, which situated him in a north and east European tradition, 'He was the bearer of that Scandinavian, Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic spirit which for the last ten years has struggled against the Roman tradition', he wrote.²⁹³ The final irony is that Pogosskaya stated she had brought her business to Britain because, *contra* Cockerell and Davies, 'at that time the Russian public did not realise the value of truly artistic work. They were yet at the stage of admiring "fine, smooth" machine weaving, the spider web, minute stitches; they wanted goods only from Paris or Vienna or London. That alone was a proof of excellence'.²⁹⁴ The products her British custom-

²⁹⁰ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 106, 110, 116–17; Rosalind P. Blakesley, '“The Venerable Artist's Fiery Speeches Ringing in my Soul”: The Artistic Impact of William Morris and his Circle in Nineteenth-Century Russia', in Grace Brockington, *Internationalism and the Arts in Britain and Europe at the Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 79–105 (pp. 93–4); Hardiman, 'The Firebird's Flight', p. 35; Zin. Vengerova, 'Novyya tehnika v angliiskom iskusstve', *Vestnik Evropy*, 3.5 (May 1895), 192–235; Z. Voronov [Zinaida Vengerova], 'Pre-Rafaelitskoe dvizhenie v Anglii', *Severny vestnik*, 4 (1896), 109–30; Z. Vengerova, 'Novaya utopiya', *Severny vestnik*, 7 (1893), 249–56; Z. Vengerova, 'Vill' yam Morris, 'pevets "zemnogo raya"', *Severny vestnik*, 11 (1896), 155–63. See also Ekaterina Vyazova, *Gipnoz anglomanii: Angliya i 'angliiskoe' v russkoi kul'ture rubezha xix–xx vekov* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennyi institut iskusstvovedeniya, 2009), and Rosina Neginsky, *Zinaida Vengerova: In Search of Beauty. A Literary Ambassador Between East and West* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 125–30.

²⁹¹ See A. L. Pogosky, *Fellowship in Work* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1913), pp. 86–7, Blakesley, '“The Venerable Artist's Fiery Speeches Ringing in my Soul”', pp. 88, 89–92; Hardiman, 'The Firebird's Flight', pp. 147–50, 174–5.

²⁹² Blakesley, '“The Venerable Artist's Fiery Speeches Ringing in my Soul”', p. 97; Andrzej Szczerski, *Views of Albion: The Reception of British Art and Design in Central Europe, 1890–1918* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015) [rev. edn and transl. of A. Szczerski, *Wzorce tożsamości: Recepcja sztuki brytyjskiej w Europie Środkowej około roku 1900* (Krakow: Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2002)], p. 84.

²⁹³ Peter Kropotkin, 'In Memory of William Morris: Poet, Artist, Socialist, and Lover of the People', *Freedom: A Journal of Anarchist Communism*, 10.110 (November 1896), 109–10 (p. 109). See David Crowley, 'Haslemere and the Edges of Europe', in Crowley and Taylor, eds, *The Lost Arts of Europe*, pp. 44–56 (p. 46).

²⁹⁴ Pogosky, *Revival of Village Industries in Russia*, p. 4.

ers took to be representative of Russia's rejection of Western values were less appreciated there because the fashion in Russia was, in fact, for Western goods.

However, while Tolstoy's admiration for handicrafts and his insistence on the ethical dimension of art aligned him with the arts and crafts movement, his rejection of beauty as a relevant criterion of art marked his difference. In fact, when Aylmer Maude asked him why Ruskin was not mentioned in *What is Art?* Tolstoy replied that one of the reasons was that Ruskin ascribed too much importance to beauty in art.²⁹⁵ Unsurprisingly, most reviewers found *What is Art?* too ascetic, and the extant information about the British Tolstoyan colonies suggests that, unlike in other simple life colonies, the production of art was not a high priority.²⁹⁶ Charles Ashbee, an admirer of Morris and Ruskin and founder of the Guild and School of Handicraft, visited the Tolstoyan colony at Whiteway in 1904, and was struck by the difference between that colony and the one he had founded in 1902 at Chipping Campden in the Cotswolds. The revival of handicrafts to which his colony was devoted was underpinned by a Morrisian commitment to beauty, but at Whiteway he found 'people who seem to be "back to the land" in grim earnest. I had long talks with some of them. They hold the other end of the stick we are ourselves shaping at Campden'.²⁹⁷ Though the accounts of Whiteway by its members Nellie Shaw and Joy Thacker suggest that the colonists became less ascetic in later years, appreciation and production of art tended to be communal, not individual, so 'music, both vocal and instrumental, was the favourite pastime', plays were performed, and folk dancing practiced, but there appears to have been little culture of individual artistic creation until the nineteen twenties.²⁹⁸ According to a diary written by a colonist who arrived in 1900, 'All people were composed of most interesting personalities. Each of them had visited the university before, or had taught in some high-school, has been or written, polyglot, or at least phylosophe. There were only no artist between them, well maybe there some kind of artist of life, but what I mean, no artist of any beautiful art'.²⁹⁹

Reading across the journals and the literature of the turn of the century we can discern, nevertheless, aspects of a simple life literary culture that are the source of

²⁹⁵ Aylmer Maude, *Tolstoy and his Problems*, 2nd edn (London: Grant Richards, 1902), p. 41, n. 1.

²⁹⁶ See, amongst the many similar reviews, Z. Z., 'Views and Reviews: Tolstoy on Art', *The Outlook*, 2.28 (13 August 1898), 52–3; Edward Baughan, 'What is Art?', *Monthly Musical Record*, 28.333 (September 1898), [193]–[95]; 'Tolstoy on Art', *The Speaker*, 18 (8 October 1898), 439–40.

²⁹⁷ Charles Ashbee, 'Ashbee Memoirs [MS.]', 1904, qtd in Fiona MacCarthy, *The Simple Life: C. R. Ashbee in the Cotswolds* (London: Lund Humphries, 1981), p. 100. See also Diana Maltz, 'Living by Design: C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft and Two English Tolstoyan Communities, 1897–1907', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 39 (2011), 409–26.

²⁹⁸ Shaw, *Whiteway*, pp. 138–58; Joy Thacker, *Whiteway Colony: The Social History of a Tolstoyan Community* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), pp. 120–2, 95–107. An exception is Jack Goring, one of the founders of the Tolstoyan Wickford colony, near Purleigh, who, as well as publishing in journals such as *Brotherhood*, *The Idler*, and *Wit and Wisdom*, had three volumes of poetry for children published by Charles Daniel and Robert Blatchford's Utopia Press: J. H. Goring, *Crumbs of Verse: Mainly for Chicks* (London: C. W. Daniel, [1905]); J. H. Goring, *The Ballad of Lake Laloo and other Rhymes* (London: Utopia Press, 1909); Jack Goring, *Nip and Flip* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1913): see Jack Goring, 'Autobiographical Notes' (1938), pp. 173–88, MS 1.274, Burnett Archive of Working Class Autobiographies, Special Collections, Brunel University Library.

²⁹⁹ Diary of Carmen Maurice, qtd in Thacker, *Whiteway Colony*, p. 24.

one strand of Russophile modernism. It is not my contention that simple life literature is directly influenced by Russian literature (though sometimes it may be), but rather that it aligns itself with a set of values that are also associated with Russian literature and culture, and has a variety of points of direct, but sometimes random, contact. Russophile elements in the simple life culture range from explicit Tolstoyism to a socialism that criticizes Russian autocracy, to a general interest in rural life and folk art that might derive primarily from British sources but connects at points to Tolstoyism, Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid, or Northern European peasant arts, fables, and folklore. Despite its proximity to ascetic Tolstoyism, simple life literature typically has a higher regard for beauty, particularly natural beauty, than Shaw's realism and Levenson's 'discursive modernism'.³⁰⁰

The Christian socialist *Brotherhood*, the New Fellowship *Seed-time*, and the Tolstoyan journals (Kenworthy's *The New Order*, William Hare's *The Candlestick* (1900–1903), and Charles Daniel and Florence Worland's name-changing monthly, *The Tolstoyan*, *The Crank*, and *The Open Road*) all published literary contributions—mainly poems and, less often, short stories. In the *New Order* and *The Candlestick* Christian poems in Whitmanian free verse by Kenworthy and Ernest Crosby, the leading American Tolstoyan, predominated. *Brotherhood* printed original and already published poetry and prose on Christian and socialist topics, and it had a particular interest in utopian fiction: it serialized Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* in 1889 and Albert Chavannes' *The Future Commonwealth* in 1893, and sold Frederick Hayes's *The Great Revolution of 1905*, and Theodor Hertzka's *Freiland* (*Freiland*, 1890) through its 'Bookselling and Publishing Department'.³⁰¹ Of more relevance for this study, however, is the nature writing produced by simple lifers and Tolstoyans. In the second issue of *Seed-time*, Richard Heath, author of *The English Peasant* and the father of Edward Garnett's friend Carl Heath and Garnett's future partner, Nellie Heath, wrote that:

Both art and poetry are echoes of nature, not *mere* echoes, I admit; for every work of art is a unification of impressions—a microcosmos [*sic*] in itself; but still the material of which each such miniature universe is composed, is a reflection from natural objects, and without that tender love of nature which comes from a familiar acquaintance with

³⁰⁰ Indeed when Shaw reviewed *What is Art?* for the *Daily Chronicle* on 10 September 1898, he was—unlike most other critics—unperturbed by Tolstoy's rejection of beauty, and his portrayal of Tolstoy's definition of art brought it rather closer to his own than was accurate: he characterized Tolstoy's 'justification... of his treatise as: 'Art is socially important—that is, worth writing a book about—only in so far as it wields that power of propagating feeling which he adopts as his criterion of true art. It is hard to knock this truth into the heads of the English nation. We admit the importance of public opinion, which, in a country without intellectual habits (our own, for example), depends altogether on public feeling. Yet, instead of perceiving the gigantic importance which this gives to the theatre, the concert-room, and the bookshop as forcing houses of feeling, we slight them as mere places of amusement, and blunder along upon the assumption that the House of Commons, and the platitudes of a few old-fashioned leader writers, are the chief fountains of English sentiment. Tolstoy knows better than that' (G. B. S., 'Tolstoy on Art', *Daily Chronicle* (10 September 1898), p. 3).

³⁰¹ Edward Bellamy, 'Looking Backward. (From the Standpoint of A. D. 2000)', *Brotherhood*, 3.6–12 (January–July 1889), 161–73, 193–206, 225–40, 257–73, 289–307, 321–41, 353–67; Albert Chavannes, 'The Future Commonwealth, or What Samuel Balcom saw in Socioland', *Brotherhood*, ns 1.2–5 (June–September 1893), 20–1, 33–7, 46–7, 62–4; 'Circle Co-operative Printers' Society, Ltd [advertisement]', *Brotherhood*, ns 2.12 (April 1895) [inside cover].

country life it is doubtful if art and poetry can ever make their full appeal. I do not speak merely of landscape-painting or descriptive poetry, but of all high literature and art, for all such are filled, if not with the form, at least with the spirit of nature... I declare that reading "Anna Karenina" the other day, I almost wept to think that probably more than half the people who read those delicious chapters describing Levin in the mowing-fields read blindly in a dead language.³⁰²

Heath's view that nature and art were closely related languages that his compatriots were losing the ability to read was shared by many in the New Fellowship. W. J. Jupp and Edward Carpenter contributed short descriptive essays to *Seed-time* with titles such as 'Field and Sky' and 'A Spring Evening'; an early issue featured Kravchinsky's translation of Vsevolod Garshin's tale 'To, chego ne bylo' ('What Never Was'), retitled 'A Meeting Under a Leaf of Grass' to highlight its simple life relevance, and Henry Salt gave a lecture to the Fellowship in May 1893 on Richard Jefferies.³⁰³ In *The Tolstoyan* and *The Crank*, G. G. Desmond regularly contributed nature sketches and stories, often for children.³⁰⁴ Edward Garnett's contemporaneous book of prose poems, *An Imaged World* (1894), and Ford's *The Heart of the Country* (1906) are in the same genre.³⁰⁵ In this context, the notes on the progress of the Purleigh and Norton colonies published in the *New Order*, with their descriptions of 'buds bursting in hedgerow and garden', and hives 'full of bee life' appear rather closer to this literary genre than their authors may have envisioned.³⁰⁶

A similar continuity emerges between the Tolstoyans' accounts of their 'penniless pilgrimages'—their travels across the country without the use of money—and the contemporary popularity of the tramp as a literary figure and a model for the writer.³⁰⁷ For the simple lifers and Tolstoyans, Whitman was the major literary

³⁰² Richard Heath, 'Jeanne Coligny', *Seed-time*, 2 (1889), 7 [i.e. 5]–9 (p. 5 [i.e. 7]); Richard Heath, *The English Peasant: Studies Historical, Local and Biographic* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893). Heath and his family moved into Grace's Cottage after the Hueffers left in 1899, by which time Edward Garnett and Heath's daughter Nellie Heath had begun their lifelong relationship: see R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 58, 174–6.

³⁰³ W. J. Jupp, 'Field and Sky', *Seed-time*, 21 (July 1894), 3–4; E. C. [Edward Carpenter], 'A Spring Evening', *Seed-time*, 32 (April 1897), 17–18; Vsevolod Garshin, 'A Meeting Under a Leaf of Grass', trans. by S. Stepniak, *Seed-time*, 6 (October 1890), 7–8; 'Lectures', *Seed-time*, 16 (April 1893), p. 16.

³⁰⁴ G. G. Desmond, 'Oh Dear Me!', *The Tolstoyan*, 1.4 (February 1903), 150–3; 'Bertha's Balloon', *The Tolstoyan*, 1.6 (April 1903), 228–30; 'Bertha and the Snake', *The Tolstoyan*, 2.2 (June 1903), 73–5; G. G. D., 'Bertha and the Yonlander', *The Crank*, 1.4 (April 1904), 147–51. Daniel also published Desmond's *Bertha Stories* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1904), and his *The Stoat Pack* (London: Alston Rivers, 1905) was reviewed by Worland: F. E. W., 'In the Crank's Library: The Stoat Pack', *The Crank*, 3.12 (December 1905), p. 382.

³⁰⁵ Edward Garnett, *An Imaged World: Poems in Prose* (London: J. M. Dent, 1894); Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], *The Heart of the Country: A Survey of a Modern Land* (London: Alston Rivers, 1906).

³⁰⁶ See, for example, William Hone, 'Purleigh Notes', *New Order*, ns 5.16 (May 1899), 74; Hugh Mapleton, 'Norton Colony Notes', *New Order*, 4.12 (January 1899), 10. In contrast, Henderson's reports on Whiteway focus on colony politics and controversy, e.g. F. R. H. [Frank Henderson], 'Whiteway Notes', *New Order*, ns 5.17 (June 1899), 86.

³⁰⁷ 'Extracts from Correspondence: Tramping to Gloucester', *New Order*, 4.10 (November 1898), 114; 'Penniless Pilgrimage: Extracts from the Diary of a Novice', *New Order*, ns 5.20 (September 1899), 129–30. See also 'Brother Man', *New Order*, ns 5.13 (February 1899), 16–18, an extract from a novel by the Christian socialist Charles M. Sheldon, *The Crucifixion of Phillip Strong* (London: Ward, Lock & Co, 1899).

model in their celebration of the open road, but the figure of the tramp was closely associated with Russia and Russian literature from 1901, when Gor'ky's early stories began to be translated and his plays performed.³⁰⁸ As Simon Featherstone, Peter Howarth, and Helen Southworth have discussed, the 'the cult of the vagabond' that had its origins in the simple life movement was a motive force in early modernism. It crystallized in *The Tramp: An Open Air Magazine* (1910–11), edited by Douglas Goldring (former sub-editor at both *Country Life* and Ford Madox Ford's *English Review*), which published articles on walking, caravanning, and outdoor photography alongside Ford's 'Fathead' stories, Wyndham Lewis's stories and poems about travelling through France and Spain (and his 'Unlucky for Pringle'), nature poems by the future imagist, F. S. Flint, F. T. Marinetti's Futurist manifesto, translations of stories by Chekhov by Constance Garnett and Rowland Smith, essays by the founder of the Fabian Arts Group, Holbrook Jackson, Arthur Ransome's stories about walking and fishing, sketches and poems by the 'Super-Tramp' W. H. Davies, and by his champion, Edward Thomas.³⁰⁹ Looking back from the perspective of high modernism, this appears an unusual conjunction of avant-garde and Georgian or late romantic writers, but looking forward from the perspective of the 1890s, it is a far more coherent group. *The Tramp* testifies to an early modernism that saw new forms of literature as inextricable from new freedoms in life. Howarth makes the case for Davies's work as coterminous with the project of modernism on the grounds of a shared commitment to simplicity, 'for writing simply, without rhetoric or pose, was... a goal for the more general shift in poetics from the *fin de siècle* to the war. Georgians and Imagists alike worked on poetry that would be, to use Thomas's words, compact, pure and fresh, although by different means'.³¹⁰ This is true, and effectively underlines the continuity between the nineteenth-century simple life movements and early modernism. But Davies's (and Jupp's, Jefferies's, and Tolstoy's) simplicity differs in one significant way from that of the imagists: their simplicity is conceived not as a style, but as an expression of their approach to life. This point is made clearly in Tom Swan's series

³⁰⁸ The first collection of Gor'ky's stories to be published in Britain was Maxim Görki, *The Orloff Couple and Malva*, trans. by Emily Jakowleff and Dora B. Montefiore (London: William Heinemann, 1901). The same translators published Maxim Gorky, *Twenty-Six Men and a Girl*, trans. by Emily Jakowleff and Dora B. Montefiore (London: Duckworth, 1902)—the volume that carried an introduction by Edward Garnett, and was discussed in *Free Russia* by Volkhovsky—and Maxim Gorky, *The Outcasts, And Other Stories*, trans. by Emily Jakowleff, Dora B. Montefiore, and Vera Volkhovsky (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905). See Dora B. Montefiore, *From a Victorian to a Modern* (London: E. Archer, 1927), pp. 70–1. The first performance of Gor'ky's dramatic work was Max Behrend's production of *The Lower Depths* (*Na dne*, 1902) at the Stage Society on 29 November 1903. See also E. J. Dillon, *Maxim Gorky: His Life and Writings* (London: Isbister, 1902).

³⁰⁹ Simon Featherstone, 'Tramping: The Cult of the Vagabond in Early Twentieth-Century England', in Monika Fludernik and Miriam Nandi, eds, *Idleness, Indolence and Leisure in English Literature* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), pp. 235–51; Peter Howarth, *British Poetry in the Age of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapters two and four; Helen Southworth, 'Douglas Goldring's *The Tramp: An Open Air Magazine* (1910–1911) and Modernist Geographies', *Literature and History*, 18.1 (2009), 35–53.

³¹⁰ Peter Howarth, 'The Simplicity of W. H. Davies', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 46.2 (2003), 155–74 (p. 156). See also Kristin Bluemel and Michael McCluskey, eds, *Rural Modernity in Britain: A Critical Intervention* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

on Whitman in the first issues of Daniel's and Worland's Tolstoyan magazine, the *Open Road*:

Whitman paid little or no attention to those niceties of expression generally regarded as essential in poetry, not because he was ignorant of their value, but because he believed they would stand as barriers between him and his readers. We shall not find in 'Leaves of Grass' that art which may sometimes embellish thought, but more frequently serves to hide the lack of thought. . . . He knew that a great deal of modern poetry is 'the poetry of an elegantly weak sentimentalism, at bottom nothing but maudling [*sic*] puerilities or more or less musical verbiage.' This 'musical verbiage' may be quite suitable for fashionable drawing-rooms where dilettante men and women close their eyes to the facts of life, but for the needs of democracy it is worse than useless.³¹¹

This was the orthodox Tolstoyan argument. In *Chto takoe iskusstvo?* (*What is Art?*), Tolstoy had also argued that art should connect the author to the reader and had criticized poetry 'composed for a small circle of people', in which allusions were 'comprehensible to the initiated and obscure to everyone else'.³¹² Swan's praise of Whitman deploys the same opposition as Henry James's famous criticism of Tolstoy: both Whitman and Tolstoy were admired and criticized for their lack of artistry, and their confidence in transmitting experience directly through ordinary language, rather than indirectly through literary form.

Though, in the interests of clarity, the foregoing discussion has tended to deal with individual figures in relation to the particular groups to which they were most strongly affiliated, the worlds of the Social Democratic Federation, Fabian, and New Life socialisms overlapped substantially, as they also did with Kropotkinite anarchist communism, Tolstoyan Christian anarchism, and Brotherhood Christian socialism. Many Tolstoyans were also members of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: Maude was a member from 1901, and also on the Fabian Executive Committee (1907–12), Lazar Gol'denberg, Fedor Rotshtein, and Vasily Maslov-Stokoz (who wrote under the name Vasily Zhook or Zhuk) were all involved in *Free Russia*, and were also part of Chertkov's Tuckton House community.³¹³ Gol'denberg was a founder member of the Kelmscott Club, started in memory of William Morris, to which the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom secretary, J. F. Green, lectured on 'The Present Position of the Revolutionary Movement in Russia' on 1 March 1903, a fact duly reported in *Free Russia*.³¹⁴ Isabella O. Ford, J. Allanson Picton, and Herbert Rix were members of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and also the Fellowship of the New Life, *Seed-time* advertised

³¹¹ Tom Swan, 'Walt Whitman, II: His Book', *Open Road*, 1.2 (August 1907), 99–105 (pp. 101–2). The internal quotation is from Whitman's letter to William D. O'Connor, sent 1866, probably in September, and widely quoted in writings about Whitman. It was first published in Moncure D. Conway, 'Walt Whitman', *Fortnightly Review*, 6 (1866), 538–48 (p. 547).

³¹² Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, p. 79.

³¹³ 'List of Subscribers', *Free Russia*, 12.4 (April 1901), p. 48; Pease, 'Appendix III: List of the names and years of office of the ninety-six members of the Executive Committee, 1884–1915', in Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, p. 271; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, p. 110; Burke, *Russia and the British Left*, p. 108.

³¹⁴ L. Gol'denberg, 'Reminiscences', pp. 90, 57, MS 1381/26, Tuckton House Papers; Leeds, 'Lectures and Meetings', *Free Russia*, 14 (April 1903), p. 48.

both *Brotherhood* and *Free Russia*, and in its sixth issue published Kravchinsky's translation of a story by Garshin.³¹⁵ Morris spoke at one of the first public meetings of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom and at Kravchinsky's funeral; on Morris's death, Crane, Kenworthy, and Kropotkin wrote tributes to him in Kropotkin's anarchist journal *Freedom*.³¹⁶ The Garnetts knew Kenworthy's friend and co-translator Semen Rapoport, but not Kenworthy.³¹⁷ The 1907 Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party, where Ramsay MacDonald (former secretary of the Fellowship of the New Life and Fabian) welcomed Gor'ky, Lenin, Plekhanov, Stalin, Trotsky and their colleagues, was held at Bruce Wallace's Brotherhood Church in Hackney. After a failed attempt to raise funds for the conference from English liberals at a dinner where Constance Garnett and Fanni Kravchinskaya translated for Gor'ky, Lenin, and Plekhanov, it was financially rescued by Joseph Fels, an American soap-manufacturer and admirer of Henry George, who two years later would buy land for C. R. Ashbee's Guild and School of Handicraft.³¹⁸

1.5 LIFE WRITING: RICHARDSON'S *PILGRIMAGE*

The Open Road and its predecessors, *The Tolstoyan* and *The Crank*, were the most literary of the Tolstoyan periodicals. Charles Daniel, co-editor of the *Open Road* and publisher of all three periodicals, had begun his publishing career in the late 1890s, working for Frank Henderson in the London office of Walter Scott. It seems likely he was introduced to Henderson by Jack Goring, one of the founders of the Tolstoyan Wickford colony, near Purleigh, who was married to Daniel's sister. In 1902 Daniel started his own publishing firm, becoming the agent for the Free Age Press, and collaborating with Arthur Fifield, who founded his own press in 1903, having left the Free Age Press the year before.³¹⁹ Alongside their many Tolstoy-related publications, Daniel and Fifield published books on a wide range of topics of interest to the simple life movement: non-standard religion and

³¹⁵ 'Society of Friends of Russian Freedom: A Statement and an Appeal', *Free Russia*, 12.1 (January 1901), [n. pag.] ; 'Brotherhood' [advertisement], *Seed-time*, 12 (April 1892), p. 16; 'A New Journal', *Seed-time*, 5 (July 1890), p. 9; Garshin, 'A Meeting Under a Leaf of Grass', 7–8.

³¹⁶ O. Garnett, *Tea and Anarchy!*, pp. 58–9; Senese, *S. M. Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, p. 38; Walter Crane, Peter Kropotkin, J. C. Kenworthy, 'In Memory of William Morris: Poet, Artist, Socialist, and Lover of the People', *Freedom: A Journal of Anarchist Communism*, 10.110 (November 1896), 109–10.

³¹⁷ O. Garnett, *Olive & Stepniak*, p. 183. Johnson misidentifies Rapoport as Angelo Solomon Rapoport.

³¹⁸ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 233–4; Dudden and Laue, 'The RSDLP and Joseph Fels: A Study in Intercultural Contact', pp. 33–34; MacCarthy, *The Simple Life*, p. 181; H. N. Brailsford, 'When Lenin and Trotsky were in London', *The Listener*, 39 (1 January 1948), 29–30.

³¹⁹ Denise Waltham, *A Tribute to the Memory of Charles William Daniel* (Rochester: privately printed, [1955?]), pp. 3–5; Jeremy Goring, *The Centenary of a "Crank" Publisher: Charles William Daniel* (Rochester: privately printed, 1971), pp. 4–5; Jeremy Goring, 'C. W. Daniel, "Crank" Publisher', *The Bookseller*, 3443 (18 December 1971), 2522–4; Nicolas Walter, 'C. W. Daniel: The Odd Man', *The Raven: Anarchist Quarterly*, 9 [3.1] (1990), 69–83 (pp. 69–70); Goring, 'Autobiographical Notes' (1938), pp. 163, 188, 211–20, MS 1.274, Burnett Archive of Working Class Autobiographies, Brunel; Jack Goring, 'Wickford Notes', *New Order*, 8 (September 1898), p. 76.

spirituality, alternative medicine, vegetarianism, pacifism, tax reform, anarchism, socialism—and literature. As well as books by and about the favourite writers of the simple life movement—Emerson, Thoreau, Tolstoy and Whitman—Daniel and Fifield published contemporary novels, plays and a substantial amount of poetry. Though few of the authors' reputations have endured, some well-known early twentieth-century writers appeared on their lists. Fifield published W. H. Davies, Florence Farr, Shaw, and Wells.³²⁰ Daniel's larger business extended further into modernism: he published a novel by Douglas Goldring, *The Solvent* (1920), twenty-six volumes of plays in Goldring's 'Plays for a People's Theatre' series (including *Touch and Go* (1920) by D. H. Lawrence), the sixth of Edith Sitwell's *Wheels* anthologies (1921), a volume of essays by Osbert Sitwell, and a book of poems by Stephen Winsten, one of the Whitechapel Group.³²¹ Both Daniel and Fifield also published new translations of Russian literature.³²²

Florence Worland, editor of *The Tolstoyan* and *The Crank* and co-editor of the *Open Road*, was a writer, who had met Daniel when she attended a meeting of the London Tolstoyan Society he had co-founded in 1898: they married in 1905.³²³

³²⁰ William H. Davies, *Nature Poems, and Others* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1908); W. H. Davies, *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1908); William H. Davies, *Farewell to Poesy, And Other Pieces* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1910); William H. Davies, *Songs of Joy, and others* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1911); William H. Davies, *Collected Poems* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1916); William H. Davies, *Child Lovers, and other Poems* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1916); William H. Davies, *Forty New Poems* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1918); William H. Davies, *The Song of Life, and Other Poems* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1920); Florence Farr, *The Solemnization of Jacklin: Some Adventures on the Search for Reality* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1912); [Eugène Brieux], *Three Plays by Brieux*, ed. by Bernard Shaw, trans. by Mrs. Bernard Shaw [Charlotte Payne-Townshend], St John Hankin, John Pollock (London: A. C. Fifield, 1911); *Selected Passages from the Works of Bernard Shaw*, ed. by Charlotte F. Shaw (London: A. C. Fifield, 1915); H. G. Wells, *Socialism and the Family* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1906); H. G. Wells, *The Discovery of the Future* (London: A. C. Fifield, 1913).

³²¹ Douglas Goldring and Hubert Nepean, *The Solvent* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920); D. H. Lawrence, *Touch and Go: A Play in Three Acts* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920); Edith Sitwell, ed., *Wheels, 1921 (Sixth Cycle)* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1921); Osbert Sitwell, *Who Killed Cock-Robin? Remarks on Poetry, on its Criticism, and, as a Sad Warning, the Story of Enoch Arden* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1921); S. Winsten, *Chains: Poems* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920). Though the 'Plays for a People's Theatre' are numbered up to 27, no number 21 appears to have been published.

³²² Leonid Andreieff, *The Seven That were Hanged* [translator unknown] (London: A. C. Fifield, 1909); Leonid Andreev, *And it Came to Pass that the King Was Dead*, trans. by Maurice Magnus (London: C. W. Daniel, 1921); Leonid Andreev, *To the Stars*, trans. by Maurice Magnus (London: C. W. Daniel, 1921); Leonid Andreev, *His Excellency the Governor*, trans. by Maurice Magnus (London: C. W. Daniel, 1921); Anton Chekhov, *My Life, and Other Stories*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Gilbert Cannan (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920); Zinaida Hippus [Gippius], *The Green Ring: A Play in Four Acts*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920); C. Fillingham Coxwell, ed. and trans., *Russian Poems* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1929); C. Fillingham Coxwell, ed. and trans., *Siberian and Other Folk-Tales: Primitive Literature of the Empire of the Tsars* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1925). Gippius's *The Green Ring* and Andreev's *To the Stars* were published in the 'Plays for a People's Theatre' series (numbers 4 and 10 respectively). See Imogen Gassett, 'C. W. Daniel: Maverick Pacifist Publisher in the First World War', *Publishing History*, 48 (2000), 5–40.

³²³ 'London on Sunday: IX—The Tolstoyans and the Sunday Lecture Society', *Nottinghamshire Guardian* (14 January 1899), p. 5; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, pp. 136–40; Walter, 'C. W. Daniel', p. 70; 'Meetings for October', *New Order*, 4.9 (October 1898), p. 104; C. D. [Charles Daniel], 'London Tolstoyan Society', *New Order*, NS 5.21 (October 1899), p. 152. F. E. W. [Florence Worland], 'A Multitude of Counsellors: Meetings and Partings, IV', *Focus*, 1.5 (May 1926), 293–304 (p. 304). Secondary literature disagrees on the dates of the London Tolstoyan Society, but my research indicates it existed for longer than Alston and Walter suggest. The earliest announcement of its meetings I have

She had learned of the Society at a lecture on Tolstoy's *Voskresenie* (1899) (*Resurrection*) at the South Place Ethical Society in Finsbury. 'I imagined', she recalled, 'that I was going to the meeting of a Literary Society. I had not noticed that its avowed purpose was "the discussion of questions of life and conduct"'.³²⁴ Meetings were held on Sunday evenings, from seven o'clock to about ten, at the West London Institute of Music, situated above a corner shop on the corner of Stourcliffe Street and Edgware Road. They typically involved the reading of a passage from Tolstoy's work and comment by the week's lecturer, followed by group discussion. Kenworthy lectured frequently until October 1900; other speakers included Chertkov, Daniel, Hare, James Henderson (brother of Frank, and one of the founders of the Croydon Brotherhood Church), Maude, and, eventually, Worland herself.³²⁵

Daniel's and Worland's periodicals were also primarily concerned with 'questions of life and conduct', but like the journals discussed in the previous section they gave space to those questions expressed in literary form. More unusually, they also included literary criticism. They were the only journals connected to the Tolstoyans to have a regular book review column and it was through this column that the Tolstoyan movement made direct contact with literary modernism. The regular reviewer was Dorothy Richardson, who had met Daniel and Worland through the London Tolstoyan Society. In *Revolving Lights*, the seventh 'chapter' of her multi-volume novel *Pilgrimage*, dedicated to Worland, Richardson has her autobiographical protagonist Miriam Henderson relate this event to Hypo Wilson, a portrait of H. G. Wells, Richardson's close friend and, from 1905 to 1907, her lover.³²⁶ Miriam tells Hypo that she and Michael Shatov—the character based on Richardson's Russian friend and suitor, Benjamin Grad—had gone to one of the Society's meetings at their premises just off Edgware Road, alerted by an advertisement in the radical *Reynolds's Newspaper*. They found 'a bare room, almost in darkness, a small gas jet, and a few rows of kitchen chairs and a few people sitting scattered about. A young man at a piano picked out a few bars of Grieg and played them over and over again'. The speaker that evening was Dora Taylor (based on

been able to find appears in the October 1898 issue of *New Order*, though in October 1899 Daniel writes that the idea to hold meetings was taken 'about two years ago'. The Society is still listed at the same address in the last issue of *The Candlestick*, published in March 1903. Worland implies that it was after it moved from this address that the Society foundered, when she writes that, when they were no longer able to meet at West London Institute of Music, their 'attempt to continue the meetings on the ground floor of a vegetarian restaurant resulted in failure'.

³²⁴ F. E. W. [Florence Worland], "What are we going for to do?": Meetings and Partings, II', *Focus*, 1.2 (February 1926), 97–107 (pp. 99, 100).

³²⁵ F. E. W. [Florence Worland], 'The Group of the Disgruntled: Meetings and Partings, III', *Focus* 1.3 (March 1926), 155–61 (pp. 155–6); F. E. W. [Florence Worland], "What are we going for to do?", pp. 97–107; 'London on Sunday: IX—The Tolstoyans and the Sunday Lecture Society', p. 5. Worland describes the Society's speakers in 'A Multitude of Counsellors', pp. 293–304.

³²⁶ Gloria G. Fromm, *Dorothy Richardson: A Biography* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1977), pp. 44, 54–5.

Worland), 'reading a paper on Tolstoi's ideas'. 'I felt I was hearing the whole truth spoken aloud for the first time', Miriam tells Hypo.³²⁷

In *Revolving Lights*, Richardson presents her alter ego as an individualist anarchist with significant reservations about socialism. She becomes a member of the 'Lycurgans', as the Fabians are called in *Pilgrimage*, just as Richardson herself had, proposed by Wells and Edward Pease in December 1905.³²⁸ But though Miriam likes 'to be within the stronghold of people who were keeping watch, understanding how social injustice came about, explaining the working of things', she confesses that 'from the first I knew I was not a real Lycurgan'.³²⁹ In a conversation with Michael in the previous volume of *Pilgrimage*, *Deadlock*, Miriam had described her politics as being based on the 'individual, with a consciousness; or a soul, whatever you like to call it. The race, apart from individuals, is nothing at all'. For Michael, a Russian socialist, this was a distinctively English point of view. 'There speaks the Englishwoman. It is certainly England's highest attainment that the rights of the individual are sacred here', he remarks, and tells her that though she is 'in many ways most exceptionally, for an Englishwoman, emancipated', she is 'still pure-Tory', a judgement she half-endorses for the reader when Hypo tries to persuade her to join the Lycurgans: 'how can you want me to be a socialist? I am a Tory and an anarchist by turns'. Hypo replies, 'You're certainly an anarchist. You're an individualist you know, that's what's wrong with you'.³³⁰ Richardson sets Hypo's Fabian socialism, Michael's (and his Russian friends the Lintoffs') revolutionary socialism and the Taylors' Tolstoyan individualist anarchism against each other in a series of debates. Miriam tells Hypo that though Tolstoy's ideas may be 'eclectic', that 'doesn't make Tolstoy any the less true. And you know when I hear all these convincing socialists planning things that really would make the world more comfortable, they always in the end seem ignorant of *humanity*; always behind them I see little Taylor [Charles Daniel], unanswerable, standing for more difficult deep-rooted individual things. It's *individuals* who must change, one by one'.³³¹

³²⁷ Dorothy M. Richardson, *Revolving Lights* (London: Duckworth, 1923), p. 220. I have not been able to determine the date of Richardson's first attendance at the Tolstoyan Society meeting. Nicolas Walter states that Worland was listed as a speaker at the Society for the first time in September 1901 (Walter, 'C. W. Daniel', p. 70, no source given); a 1944 letter from Richardson to Peggy Kirkaldy describes Daniel and Worland as 'the first friends I made in London when I went there on my own in '96', though the Tolstoyan Society was not founded until 1898: Dorothy Richardson, letter to Peggy Kirkaldy, 21 February 1944, box 2, Dorothy Richardson Collection, General Collection MSS 302, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

³²⁸ 'Candidates for Election', *Fabian News*, 15 (December 1905), p. 64. See George H. Thomson, *Notes on Pilgrimage: Dorothy Richardson Annotated* (Greensboro, NC: ELT Press, 1999), p. 179.

³²⁹ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 88. The Tolstoyan movement gave rise to other female *Bildungsromane* which bear comparison to *Pilgrimage*: see Florence Worland's *Human Equations: A Study in Ideals*, serialized (but not completed) in *The Tolstoyan* in 1903, and Salome Hocking's *Belinda the Backward: A Romance of Modern Idealism*, published by Hocking's husband, Arthur Fifield, in 1905. H. G. Wells's own female *Bildungsroman*, *Ann Veronica* (1909) included a composite portrait of the Daniels and their friend, the mathematician, Tolstoyan, and member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, Mary Everest Boole, in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Goopes. Boole was the mother of Kravchinsky's collaborator, Ethel Lilian Voynich (née Boole).

³³⁰ Dorothy M. Richardson, *Deadlock* (London: Duckworth, 1921), pp. 198–9; Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 38.

³³¹ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 221–2.

Despite Miriam's appearance in *Pilgrimage* as more individualist than socialist, Richardson herself took on the role of defending socialism to the Tolstoyans. In her essays on the Tolstoyan Society, written in 1926, Worland described Richardson as 'a member of the Fabian Society who since has become celebrated as the writer of an entirely new form of novel. In those days, however, she discoursed to us upon the ideas of Mr. H. G. Wells, and told us what she thought of Tolstoy's theories about her sex'.³³² During the final months of *The Crank*, Richardson and Daniel debated socialism in a series of articles triggered by Daniel's 'Some Remarks on Socialism' in the November 1906 issue, in which he had argued that a socialist state would be no less oppressive than a capitalist one, with no guarantee that state ownership and control of property and services would not simply be governed by another—or the same—ruling class.³³³ In the discussion that followed, Richardson insisted that socialism is 'not a movement... Primarily it is a state of mind', and resisted criticisms of socialism on the basis that 'what shape practical Socialism will take when the idea is sufficiently widespread to produce a crumbling of the old order, it is impossible to predict'.³³⁴

Richardson first appeared in *The Crank* in August 1906. Though occasional book reviews had been published before, they were not literary criticism, and often consisted only of a list of books with brief comment. The books Richardson reviewed between August 1906 and December 1907 in her column 'In the Crank's Library' were typical Tolstoyan reading matter, but their innovation was to introduce questions of aesthetics rarely addressed in Tolstoyan journalism.

Richardson's first contribution was a review of Edward Carpenter's book, *Days with Walt Whitman* (1906). In *Revolving Lights*, Miriam refers to her first subject for review as 'a bad little book on Whitman', but Richardson provided a generally positive review in *The Crank*.³³⁵ She had, however, one significant reservation:

I will pass on to an amazing thing, or what at first sight at anyrate [*sic*] appears to be so—and that is the consignment, by Mr Carpenter, of all English pre-Whitman poetry, with the exception of a few poems and passages, to the limbo of things forgotten. He clears the ground, as it were, for his appreciation of Whitman's manner by sweeping away 'the tribe of specially literary people'—and in this category he includes Pope, Dryden, Swinburne, Pater, Browning, and Tennyson—passing judgment on them on the ground of the narrowness of their appeal, of their ignorance of the lives of the thousand-million,—and condemning them to give way to the new era in poetry that has opened with Whitman, the era of the normal or average man.

This is clearly Mr Carpenter's well-considered opinion, but I find myself calling it a gratuitous, an entirely indefensible supposition. Even were all the writers he names 'merely literary people,' they are not thus easily to be disposed of in terms of breadth of appeal or familiarity with the normal man—they were quite otherwise

³³² F. E. W. [Worland], 'A Multitude of Counsellors: Meetings and Partings—IV', p. 295.

³³³ The Odd Man [Charles Daniel], 'Some Remarks on Socialism', *The Crank*, 4.11 (November 1906), 359–64.

³³⁴ D. M. Richardson, 'A Last Word to the Odd Man about Socialism', *Ye Crank and The Open Road*, 5.4 (April 1907), 180–2 (pp. 180, 181).

³³⁵ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 214.

concerned—they embody and celebrate, otherwise. Limited, in the light of what comes afterwards, they may perhaps be; but it is idle to compare one beautiful thing with another... Then, assuring oneself that this apparent lack of perception of the merely beautiful in formal poetry is the price that Mr Carpenter has paid for his devoted study of Whitman, one forgives him, and goes on to rejoice in his admirable demonstration of the inevitableness of the form of *Leaves of Grass*.³³⁶

Richardson's emphasis on beauty as a criterion of literary achievement is a notable feature of her reviews: her second review finds Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* unsatisfactory because, though its protagonists articulate Sinclair's anger, 'they lack the one thing that is needful in the would-be reformer—the spirit which seeks to construct, to affirm and not to deny—to build away from the darkness towards the light, towards beauty, and ever towards more perfect beauty'.³³⁷ Her fourth review, of H. G. Wells's *In the Days of the Comet*, praises 'an emotional deepening' in his work, but ends by speculating whether he will in the future produce 'a work of art that shall be *whole*, a broad, powerful movement of the spirit, a thing of simple, stately beauty'.³³⁸ In the Tolstoyan *Crank*, beauty is an irrelevant criterion in the definition of art; after all, in *Chto takoe iskusstvo? (What is Art?)* Tolstoy had argued that beauty was simply a reflection of class-prejudice: 'the theory of art, founded on beauty, expounded by aesthetics, and, in dim outline, professed by the public, is nothing but the setting up as good, of that which has pleased and pleases us, *i.e.* pleases a certain class of people'.³³⁹

Richardson's criticism of the lack of beauty in the world of the Tolstoyans is expressed more explicitly in *Pilgrimage*. 'The cranks are so uncultured; cut off from books and the past', thinks Miriam in *Revolving Lights*.³⁴⁰ But Miriam's own opinions of books and culture are not opposed to those of the 'cranks' in any simple way. When she is deciding what to read with Michael in their first English lesson, she considers Stopford Brooke ('he would think it childish; not sceptical enough'), Arnold, Shakespeare ('he could not go about in England taking Shakespeare'), and Darwin ('bad, for men'). She finally chooses Emerson, a staple of the 'cranks' library: 'Emerson would be perfect for reading; he would see that there was an English writer who knew everything'. But when she recommends Emerson to Michael, she recommends him for his form as much as his content: 'You could not

³³⁶ D. Richardson, 'In the Crank's Library: Days with Walt Whitman', *The Crank*, 8.4 (August 1906), 259–63 (pp. 261–2). Richardson is referring here to the beginning of Carpenter's essay 'The Poetic Form of "Leaves of Grass"': Edward Carpenter, *Days with Walt Whitman* (London: George Allen, 1906), pp. 103–5.

³³⁷ D. Richardson, 'In the Crank's Library: The Reading of "The Jungle"', *The Crank*, 4.9 (September 1906), 290–3 (p. 293).

³³⁸ D. M. Richardson, 'In the Crank's Library: In the Days of the Comet', *The Crank*, 4.11 (November 1906), 372–6 (p. 376).

³³⁹ Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, p. 43.

³⁴⁰ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 230. In this light, it is interesting to note that Richardson's first known publication was a spoof article, purporting to be from a Russian journal, about the importance of books and the librarians who controlled them in Russian provincial towns: see 'The Russian and His Book', *Outlook*, 10 (4 October 1902), 267–8, and for the attribution, apparently based on verbal information from Rose Odle, Richardson's sister-in-law and literary executor, John Rosenberg, *Dorothy Richardson: The Genius They Forgot* (London: Duckworth, 1973), pp. 30, 190.

possibly have a better book for style and phraseology in English, quite apart from the meaning', she tells him. Michael is sceptical of learning English from an American writer (though he tells Miriam that 'in Russia we know of course their Thoreau, he has a certain popularity amongst extremists, and I know also of course their great poet, Vitmann'), and he is repelled by her praise of Emerson's style, 'No, ... preciosity I cannot have'. However, after he has read the volume of Emerson Miriam lends him, he reports he has found him 'most—wonderful', and both he and Miriam reflect again on Emerson's style:

'He isn't a bit original,' said Miriam surprised by her unpremeditated conclusion, 'when you read him you feel as if you were following your own thoughts.'

'That is so; he is not himself philosophe; I would call him rather, poète; a most remarkable quality of English, *great* dignity and with at the same time a most perfect simplicity.'

'He understands everything; since I have had that book, I have not wanted to read anything else... except Maeterlinck,' she murmured in afterthought, 'and in a way he is the same.'³⁴¹

The simplicity of Emerson's style enables him to communicate so directly with the reader, it is as if the thoughts articulated are one's own. In Tolstoy's words, Emerson's art 'is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings'; it is the point Carpenter had made about Whitman, too.³⁴²

The comparison with Maurice Maeterlinck highlights the less Tolstoyan aspect of Miriam's taste, however. Although by the time Richardson was writing it was not unusual to think of Maeterlinck as a socialist writer, Tolstoy had included him in his list of artists whose art is '*rassudochnye*', 'brain-spun' in Maude's translation, that is, over-cerebral, artificial.³⁴³ Miriam's linking of Emerson and Maeterlinck is presumably inspired by Maeterlinck's sympathetic essay on Emerson, which was included in his *Le Trésor des Humbles* (1896), the book from which Miriam learned 'most of her French' by reading it 'again and again for the sake of the long even rhythm of its sentences'.³⁴⁴ For Miriam, Maeterlinck operates as a measure of aesthetic sympathy, and in her first meeting with Michael's revolutionist friend Bruno Lintoff, her question 'Do you like Maeterlinck?' is as a request for confirmation of

³⁴¹ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 18, 23, 43–4.

³⁴² Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, p. 50; Carpenter, *Days with Walt Whitman*, p. 105.

³⁴³ Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, pp. 121–2; Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, xxx: 125. See, for example, Jethro Bithell, *Life and Writings of Maurice Maeterlinck* (London and Felling-on-Tyne: Walter Scott, 1913), pp. 141–2, 159–60, and Arthur Fifield's positive review of *The Buried Temple*, a translation of Maeterlinck's collection of essays *Le Temple enseveli*: Arthur Fifield, 'A Book to be Read', review of Maurice Maeterlinck, *The Buried Temple*, trans. by Alfred Suto, *The Candlestick*, 3.13 (July 1902), 10–11.

³⁴⁴ Richardson, *Deadlock*, p. 168. I base this attribution on the fact that Miriam alludes to and quotes from this book so frequently, and in addition Michael's comments on the volume's mysticism and his implication that it is the work of a single author suggest that it is Maeterlinck's collection that is cited here, rather than, as George Thomson suggests, the French school reader described a few pages earlier: see Thomson, *Notes on Pilgrimage*, p. 158; Maurice Maeterlinck, 'Emerson', in *Le Trésor des Humbles*, 3rd edn (Paris: Société de Mercure de France, 1896), pp. 129–52. The essay was first published as the preface to *Sept essais d'Emerson*, trans. by I. Will (Brussels: Paul Lacomblez, 1894), pp. vxviii.

intuited kinship, which is answered 'with eager words of assent': 'this young man was a revolutionary and a doctor of philosophy; yet the truth of the inside life was in him, nearer to him than all his strong activities'.³⁴⁵ Michael, however, tells her that he 'cannot appreciate these literary preciousities... This mystical philosophy is énérvant', and suggests that Balzac should be a higher priority for her reading in French. Miriam thinks, but does not say, that 'she used to read novels but could not get interested in them after Emerson. They showed only one side of people, the outside; if they showed them alone, it was only to explain what they felt about other people'. Michael's answer to such a statement would be, she knows, 'Levin, Levin'. Tolstoy, he had already told her, 'has a most profound knowledge of human psychology'. But when Michael shows her his favourite passages of *Anna Karenina* in the British Museum Reading Room, Miriam reacts less positively than he expects. At first she is fascinated by the style of the dialogue—'strange abrupt conversation different from any she had read elsewhere'—, but when he shows her his favourite passage, she feels the library 'stricken into desolation as she read... poison dropping from the book into the world; foreign poison, but translated and therefore read by at least some Englishmen'.³⁴⁶

Despite their renown in Britain by 1900, when the action at the beginning of *Deadlock* takes place, Miriam tells Michael that she has read neither Tolstoy nor Turgenev, which she justifies by saying 'I don't care for novels... I can't see what they are about. They seem to be an endless fuss about nothing'. She has, though, read 'some of Gorki's short stories', which 'were not novels; they were alive in some way English books were not. Perhaps all Russian books were', and when Michael introduces her to the work of Andreev, suggesting she translate his short stories from a German edition, she finds

some strange quality coming each time from the printed page. She could not seize or name it. Both stories were sad, with an unmitigated relentless sadness, casting a shadow over the spectacle of life. But some spell in their weaving, something abrupt and strangely alive, remaining alive, in the text, made a beauty that outlived the sadness. They were *beautiful*. English people would not think so... They would consider Andrayeff a morbid foreigner, and liking for the stories an unhealthy pose.

Her suspicion is confirmed when she shows the translated stories to Hypo, who tells her that 'the sentiment was gross and that they were feeble in construction', and she finds herself in part agreement, telling Michael, 'Andrayeff does try deliberately to work on your feelings... What he does is artistic exaggeration. That is Art. Light and shade'. She thinks to herself, 'a "masterly study" of a little boy...?'.³⁴⁷

As Miriam goes on to explain to Michael, her terms here, the capitalized 'Art' and the quoted 'a "masterly study"', are not positive: they refer to the way that art, and particularly the novel, is detached from life. She continues, 'that's the worst of novels, something that has to be left out. Tragedy; curtain. But there never is a curtain and, even if there were, the astounding thing is that there is *anything* to let

³⁴⁵ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 106.

³⁴⁶ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 168, 50, 72, 74.

³⁴⁷ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 50, 51, 183–4, 191, 192.

down a curtain on; *so astounding* that you can't feel really, completely, things like "happiness" or "tragedy"; they are both the same, a half-statement'.³⁴⁸ 'Books about people,' she remarks in *Revolving Lights*, 'are lies from beginning to end. However sincere, they cannot offer any evidence about *life*'.³⁴⁹

In *Pilgrimage* these terms are strongly gendered, and Miriam's quotation, 'a "masterly study"', refers to Michael's description of *Anna Karenina* during their reading of the novel in the British Museum, 'It is a most masterly study of a certain type of woman', an observation that triggers the diminishing of her interest in the novel. The idea of a 'masterly study' is disagreeable to her aesthetically ('Why must a book be a masterly study of some single thing?'). But it is also an example of 'the blindness in men... about women', and their confidence in encapsulating them in 'Art' while they are oblivious to women's own art, which—as Miriam explores in a key scene during her visit to Hypo and Alma in *Revolving Lights*—consists in 'making atmospheres'. Though women's art 'doesn't show, like men's art. There's no drama or publicity', it is nevertheless 'hard and exacting; needing "the maximum of detachment and control"', and 'at its best it is absolutely life-giving'. Hypo is the pre-eminent example of the male writer in this sense, who 'misses nothing' but 'misinterprets everything'; Hypo's wife Alma, Dora Taylor and, it seems, George Taylor, are examples of artists of atmosphere. Visiting the Taylors, one is 'happy and undisturbed. None of that feeling of darkness and strangeness and the need for a fresh beginning. Tranquillity... Making every one move like a song. And talk. You are all, at once, bursting with talk', and Dora, Miriam tells Hypo,

is an absolutely perfect cook. An artist. She invents and experiments. But he has a feminine consciousness, though he's a most manly little man with a head like Beethoven. So he's practical. Meaning he feels with his nerves and has a perfect sympathetic imagination. So presently we are all sitting down to a meal and the evening begins to look short. And yet endless. With them everything feels endless; the present I mean. They are so immediately alive.³⁵⁰

Michael is a more complex character. Admired for his well-read cosmopolitanism, his intelligence, and his physical attractiveness, his differences from Miriam are attributed to his gender, his politics, and his Jewish ethnicity. But his Russian nationality is consistently represented as consonant with Miriam's own values. Russians, like women, are associated with silence: 'Russians understand silence and are not afraid of it?', and the Russia of Miriam's imagination is a vision of 'colour', 'light', 'beauty', and 'life', all terms of high value in *Pilgrimage*'s lexicon. 'Life' is a key word and value for Michael as it is for Miriam: when she yearns for a period of study rather than work, he tells her 'you are in *life*, that is the more important'.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Richardson, *Deadlock*, p. 193.

³⁴⁹ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 143. Richardson's italics.

³⁵⁰ Richardson, *Deadlock*, p. 73; Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 42–3, 45, 44, 250, 218–19.

³⁵¹ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 82, 48–9, 133. On Richardson's connections between atmosphere, silence, and intimacy, see Annika J. Lindskog, *Silent Modernism: Soundscapes and the Unsayable in Richardson, Joyce, and Woolf* (Lund: University of Lund Centre for Languages and Literature, 2017), pp. 85–7. Richardson returned to these thoughts about Russian character traits in the final, unfinished, volume of *Pilgrimage*, *March Moonlight*, in Miriam's thoughts about her friend Olga Feodorova, based

The extent to which language can represent life is a question of central importance to these middle volumes of *Pilgrimage*. At points, Miriam seems the archetypal modernist in her linguistic pessimism: writing her review of Carpenter's book involved the discovery that 'words express almost nothing at all'.³⁵² In a passage that recalls Gertrude Stein in argument if not in style, Miriam wonders how she can exceed the limitations of spoken language, how she might work with words to make them more expressive:

Speech did something to things; set them in a mould that was apt to come up again; repeated, it would be dead; but perhaps one need never repeat oneself? To say the same things to different people would give them a sort of fresh life; but there would be death in oneself as one spoke. Perhaps the same thing could be said over and over again, with other things with it, so that it had a different shape, sang a different song and laughed all round itself in amongst different things.³⁵³

At other points, however, Miriam's conversations with Michael suggest they share a distinctly romantic understanding of the relationship between language and nation. Michael should read Emerson because 'It is the most perfect English you could have', she tells him. 'He is a New Englander, a Bostonian; the Pilgrim Fathers; they kept up the English of our best period'. Conversely, the quality of English in Britain's industrial cities is declining. 'London Essex' is 'the worst there is', she tells Michael and the Lintoffs: 'deformed speech is increasing—is being taught in schools. It shapes these people's mouths and contracts their throats and makes them hard-eyed'. Michael, unsurprisingly, has a more positive view of the relationship between language and nationality: in arguing that Russia is 'the most beautiful European language' he says that

what is most significant is, the great richness, in Russia, of the people-language; there is no other people-language similar; there is in no one language so immense a variety of tender diminutives and intimate expressions of all natural things. None is rich in sound or so marvellously powerfully colourful... *That is* Russian. Part of the reason is no doubt to find in the immense paysage; Russia is *zo vast*; it is inconceivable for any non-Russian. There is also the ethnological explanation, the immense vigour of the people.

Listening to Michael's voice, Miriam reflects on her impression of the language: 'So much more strange, so much wider and deeper than the sound of German or French or any of the many tongues she had heard in this house, the inpouring impression was yet not alien. It was not *foreign*. There was no barrier between the life in it and the sense of life that came from within... No foreign sound

on Olga Sokolova or Sokoloff, a friend of Richardson's with connections to the *chaikovtsy*, who committed suicide in 1909 or 1910. See Dorothy M. Richardson, *March Moonlight*, in *Pilgrimage*, 4 vols (London: J. M. Dent, 1967), iv: 632–8, 643–4; Dorothy Richardson, letter to H. G. Wells [1910?], letter to Henry Savage, 15 February 1951, in *Windows on Modernism: Selected Letters of Dorothy Richardson*, ed. by Gloria G. Fromm (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 7, 657.

³⁵² Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 214.

³⁵³ Richardson, *Deadlock*, p. 169.

had brought her such an effect of strength and musical beauty and expressiveness combined'.³⁵⁴

Juliette Taylor-Batty rightly observes that Richardson undermines Miriam's and Michael's essentialist arguments through the multilingual practice of *Pilgrimage* itself. Michael's English is often supplemented with French words, like 'paysage' in the above quotation, which Richardson does not italicize or set apart: such words are an integral part of Michael's idiolect. Similarly, she presents his foreign grammar and his directly translated terms—'people-language' is presumably his literal translation of the German '*Volkssprache*'—not as comic but expressive: Miriam thinks he speaks 'Norman English in German idiom with an intonation that she supposed must be Russian'.³⁵⁵ This distinction between Miriam's and Richardson's approaches to language also sheds light on the long, eloquent account of Miriam's translation of two stories by Andreev from German to English. Miriam's blow-by-blow account of 'plunging... roughshod from language, to language' presents the translation process as almost physical, involving 'separate single efforts of concentration', an 'increasing list of discarded attempts', the 'simultaneous arrival of several passable solutions', and 'at last the snap of relinquishment'. This is the struggle of the linguistic pessimist, battling with the materiality of language. Yet the finished translation is the achievement of the linguistic optimist. What was expressed first in Russian, and then in German, has been wholly transferred into English: 'the original banished in the comforting certainty that the whole of it was represented'.³⁵⁶ Like Constance Garnett, Miriam celebrates language's ability to transfer experience across cultures.

This is not to say, however, that Richardson places emphasis on the translation's domestication of the source text. The episode is not concerned with the source text itself, nor with portraying the translator's mastery in turning one text into another. It emphasizes instead translation as a process, and one that continues after the translator's work is done. Miriam finds that after completing the translation, the story 'was turned away from her towards people who were waiting to read and share what she felt as she read. It was no longer even partly hers; yet the thing that held it together in its English dress was herself, it had her expression, as a portrait might have'. It encapsulates her own experiences during the period of translation: 'the history of her labour was written between the lines... It was a diary...'.³⁵⁷

These highly self-reflexive statements draw attention, of course, to Richardson's aims in *Pilgrimage*: 'my books aren't, as I see things, novels', she wrote to her sister in 1945.³⁵⁸ In an interview about 'The Future of the Novel' published in 1921, the same year as *Deadlock*, Richardson described a new form of the novel, 'still in its infancy', but superseding the opposition between realism and romance, which 'weaves for the reader the eternal romance of his own existence, and demonstrates that aesthetic recreation is to be had not only by going far enough out, but also by

³⁵⁴ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 23, 137–8, 45–9.

³⁵⁵ Juliet Taylor-Batty, *Multilingualism in Modernist Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013), pp. 59–60; Richardson, *Deadlock*, p. 26.

³⁵⁶ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 187–8.

³⁵⁷ Richardson, *Deadlock*, pp. 188–9.

³⁵⁸ Dorothy Richardson, letter to Jessie Hale, 18 August 1945, in *Windows on Modernism*, p. 526.

coming near enough home'.³⁵⁹ Though Richardson admired Joyce and, especially, Proust, and was frequently compared to them in early reviews, reading *Pilgrimage* in the context of Russian literature and British accounts of Russian culture highlights the cleavage between these contemporaneous modernisms.³⁶⁰ In a letter to Sylvia Beach in 1934, she implied that she saw more differences between her contemporaries than did her critics: 'An interesting point for the critic who finds common qualities in the work of Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and D. R. is the fact that they were all using the "new method" though very differently, simultaneously', she wrote.³⁶¹ Proust and Joyce deploy language to trigger expression; the density and opacity of their writing is the product of their understanding of language as an autonomous system that must undergo the pressure of style to connote meaning. Language for them is as material as Proust's madeleine, and has the same relationship to experience and memory.

But Richardson, for all her love of symbolist writers such as Maeterlinck and Andreev, is ambivalent about 'style' as a concept, which would seem to intervene between art and life, and be responsible for the falsification of life. Her own style fosters the appearance of stylelessness: sentences trail off into ellipses, thoughts are left incomplete, scenes are not fully introduced: as Hugh Walpole wrote in his review of *The Tunnel*, there is 'apparently no arrangement, no selection, no emphasis—we are presented simply with truth, tangled, difficult, confused, but truth at its nakedest. A long way this from the tedious explanatory method of Henry James, although that *The Tunnel* is a grandchild of *The Golden Bowl* is beyond question'.³⁶² For Richardson, the falsifying 'manipulations' of style in the novel are the product of the author's egotism. She wrote in 1943:

The material that moved me to write would not fit the framework of any novel I had experienced. I believed myself to be, even when most enchanted, intolerant of the romantic and the realist novel alike. Each, so it seemed to me, left out certain essentials and dramatised life misleadingly. Horizontally. Assembling their characters, the novelists developed situations, devised events, climax and conclusion. I could not accept their finalities. Always, for charm or repulsion, for good or ill, one was aware of the author and applauding, or deploring, his manipulations. This, when the drama was a conducted tour with the author deliberately present telling his tale. Still more so when he imagined, as did Flaubert, that in confining himself to '*Constatation*' he remained imperceptible. In either case, what one was assured were the essentials

³⁵⁹ Dorothy Richardson, 'Future of the Novel [interview]', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (20 January 1921), p. 7.

³⁶⁰ Richardson, letters to Curtis Brown, 2 June 1919, P. Beaumont Wadsworth, December 1922, Bryher, [late 1924], Henry Savage, 23 March 1951, in *Windows on Modernism*, pp. 28, 64, 109, 660; Richard Aldington, 'The Approach to M. Marcel Proust', *Dial*, 69 (October 1920), 341–6; John Middleton Murry, 'The Break-Up of the Novel', *Yale Review*, 12 (January 1923), 288–304; Hugh Walpole, 'Realism and the New English Novel', *Vanity Fair* (New York), 20 (March 1923), 34, 112.

³⁶¹ Dorothy M. Richardson, 'A few facts for you . . .', letter to Sylvia Beach, December 1934, *Sylvia Beach, 1887–1962*, special issue of *Mercure de France*, 349 (August–September 1963), 127–8 (p. 128). See also Dorothy M. Richardson, 'Adventure for Readers', review of James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*, *Life and Letters Today*, 22.23 (July 1939), 45–52.

³⁶² Hugh Walpole, 'London's Latest Literary Spectacles: A London Letter from Hugh Walpole', *The Sun* (New York), 86 (23 March 1919), p. 9.

seemed to me secondary to something I could not then define, and the curtain-dropping finalities entirely false to experience.³⁶³

Richardson explores the distinctions between her writing and that of her peers in *Pilgrimage* through her account of Miriam's thoughts about two of her older contemporaries, Conrad and James. In *Revolving Lights*, Conrad is the example of an author who is 'modern and a good writer', producing work superior to that of naturalist writers dealing in 'blind victimising force' and 'brutal physical facts' which leave 'part of the story... untold' and 'life so small that it seems worthless'. Reading *Typhoon*, Miriam thinks, 'was not like reading a book at all... Expecting good difficult "writing" some mannish way of looking at things', she finds instead an absorbing narrative that produces 'forgetfulness' of oneself and 'new birth into life'. Conrad 'looked and listened with his whole self', Miriam thinks.³⁶⁴ James's *The Ambassadors*, which Miriam is reading at the beginning of the next volume of *Pilgrimage*, *The Trap*, is 'in a way the most wonderful I have met. The most real'. Reading it is an 'adventure', and it is specifically James's style that interests her: 'she sat with a book open upon her knee, asking only to be left in communion with a style'.³⁶⁵

Nevertheless, her enjoyment is curtailed by both novelists' failure in the depiction of women. For all her enjoyment of Conrad's writing, Miriam judges, 'he will still have to go to Purgatory; or be born again as a woman. Why come forward suddenly, in the midst of a story to say they live far from reality? A sudden smooth complacent male voice, making your attention rock between the live text and the picture of a supercilious lounging form, slippers, a pipe, other men sitting round, and then the phrase so smooth and good that it almost compels belief. Why cannot men exist without thinking themselves all there is?'³⁶⁶ Similarly in *The Ambassadors*, Miriam finds that though she admires the first chapter, her experience of the second threatened 'to change the adventure of reading to a shared disaster': 'It had happened with the coming of Maria Gostrey, and had culminated at the dinner-party in her red neck-band. Disappointing. Yes. Here she was again, drawing on her gloves and being elaborately mysterious... in every word he came forward with his views, which were the most hopelessly complacent masculine ignorance'.³⁶⁷

³⁶³ Dorothy M. Richardson, 'Data for Spanish Publisher', ed. by Joseph Prescott, *London Magazine*, 6.6 (June 1959), 14–19 (p. 19).

³⁶⁴ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 70–2.

³⁶⁵ Dorothy M. Richardson, *The Trap* (London: Duckworth, 1925), pp. 32, 27–9.

³⁶⁶ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 72. George Thomson believes Miriam to be referring to Marlow's comment in *Heart of Darkness*, 'It's queer how out of touch with truth women are. They live in a world of their own'. I have no better suggestion, though the logic of the passage would suggest she is referring to *Typhoon*. See Thomson, *Notes on Pilgrimage*, p. 177, and Joseph Conrad, 'Heart of Darkness', in *Youth: A Narrative and Two Other Stories* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1902), pp. 49–182 (p. 67).

³⁶⁷ Richardson, *The Trap*, pp. 27–8. See Richardson, Letter to Eleanor Phillips, 3 December 1949, in *Windows on Modernism*, p. 595: 'Your letter sent me to Pilgrimage to hunt up the passages about Henry James & I find M. almost beside herself in regard to *The Ambassadors*, to the building up of the early part, (the absence of direct narrative, of the handing out of information, descriptions of characters & so forth), the fascination of the leisurely meticulous weaving of the long sentences, with modifying parentheses neatly tucked inside them, instead of spilling over in the manner of after-thoughts. She does not of course spot, in thought, the reasons for her enchantment, which seems,

As this quotation makes clear, Miriam sees James's depiction of women not only as ignorant, but egotistical, a quality she—like Tolstoy—relates to literary style. She continues:

It was only as private, shared by no one else, that the adventure was glorious. Thought of as carried under the eye of a witness, it seemed criminal—'anti-social.' She now for the first time imagined men reading the magic pages, suffering unconsciously their insidious corruption. This man was a monstrous unilluminated pride. And joy in him was a mark of the same corruption. Pride in discovering the secrets of his technique. Pride in watching it labour with the development of the story. The deep attention demanded by this new way of statement was in itself a self-indulgence. Thought of as enjoyed in a world that held Church Army men it was plain wickedness.

But the cold ignorance of this man was unconscious. And therefore innocent. And it was he after all who had achieved the first completely satisfying way of writing a novel. If this were a novel. There *was* something holy about it. Something to make, like Conrad, the heavens rejoice. Perhaps at lunch times, or in rare solitudes, she could go on, get at the whole of the light there was in him. Style was something beyond good and evil. Sacred and innocent.

Even as Miriam tells herself that style might transcend morals and politics, her sense of guilt in defending James is palpable. She will only read him 'in rare solitudes', the kind of attention his style requires is 'a self-indulgence', the pleasure of reading him is 'anti-social'. Only when she feels that James does not obtrude into his text does Miriam admire him unequivocally. She had admired the first chapter of *The Ambassadors* for 'the way he conveyed information without coming forward to announce it', which enabled the text to become 'part of her own experience; set down at last alive, so that the few pages stood in her mind, growing as a single good day will grow, in memory, deep and wide'.³⁶⁸ Reading Conrad, she enjoys his handing over of knowledge: 'He leaves everything big; all he tells added to experience for ever'.³⁶⁹

These were opinions Richardson shared with her protagonist. During her lifetime, Richardson's writing was frequently seen as the descendent of James's—as we saw earlier, Hugh Walpole described *The Tunnel* as 'the grandchild of *The Golden Bowl*', and Katherine Fullerton Gerould made the same point when she traced the lineage of the 'stream of consciousness novel' in 1927: 'before Dorothy Richardson was Conrad; and before Conrad was Henry James'.³⁷⁰ Richardson herself wrote in

when thought of as confessed to Selina Holland, busy with good deeds, a trifle preposterous. With the appearance of Maria Gostrey, with every one of her appearances & her way of being elaborately mysterious, allusive, indirect, came revolt. Crude herself, & inarticulate, Miriam yet felt that Europe was too much for James, for Strether (who is, of course, James-when-young) & for Maria-who-posed-non-stop, genuflecting towards the upper layer of the ripe old civilisation confronting her'.

³⁶⁸ Richardson, *The Trap*, pp. 29–30, 28, 27.

³⁶⁹ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 72.

³⁷⁰ Walpole, 'London's Latest Literary Spectacles', p. 9; Katherine Fullerton Gerould, 'Stream of Consciousness', *Saturday Review of Literature*, 4.13 (22 October 1927), 233–5 (p. 233). See also Rebecca Bowler, *Literary Impressionism: Vision and Memory in Dorothy Richardson, Ford Madox Ford, H. D. and May Sinclair* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 21–5, and Mhairi Catriona Pooler, 'Of Language, of Meaning, of Mr. Henry James', *Pilgrimages*, 4 (2011), 95–111.

her 1938 'Foreword' to *Pilgrimage* that 'it is possible to claim for Henry James... a far from inconsiderable technical influence' on the kind of novel she, Joyce, Proust, and Woolf were writing. But she also criticized his tendency to take the reader 'before the drama begins, upon a tour amongst the properties' or break in 'with descriptive introductions of the players as one by one they enter his enclosed resounding chamber where no plant grows and no mystery pours in from the unheeded stars'.³⁷¹ When her friend the poet Henry Savage offered in 1948 to lend her a book that compared her work with James's, Richardson responded that any 'kinship' was 'imaginary', and elaborated on her metaphor of the 'enclosed resounding chamber' of James's novels:

For me, James' style, simple & direct in his early work, is, there, James himself. The later, acquired, much as he acquired Europe, consists in carefully cultivated convolutions of statement. High priest he was, of nearly all the orthodoxies, resembling for me, a sophisticated octopus in a tank he mistook for the universe. Even The Ambassadors, mostly reality, nearly all reality, because embodying his own experience, is drama in a resounding box, where no star shines & no bird sings. Humanity, pitifully adrift in vacuo. A humanist he, yet without love for humanity, sheltering himself from people with urbane gesturings & solely verbal expressions of goodwill. I can't now read him, but he was a joy, for all one's repudiations, on first meeting.³⁷²

Richardson had been using the image of James as an 'octopus in a tank' as early as 1921 to articulate what she saw as his lack of knowledge of the world beyond his immediate environment, a fault she also attributed to James's master, Flaubert.³⁷³ James came to epitomize the shortcomings of the kind of "literary" writing' Tolstoy had also criticized, in which the cultivation of technique becomes an ego-serving substitute for content. She remarked to Savage that this style of writing made her want to tell its authors:

"What you so cunningly, & successfully, are doing is so impressive, interesting, tiresome, tedious, stultifying, that meaning, what you are saying, or trying to say, is secondary." And sometimes to add "You have really nothing to say, or are keeping back what, if anything, you want to say, in the interest of a cunning way of saying it." This I feel most strongly in regard to Henry James.

Only Lawrence, in this letter, 'escapes... His style is himself & never a deliberately contrived effect'.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ D. M. Richardson, 'Foreword', in *Pilgrimage*, 1: *Pointed Roofs, Backwater, Honeycomb* (London: Dent and Cresset Press, 1938), pp. 9–12 (p. 11).

³⁷² Richardson, letter to Henry Savage, 18 September 1948, in *Windows on Modernism*, p. 589. At the end of the letter, Richardson wrote: 'Have just found this letter unposted. Glancing through, I realise unfairness to James. He was a sensitive, of course, vastly impressionable & splendidly able to record his impressions. Had, too, certain keen solicitudes. But no bourne. Every novel, of whatever date & kind, is a conducted tour &, inevitably, a self-portrait of the author, even when keep he [*sic*], as Flaubert so consistently aimed at keeping, (thereby adding to the portrait its sharpest outline) out of sight' (p. 590).

³⁷³ Richardson, letter to E. B. C. Jones, September 1921, and letter to Ogden Heath, April 1932, in *Windows on Modernism*, pp. 53, 236–7.

³⁷⁴ Richardson, letters to Henry Savage, 18 September 1948, 24 October 1948, 25 August 1948, in *Windows on Modernism*, pp. 589, 591, 588.

Richardson's engagement with James sheds considerable light on the aims of what she called her 'feminine prose'.³⁷⁵ Scott McCracken and Elizabeth Pritchett have discussed how Richardson recycled her 'octopoid rendering of James' to characterize 'other uniquely male threats throughout *Pilgrimage*'. But they also show that what they call her 'wet aesthetics', her approach to fiction that 'abandons her tank for the ocean, opting for total immersion', is integrally bound up with 'an implicit debate about the nature of a democratic polity and the function of the arts therein'.³⁷⁶ An aesthetic that values immersion, conveying everything through Miriam's consciousness without direction or judgement from the author, aims to resist the hierarchies of both gender and class that have historically allowed literature to operate as a social guarantor. Proclaiming 'Thought *is* prejudice', Miriam 'thinks flowingly, with her feelings'.³⁷⁷

Reading *Pilgrimage* in the context of the British reception of Russian literature consolidates and develops this point. Richardson's insistence on the primacy of individual experience corresponds to Tolstoy's teachings about the importance of the individual conscience and his rejection of dogma: Charles Daniel defined the 'genuine "Tolstoyan"' as one who 'acknowledges no leader outside of his own reason and conscience'.³⁷⁸ In writing her novels, Richardson resists the cultivation of style, which she saw as a form of coercion, of imposing one's own ego on the reader. In politics, she opposes any doctrine that restrains individual freedom: the socialism she defends from Daniel's criticisms in *The Crank* is 'not a movement' but a 'state of mind'—it is freedom from class oppression rather than organization by a Fabian strong state—or indeed by revolutionary communism.³⁷⁹ Almost fifty years later she wrote that her political position by the time she began writing in *The Crank* had 'moved from anarchism to communism as defined by Bakunin, Kropotkin & Tolstoy, with the help of Alexander Herzen, who showed me that a communist revolution, once realised & organized, would produce a dictatorship worse than the one it destroyed, & thence to a sort of Socialism'.³⁸⁰ In *Revolving Lights*, Miriam is not opposed to Lintoff's revolutionary socialist 'vision', but 'to his theory of it, and of the way it should be realized'.³⁸¹

³⁷⁵ Richardson, 'Foreword', in *Pilgrimage* (1938), 1: 12.

³⁷⁶ Scott McCracken and Elizabeth Pritchett, 'Plato's Tank: Aestheticism, Dorothy Richardson and the Idea of Democracy', *Pilgrimages*, 6 (2013–14), 84–106 (p. 93, 90, 104). See also Rebecca Bowler and Scott McCracken, 'Wet Aesthetics: Immersion versus the "perfect imbecility" of the stream in Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage*', in Bénédicte Coste, Catherine Delyfer, and Christine Reynier, eds, *Reconnecting Aestheticism and Modernism: Continuities, Revisions, Speculations* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 81–91.

³⁷⁷ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, p. 128; Dorothy Richardson, 'Women and the Future: A Trembling of the Veil Before the Eternal Mystery of "La Gioconda"', *Vanity Fair* (New York), 22 (April 1924), 39–40 (p. 40).

³⁷⁸ The Odd Man [Charles Daniel], 'Instead of an Editorial: Tolstoy and the Tolstoyans', *Open Road*, 3.3 (September 1908), 113–35 (p. 114).

³⁷⁹ Richardson, 'A Last Word to the Odd Man about Socialism', pp. 180, 181.

³⁸⁰ Dorothy Richardson, letter to Joseph Prescott, 1 June 1951, in 'Seven Letters from Dorothy M. Richardson', ed. by Joseph Prescott, *Yale University Library Gazette*, 33.3 (January 1959), 102–11 (p. 107).

³⁸¹ Richardson, *Revolving Lights*, pp. 138–9.

Revolving Lights was published in 1923, six years after the October Revolution. Richardson maintained a strong interest in Russian literature and culture throughout her life. Between 1927 and 1933, she contributed a regular column to the film magazine *Close Up*, a major source of information and criticism on Soviet film, which was edited by Kenneth Macpherson and Richardson's friend Bryher (Winifred Ellerman), the author of *Film Problems of Soviet Russia* (1929).³⁸² She became a committed reader of Russian idealist philosophy, frequently recommending the work of Vasily Rozanov (translated by her friend S. S. Kotelyansky), Vladimir Solov'ev, and—above all—Nikolay Berdyaev.³⁸³ Richardson continued to have many personal connections with Russians and Russophiles, as is clear from a letter to Bryher describing the guests she received one afternoon in October 1932:

One bright feature was the arrival of a very serious-minded friend, fresh from a holiday in Russia & entirely converted to Sovietism. On the same afternoon came Owen Wadsworth just visaed for Moscow, where he proposes to teach English, write for American & English papers & do a life of Bakunin, & Barbara Low who had just been seeing Ivy Litvinoff, her niece, (flown over from Geneva to see her relations, & full of dark hints of big, fresh developments. Having her full share of Low communicativeness, she is forbidden by her husband [Maksim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs] to speak of Russian affairs) & a man who grows grey-faced whenever Communism is mentioned. A lively gathering.

Richardson's view of the Soviet Union, at this point, was closer to that of the 'serious-minded friend' than the 'grey-faced' man:

The strongest impression I received was that of the removal, uprooting, for good & all in just this one country, of the worst forms of exploitation. Worth almost any price. It is odd that those who go to curse, & stay to bless, all say: "You can breathe there," & those who don't go, & curse without seeing, all say: "One couldn't breathe there." Our serious friend reported the similarity between the outward aspects of factory-life & industrial life in Russia & the rest of Europe (A nous la Liberté!) with the fundamental difference: in the bearing & being of the "workers" over there. Housing improved & rapidly improving though space still wanted in the crowded centres.³⁸⁴

It is notable that Richardson's grounds for approval remain the extent to which individual freedom is fostered: the absence of exploitation, being able to 'breathe'. In 1950, she still argued that 'but for Moscow, half the reforms [in Britain] hurriedly improvised overnight so to speak, would not, in the present century at any

³⁸² See James Donald, Anne Friedberg, and Laura Marcus, eds, *Close Up, 1927–1933: Cinema and Modernism* (London: Cassell, 1998); Susan Gervitz, *Narrative's Journey: The Fiction and Film Writing of Dorothy Richardson* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996); Laura Marcus, *The Tenth Muse: Writing about Cinema in the Modernist Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Bryher, *Film Problems of Soviet Russia* (Territet: POOL, 1929).

³⁸³ See for example, Richardson, letters to S. S. Koteliensky, 31 March 1934, and John Cowper Powys, 17 March 1947, in *Windows on Modernism*, pp. 261, 559, and Richardson, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 23 December 1935, vol VII, Add. MS 48972, Koteliensky Papers, BL, and Richardson, letter to P. Beaumont Wadsworth, 26 December 1935, Berg.

³⁸⁴ Dorothy Richardson, letter to Bryher, October 1932, box 52, Bryher Papers, General Collection MSS 97, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. On Barbara Low, see interchapter two, on Ivy Litvinov, née Low, and Maksim Litvinov, see chapter four. I have not been able to identify the serious-minded friend nor the grey-faced man.

rate have come into being', and she expressed her regret that 'Communism, in the best sense' had not been voluntarily chosen by the 'human family'.³⁸⁵ But other letters clearly state her view that 'compulsion' in the Soviet Union had falsified and corrupted the communist vision.³⁸⁶ Nevertheless, throughout her life Richardson described herself as a Russophile, and frequently commented on how her contact with Russians had 'revealed to me how much nearer they are to us in thought, feeling & sense of humour than is anyone else in Europe', particularly the French: 'Upon their elegant formulae they pile up their elegant & witty serious books. All the French atheists & anti-clericals, neat little God fighters letting off squibs they are in comparison with Nietzsche & the Russians'.³⁸⁷

On 18 August 1945, Richardson delightedly informed her sister Jessie Hale that, 'if you want to blow a trumpet, anyone who knows & likes the work of Ford Madox Ford, a distinguished litterateur here & in France & in America, where he spent the last part of his life, may be impressed on learning that in his general survey of English literature, which I've not read, he cited, so folks tell me, my work as the most valuable of our time'.³⁸⁸ Richardson is referring to *The March of Literature* (1938), in which Ford describes Richardson as the 'most distinguished exponent' of a school of English realists, describing *Pilgrimage* as 'less wilfully elaborate and much more verbally beautiful' than Proust's, and unaccountably neglected.³⁸⁹

Richardson's correspondent somewhat misrepresented Ford's argument, since, for all his appreciation of *Pilgrimage*, his preference is clearly for the school of Flaubert and James. Indeed, in a fascinating passage of classification, Ford assigns Richardson to a tradition he associates with the 'complete non-literariness' of Jane Austen and Anthony Trollope. 'One knows neither their impulses nor their aims, nor yet can one say that they belong to any school. Certainly, they are not romantics—but, then, neither are they realists nor naturalists. The style, "realism," had already been appropriated by such writers as Flaubert and the Goncourt brothers, writers who had a certain tang of disillusionment as to the motives of mankind. And "naturalism" was reserved for others who affected to observe that humanity was a very nasty beast indeed—writers like, in certain of his moods, Maupassant and, nearly all the time, Émile Zola'. 'Nevertheless,' Ford continues,

running mainly through Anglo-Saxondom in both its branches but with a certain tendency to deviate into Scandinavia and the Nordic lands in general, you see a sort

³⁸⁵ Richardson, letter to Eleanor Phillips, [28 May] 1950, in *Windows on Modernism*, p. 643.

³⁸⁶ Dorothy Richardson, letter to Babette Deutsch, 6 December 1947, folder 7, Babette Deutsch Papers, MSS 034, Washington.

³⁸⁷ Dorothy Richardson, letter to S. S. Kotliansky, 12 March 1943, vol VII, Add. MS 48972, Kotliansky Papers, BL; letter to Jessie Hale, 8 August 1943, in George H. Thomson, 'Dorothy Richardson: Letters to a Sister in America', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 43.4 (2000), 410–48 (p. 418); letter to John Cowper Powys, 15 February 1939, *Windows on Modernism*, p. 363.

³⁸⁸ Richardson, letter to Jessie Hale, 18 August 1945, *Windows on Modernism*, p. 526. In 1934, Richardson told Sylvia Beach that she received 'many press-cuttings about books on the novel wherein my work is dealt with, but have read none of them save the Chevalley's *le Roman de nos jours*. Articles innumerable there have been. I have read few and kept none' (Richardson, 'A few facts for you...', pp. 127–8).

³⁸⁹ Ford Madox Ford, *The March of Literature: From Confucius to Modern Times* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), p. 848.

of white lode running through the other-tinted earths of the literary delta. The torch would seem to be passed from hand to hand from Jane Austen to Trollope, and from one of the Brontë sisters in the mood when she wrote *Villette* to the Mrs. Gaskell of *Cranford* and *Mary Barton*, and, as we have already adumbrated, from Miss Alcott to Sarah Orne Jewett and so, in relatively modern days, to George Gissing, a too neglected writer, and to an even more unjustly neglected writer, William Hale White, who wrote *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* and *The Revolution in Tanners Lane*... and so to Miss Dorothy Richardson, to D. H. Lawrence in certain of his moods, and with immense additions of a psychological and aesthetic sort, to Miss Virginia Woolf and to various novelists of the so-called Middle Western type, and, without any art at all, to the Mr. Sinclair Lewis who wrote *Babbitt*, and with a certain and very effectively autochthonous art, to Mr. Sherwood Anderson, and, with tremendous personal rumblings, to Mr. Theodore Dreiser. To them one is tempted to add Mr. Thomas Hardy in his simpler manifestations like the *Mayor of Casterbridge* and *The Return of the Native*, and possibly also, though with every possible reservation, the George Moore of *Esther Waters*, the Galsworthy of the *Country House*, the Arnold Bennett of *The Man from the North*. Going then into the foreign, it is almost impossible to find anything but the rarest traces in nineteenth century France of this essentially Nordic mode.³⁹⁰

Ford's account of the 'Nordic mode' in British literature here corresponds at various points with the Russophile tradition this book investigates, not least in defining it against 'literariness' and distinguishing it firmly from the French tradition. Little wonder: Ford inherited the broad lines of this argument from nineteenth-century criticism, and was one of its most influential propagandists in the twentieth century. It is to that story to which I turn in chapter two.

³⁹⁰ Ford, *The March of Literature*, pp. 789–90.

Interchapter 1

The Whitechapel Group

The *chaikovtsy* were, in the main, west Londoners. Chaikovsky lived in Harrow, Kravchinsky in Chiswick, and Volkhovsky in Shepherd's Bush and, later, Fulham. Kropotkin also lived in Harrow for the first eight years of his life in Britain, though in 1894 he moved south to Bromley, which was then a Kent market town rather than a London suburb.¹ However, these were not the districts in which most immigrants from the Russian Empire lived. Jewish immigrants, who made up almost all the immigrants from the Russian Empire, moved to the East End, where they lived in the districts off Whitechapel Road: Whitechapel, Spitalfields, Mile End New Town, St George's-in-the-East, and Stepney. Much smaller communities lived in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Birmingham. Most lived in extreme poverty and worked in sweatshops, producing clothing, footwear, and furniture.²

Yet in Whitechapel, east of the central and west London boroughs usually associated with modernist networks, a distinct group of experimental writers and artists emerged in the decade before the First World War. To students of modernism, the painters David Bomberg, Mark Gertler, and Jacob Kramer, and the writers John Rodker and Isaac Rosenberg are the best known of this circle. We tend to separate these figures into associations with different groups—Bomberg and Kramer with Wyndham Lewis's vorticists, Gertler with the Bloomsbury group, Rodker with James Joyce and Ezra Pound, and Rosenberg with the war poets—but in the years before the war they formed an 'embryonic *East End* avant-garde', to use Lisa Tickner's phrase.³ Joseph Leftwich (né Lefkowitz) coined the name 'the Whitechapel Boys' to describe himself and his close friends Rodker, Rosenberg, and Stephen Winsten (né Samuel Weinstein), but the name has come to refer to the looser grouping of Jewish artists and writers born between 1890 and 1895, who socialized together at the Whitechapel Library, the Whitechapel Art Gallery, Toynbee Hall, the South Place Ethical Society, and the Jubilee Street Club.⁴

¹ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 152, 81, Senese, 'Felix Volkhovsky in London, 1890–1914', p. 67, Woodcock and Avakumović, *The Anarchist Prince*, pp. 206, 219, 249.

² Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 156, 160–4, 168; Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Modern Britain, 1656–2000* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 129–32.

³ Tickner, *Modern Life & Modern Subjects*, p. 146.

⁴ Joseph Leftwich, "'Jewish' London Fifty Years Ago", in Jacob Sonntag, ed., *1915–1965: Fifty Years Achievement in the Arts* (London: Ben Uri Society, 1966), pp. 12–16 (p. 14); Joseph Leftwich, 'Introduction', in Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years*, trans. by Joseph Leftwich (London: Robert Anscombe & Co. for the Rudolf Rocker Book Committee, 1956), pp. 15–52 (pp. 26–7).

Since this larger group included two women, the dancer Sonia Cohen and the artist Clare Winsten (née Clara Birnberg), the network is more accurately 'The Whitechapel Group'.

The artists have received more attention than the writers. Focusing on the 'Jewish Section' David Bomberg curated for the exhibition *Twentieth Century Art: A Review of Modern Movements* at the Whitechapel Art Gallery from 8 May to 20 June 1914, Sarah MacDougall, Juliet Steyn, Lisa Tickner, and Janet Wolff have examined the way modernism and Jewish identity was represented by the Whitechapel Group and their contemporary critics. Of the 494 exhibits in the exhibition, fifty-four works by fifteen exhibitors were grouped in the Jewish Section. Four of the fifteen exhibitors were based in Paris: Jacob Epstein had introduced Bomberg to Amadeo Modigliani the year before, and Moïse Kisling, Elie Nadelman, and Jules Pascin belonged, like Modigliani, to the 'circle of Montparnasse'. Ten were recent contemporaries or near contemporaries from the Slade School of Fine Art: Gertler, Morris Goldstein, Kramer, Bernard Meninsky, Rosenberg, Hubert Schloss, Mark Wayner (né Weiner), Clare Winsten—and Bomberg himself. The final two exhibitors were the older artists Horace Brodsky and Alfred Wolmark. Most of the British-based artists lived or had lived in Whitechapel, and all the exhibitors, bar Modigliani (from Italy) and Schloss (the son of a well-established Anglo-Jewish family), were from families that had left Russia or Russian Poland in recent years.⁵

Discussion of the Whitechapel Group's collective identity has concentrated almost exclusively on its Jewish ethnicity. This is hardly surprising, given that the group was identified by Leftwich as part of his recovery of Jewish cultural life at the turn of the century, and that the only time the artists exhibited together was in

⁵ *Twentieth Century Art: A Review of Modern Movements* (catalogue) (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1914), pp. 20–23; 'Jews and Cubism', *Jewish World* (18 March 1914), p. 11; 'A Jewish Futurist: Chat with Mr. David Bomberg', *Jewish Chronicle* (8 May 1914), p. 13; Tickner, *Modern Life*, pp. 155–8, Kenneth E. Silver, 'The Circle of Montparnasse: Jewish Artists in Paris, 1905–1945', in Kenneth E. Silver and Romy Golan, eds, *The Circle of Montparnasse: Jewish Artists in Paris, 1905–1945* (New York: Universe Books, 1985), pp. 12–59 (pp. 13, 18, 20, 22). Gertler's family were Polish Jews from Przemyśl, now in Poland, but then in Galicia, the most northern region of the Austrian empire; Clare Winsten's family also came from Galicia, but from the Eastern part, which is now Ukraine: see Sarah MacDougall, *Mark Gertler* (London: John Murray, 2002), p. 3; Sarah MacDougall, 'Whitechapel Girl: Clare Winsten and Isaac Rosenberg', in *Whitechapel at War: Isaac Rosenberg & his Circle* (London: Ben Uri Gallery, 2008), pp. 99–114 (p. 100). To my knowledge, only Brodsky, Kramer, Meninsky, and Schloss did not live in Whitechapel. Brodsky was born in Melbourne, and moved to London (via the United States) in 1908, settling in Herne Hill: 'neither a resident of the ghetto, nor a Slade student, Brodsky nevertheless developed close links with his Whitechapel peers', according to Dickson and MacDougall. Kramer and Meninsky had grown up in Leeds and Liverpool respectively: when they arrived in London to study at the Slade, Kramer moved to West Hampstead, and Meninsky to Cumberland Market. Schloss, the brother of the sinologist Arthur Waley (né Schloss), grew up in Wimbledon and Marylebone. See 'Biographical Notes', in *Horace Brodsky, 1885–1969* (London: Michael Parkin Fine Art, 1974), [n. p.]; Rachel Dickson and Sarah MacDougall, 'First Fruits: The Whitechapel Boys in Print, c. 1912–20', in *Whitechapel at War*, pp. 83–94 (pp. 87–8); David Manson, *Jacob Kramer: Creativity and Loss* (Bristol: Samson & Company, 2006), pp. 34, 47; John Russell Taylor, *Bernard Meninsky* (Bristol: Redcliffe, 1990), p. 28; Hubert Waley, 'Recollections of a Younger Brother', in Ivan Morris, ed., *Madly Singing in the Mountains: An Appreciation and Anthology of Arthur Waley* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970), pp. 123–8 (p. 123).

Bomberg's Jewish Section. As Tickner shows, drawing on Leftwich's statements, the exhibition was part of a 'Yiddish ferment in the East End', the desire to found separate institutions and a separate culture for 'the Yiddish-speaking "foreign" elements, away from the Anglicized English Jews', and Bomberg himself anticipated that the exhibition 'will show the public what is being done in this genre by Jewish artists'.⁶ But both the artists and their critics refrained from asserting a stylistic commonality to this grouping, let alone defining a 'Jewish style'. Contemporary reviews, even when hostile, had little to say about the significance of grouping artists along ethnic lines, and instead discussed the Jewish artists individually in relation to stylistic schools represented elsewhere in the exhibition: impressionism, post-impressionism, and cubism.⁷ For Steyn and Wolff, this nevertheless had the effect of aligning the least palatable modernist styles with the work of the Jewish artists, which in turn consolidated through comparison a conception of an ideal English art that was less threatening in its modernity.⁸

What is the significance of the other shared aspect of the Whitechapel Group's heritage—that is, their families' lives in, and departure from, the Russian Empire? To what extent did they identify not only as Jews, but as Jews from Russia? The question is almost entirely absent from critical accounts of the group, and it is of course by no means straightforward. On the one hand, the Jewish community in the East End was perceived as explicitly Russian: new arrivals and visitors to Whitechapel routinely commented on their impression that they had entered a *shtetl* in the Russian Pale.⁹ The mathematician Selig Brodetsky, who grew up in Whitechapel, recalled that there were 'many ghetto customs brought from Russia. There was much talk of Russia, of the troubles there and the pogroms, and there was a great deal of nostalgia for the "old home", for the intensely Jewish life of the Russian Pale of Settlement, that vast ghetto'. The religious leaders of the community even gave initial support to the Russian Ambassador's idea that immigrants from Russia should swear allegiance to Nikolay II, on the death of Aleksandr III in 1894.¹⁰ But, though the families of Bomberg, Gertler, Leftwich, Rodker, and Mark Wayner were from Russian Poland, their sons were born in Birmingham, Spitalfields, Zutphen (the Netherlands), Manchester, and Whitechapel respectively. Lazarus Aaronson and Rosenberg were born in Spitalfields and Bristol,

⁶ Tickner, *Modern Life*, p. 163; Leftwich, '“Jewish” London Fifty Years Ago', p. 14; 'A Jewish Futurist', p. 13.

⁷ Tickner, *Modern Life*, p. 158; P. G. K. [P. G. Konody], 'Side-Splitting Art. Humour, Conscious and Unconscious: "Isms" in East End', *Daily Express* (8 May 1914), p. 8; 'Art Exhibitions: Whitechapel Art Gallery', *Morning Post* (11 May 1914), p. 11; 'Art Exhibitions: Cubists in East-End', *The Standard* (14 May 1914), p. 4; 'Jewish Art at Whitechapel: Twentieth Century Exhibition', *Jewish Chronicle* (15 May 1914), p. 10; Frank Rutter, 'Round the Galleries', *Sunday Times* (24 May 1914), p. 7.

⁸ Juliet Steyn, 'Inside-Out: Assumptions of "English" Modernism in the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1914', in Marcia Pointon, ed., *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 212–30 (pp. 226–8); Janet Wolff, *AngloModern: Painting and Modernity in Britain and the United States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 116–25.

⁹ Leftwich, '“Jewish” London Fifty Years Ago', p. 12; Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, p. 167.

¹⁰ Selig Brodetsky, *Memoirs: From Ghetto to Israel* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960), pp. 32, 35.

though their families were from present-day Lithuania.¹¹ The main languages spoken were not Russian nor Polish, but Yiddish and English: Leftwich recalled that he and his friends spoke Yiddish at home to their parents, and English to each other.¹² As David Feldman has discussed, the pogroms and the May Laws of 1882, which forbade Jews in the Pale of Settlement to live outside towns or conduct business on Christian holy days, 'loosened the ties of sentiment to Russia among the Jewish population', and 'the sense of alienation from their homeland felt by Russian Jewish emigrants is reflected in the small proportion among them who returned home'.¹³ Yet the fact that Kramer's war service was in the 9th (Russian) Labour Battalion, that Bomberg joined the Communist Party, and went to Soviet Russia in 1933, and that Rodker edited an anthology of Soviet poetry and was the British agent for the Soviet Union's foreign publishing arm, PresLit, suggests the question is relevant.¹⁴ The experiences of these East European Jews are part of the story of Russian culture in Britain, and in fact the history of the Whitechapel Group intersects at a number of points with the story told in chapter one.

Much of our knowledge of the group's early cultural life is provided by the diary Leftwich wrote during 1911, aged nineteen, and his later essays based on that diary, which record the Whitechapel of his youth.¹⁵ In 1956, for example, Leftwich recalled

We East Enders were avid for culture, and we took the facilities offered by the Jubilee Street Club as we took those of Toynbee Hall and People's Palace and the South Place Institute. I saw my first Ibsen plays at Jubilee Street. Many influences moulded us. The Clarion Van preaching Merrie England Socialism was on my doorstep; it had its regular pitch on the corner outside my house. That corner was also used for the hymn-singing open-air meetings of the Church across the way, and the singing penetrated into the house. If I went over the road I was in the thick of the battle of causes on Mile End Waste. It was all round us. We couldn't help picking up bits from them all. We went to the discussions at the Social Democratic Club, the I. L. P. Club and the Liberal Club as well as at the Jubilee Street Club. At the end of my street was the Talmud Torah and Synagogue I attended, with which I managed to reconcile my other interests.¹⁶

Leftwich makes clear that local political institutions played a central role in providing education and culture to the inhabitants of Whitechapel. Sonia Cohen and

¹¹ Goldstein and Winsten were born in Poland; Clare Winsten, Kramer, and Meninsky were born in Ukraine.

¹² Leftwich, '“Jewish” London Fifty Years Ago', p. 13; Brodetsky, *Memoirs*, p. 30. See also Joseph Leftwich, 'Anglo-Jewish Literature since 1920', in *Jewish Book Annual* (New York: Jewish Book Council of America, 1963), xx: 26–7; 'Zangwill, Rosenberg, Golding and several others were the children of immigrants, brought up in Yiddish-speaking foreign immigrant homes'.

¹³ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 147–8.

¹⁴ Manson, *Jacob Kramer*, pp. 84, 89, 92; Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 196–201; John Rodker, ed., *Soviet Anthology* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1943); Ian Patterson, 'The Translation of Soviet Literature: John Rodker and PresLit', in Beasley and Bullock, eds, *Russia in Britain*, pp. 188–208.

¹⁵ Joseph Leftwich, 'Autobiographical Note', in S. J. Goldsmith, ed., *Joseph Leftwich at Eighty-Five* (1978), pp. 4–10 (p. 6): 'I kept no diary except that for 1911'.

¹⁶ Leftwich, 'Introduction', in Rodker, *The London Years*, pp. 26–7.

Stephen Winsten came from political families, and they and Bomberg, Goldstein, Leftwich, Rodker, and Rosenberg were involved in the Stepney branch of the Young Socialist League, the youth wing of the Social Democratic Party (as the Social Democratic Federation had become in 1907).¹⁷ But as well as the Marxism of the Social Democrats, the Whitechapel Group were 'picking up bits from' the ethical socialism of the Independent Labour Party, Robert Blatchford's *Clarion* movement, and the South Place Ethical Society (a short walk west from Whitechapel), the anarchist socialism of the Jubilee Street Club (in Leftwich's, Rodker's and Rosenberg's neighbourhood of Stepney), and the Christian socialism of Toynbee Hall on Commercial Street, the first house in the university settlement scheme, which had also established the Mansfield House University Settlement, where John Kenworthy and John Bruce Wallace had met in 1892. Toynbee Hall had been founded by the local vicar, Samuel Barnett, and his wife Henrietta Barnett, who also established two other favourite meeting places of the Whitechapel Group: the Whitechapel Library and the Whitechapel Art Gallery.¹⁸

The Russians and Russophiles discussed in chapter one also frequented some of these places. It was at a lecture on Tolstoy at the South Place Ethical Society that Florence Worland first heard about the London Tolstoyan Society around 1900. Charles Ashbee's Guild and School of Handicraft began at Toynbee Hall in 1888, the practical result of the study group on Ruskin he taught while a resident at the settlement. A later resident recalled that the evening debates at Toynbee Hall usually drew 'a few Russian political refugees who worked at the docks and were known as Nihilists', and remembered Lenin attending a debate on foreign policy with the Liberal M. P. John Morley in 1902.¹⁹ Lenin reportedly visited Whitechapel frequently, and is recorded as having given at least two talks in Whitechapel: one on 29 November 1902 at Liberty Hall, 9 Pelham Street, now Woodseer Street, and another in March 1903 at the New Alexandra Hall, which would become the Jubilee Street Club three years later.²⁰ In a 1976 interview, Winsten recalled being asked by his brother, who knew the Geneva-based Russian Social Democrats, to show Lenin and two colleagues 'three typical English movements', during their stay in London for one of the Social Democrat Congresses. He took them, he said,

¹⁷ Jean Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg, The Making of a Great War Poet: A New Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007), p. 111; Leftwich, '“Jewish” London Fifty Years Ago', p. 12; Cork, *David Bomberg*, pp. 19, 20; Charles Hobday, 'Isaac Rosenberg, Revolutionary Poet', *London Magazine*, 40.3 (2000), 42–56 (p. 42); Ian Kenneth Patterson, 'Cultural Critique and Canon Formation, 1910–1937: A Study in Modernism and Cultural Memory', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996, p. 43; Joseph Leftwich, entries for 2 January, 17, February, 1 March, 10 March, 22 May, 26 May, 14 July, 4 August 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets; Sonia Rodker, *The End has Various Places*, ed. by Cate Chapman (London: Inky Little Fingers, 2018), pp. 17, 93; Rodker (Cohen) states that she was named after Sof'ya Perovskaya, the member of the Chaikovsky circle executed in 1881.

¹⁸ Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 3–10, 57–8; Joseph Leftwich, 'Isaac Rosenberg', *Jewish Chronicle Supplement*, 167 (February 1936), i–iii (p. i); Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 53, 83, 90, 111.

¹⁹ F. E. W. [Worland], '“What are we going for to do?”', pp. 97, 100; MacCarthy, *The Simple Life*, pp. 22–5; Bowman, 'Lenin in London', pp. 336–8.

²⁰ Muravyova and Sivolap-Kaftanova, *Lenin in London*, pp. 184–5.

to Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park, Eustace Miles' vegetarian restaurant, and the Café Royal.²¹

As Robert Henderson has discovered, Lenin's lecture at Liberty Hall was for the 'East End Lecturing Society', which ran a socialist lecture programme from 1901 to 1903, and had been set up by the populist revolutionary Aleksey Teplov, the founder and librarian of the Russian library in Whitechapel from 1898 to 1917. Other lecturers for the Society included the *chaikovtsy* Nikolay Chaikovsky, Leonid Shishko, and Feliks Volkhovsky, Ford Madox Ford's brother-in-law David Soskis, Kravchinsky's friend and Constance Garnett's host in St Petersburg, Zinaida Vengerova, and Lev Trotsky. The organizing committee of Teplov's Russian library included Ford's mother Catherine Hueffer, and the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom Executive Committee members Herbert Burrows and J. F. Green. The Tolstoyans Vladimir Chertkov and Aylmer Maude were among the library's donors, and Constance Garnett borrowed its books.²² Garnett herself had worked in the library of the People's Palace from 1887 to 1889, and lived in College Buildings on Wentworth Street, just behind Toynbee Hall and close to the board school Bomberg would attend a few years later, and subsequently Royal Mint Court, close to the future homes of Bomberg, Gertler, and Clare Winsten.²³

The *chaikovtsy* also gave talks at the Jubilee Street Club to which Leftwich refers, properly the Arbayer fraynd (Workers' Friend) Club, which was founded at 165 Jubilee Street in February 1906 by a group associated with the Yiddish anarchist newspaper, the *Arbayer fraynd*. The club was very close to the homes of Goldstein, Leftwich, Rodker, and Rosenberg, and it was, wrote the *Arbayer fraynd*'s editor, Rudolf Rocker, 'open to everyone. Anyone could use our library and reading room, or join our educational classes, without being asked for a club membership card'.²⁴ Leftwich's essays consistently testify to its importance: he went to 'lectures, concerts, plays', and heard 'men like Rocker and Kropotkin speak'.²⁵ Events were mainly in Yiddish, and on cultural as well as political topics. One of Rocker's students, Sam Dreen, recalled that Rocker 'acquainted us with Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, Ibsen and Strindberg and Maeterlinck, with Leonardo da Vinci, Michaelangelo and Rembrandt. And with our great Yiddish writers, Mendelev, Peretz, Sholem Aleichem, An-Ski, Reisen and Asch... He taught us history, philosophy, science,

²¹ Winsten, Stephen Samuel, Oral History, 29 June 1976, reel 1, cat. no. 784, sound archive, Imperial War Museum. The details of Winsten's account are contradictory in their dates, which indicates he has conflated experiences relating to the Second (1903), Third (1905), and Fifth (1907) Congresses. The balance of detail suggests this event is most likely to have taken place in 1903.

²² Robert Henderson, 'Liberty Hall: Apollinariia Iakubova and the East London Lecturing Society', *Revolutionary Russia*, 28.2 (2015), 167–90 (pp. 176–9); Robert Henderson, "For the Cause of Education": A History of the Free Russian Library in Whitechapel, 1898–1917, in Beasley and Bullock, *Russia in Britain*, pp. 71–86 (pp. 77–8). The library was located first at 15 Whitechapel Road, subsequently at 16 Church Lane, from 1904 16 Princelet Street, the building which also housed the East London Jewish Branch of the SDF's 'People's Home', and finally at 27 Sandy's Row (pp. 74, 75, 81, 83).

²³ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 55–64; Cork, *David Bomberg*, p. 8.

²⁴ Rocker, *The London Years*, p. 178.

²⁵ Leftwich, "Jewish" London Fifty Years Ago, p. 13.

theatre, painting, music and acquainted us with the work of Marx and Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, who was his close friend'.²⁶

The club had connections with other anarchist and socialist groups: it hired out its premises to Kropotkin's and Charlotte Wilson's Freedom Group, the Social Democratic Federation, and the local workers' circles and trade unions. Lenin was reportedly seen at the club, drinking Russian tea, during his return to London in 1907 for the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party.²⁷ A letter from Lazar Gol'denberg on Russian Free Press Fund paper indicates the club had a financial connection with the *chaikovtsy* and the East London Jewish Branch of the Social Democratic Federation.²⁸ Rocker himself, who, Leftwich wrote, 'had a great influence on many of us', knew Chaikovsky and was, as Dreen noted, particularly close to Kropotkin, whose newspaper *Listki 'Khleb i volya' (Leaves from Bread and Liberty)* was printed in Dunstan Houses, Stepney Green, where Rocker and his wife lived in a top floor flat. (A celebration was held for Kropotkin's seventieth birthday at the Pavilion, the Whitechapel theatre, with Hyndman, Shaw, and Rocker, amongst others, speaking to a capacity audience.) Through the anarchist movement Rocker also knew the Tolstoyans John Kenworthy and John Morrison Davidson, and H. W. Nevinson, the liberal journalist, member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, and father of Christopher Nevinson, Gertler's and Rosenberg's close friend from the Slade. As well as editing the *Arbayter fraynd* between 1898 and 1914, Rocker founded a second journal, *Der Zherminal (The Germinal)*, 'to acquaint its readers with all libertarian tendencies in modern literature and contemporary thought', translating into Yiddish writers including 'Tolstoy, Ibsen, Tchechov, Gorki, Andreiev, Hauptmann, Anatole France, Maeterlinck, Knut Hamsun, Oscar Wilde, Israel Zangwill'.²⁹

Russian fiction and drama was, then, part of the culture these institutions transmitted to their members and audiences in Whitechapel, an element of the familiar catalogue of mainly naturalist literature favoured by the twentieth-century socialist. The theatre was particularly popular, to the extent that Leftwich recalled that by 1912, when Bomberg, Goldstein, Meninsky, Rosenberg, and Clare Winsten were at the Slade, 'it became fashionable in those circles to eat in a Jewish restaurant in Whitechapel and to visit the Pavilion Theatre where Moscowitch played in Yiddish "Hamlet", or Tolstoy's "Power of Darkness", or Gogol's "Dead Souls", or Strindberg's "Father", or Chechov's "Cherry Orchard". You couldn't see them

²⁶ William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875–1914* (London: Duckworth, 1975), p. 268.

²⁷ Rocker, *The London Years*, p. 179; Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals*, pp. 264, 268.

²⁸ Henderson, "For the Cause of Education", pp. 81–2; L. Gol'denberg, letter to anonymous recipient [Rocker?], 3 January 1906, MS 1381/328, Tuckton House Papers, Leeds: 'Comrade, The trustees of the People's Home Fund met yesterday re your letter to me in which you state that you took the premises in Jubilee St. Mile End known as the Alexandra Hall for the purpose of opening a "People's Home" and we decided to remit to the "Workers' Friend" Committee their part of the "People's Home Fund" (£8) to be used for your "People's Home"'.
²⁹ Rocker, *The London Years*, pp. 170, 148–52, 173, 186, 177; 'Kropotkin's Birthday Celebration', *Freedom*, 26.284 (December 1912), p. 93; John Woodeson, *Mark Gertler, Biography of a Painter, 1891–1939* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972), pp. 60–1; Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 148–49; C. R. W. Nevinson, *Paint and Prejudice* (London: Methuen, 1937), pp. 25–6.

elsewhere in London'.³⁰ Though there had been Yiddish productions in the East End since the 1880s, 'the early decades of the twentieth century were the heyday of the Yiddish theatre in London', according to David Mazower, and the Pavilion became the 'home of Yiddish theatre' with renowned actor managers, such as Moris Moshkovitsh (Maurice Moscovitch), visiting to direct seasons of plays.³¹ These were also the years in which the British stage was discovering Russian drama, and bar the adaptation of *Dead Souls* (*Mertvye dushi*), the Russian plays Leftwich lists were not new to London. *The Power of Darkness* (*Vlast' t'my*, 1886) and *The Cherry Orchard* (*Vishnevyy sad*, 1903) had been produced by the Stage Society in 1904 and 1911 respectively, and there were at least six other performances of plays by Tolstoy, or adaptations of his fiction, before 1917, and five performances of Chekhov.³² The Whitechapel Group also went to plays at Toynbee Hall, the Jubilee Street Club, the Wonderland Theatre on Whitechapel Road, and the Jewish Working Men's Club on Alie Street, as well as at the significantly more expensive West End Theatres—Leftwich, Rodker, and Rosenberg saw *The Unwritten Law*, Laurence Irving's adaptation ('or rather melodramatisation', wrote Leftwich) of *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (*Crime and Punishment*) at the Garrick Theatre on 3 February 1911.³³ According to Leonard Prager's list of playwrights whose plays were staged in Yiddish translation in Britain, more Russian playwrights were translated than playwrights of any other nationality. He lists Leonid Andreev, Mikhail Artsybashev, Osip Dymov, Maksim Gor'ky, Tolstoy, and Semen Yushkevich, though only positively identifies plays by Andreev, Gor'ky, and Tolstoy as performed during the first two decades of the century. Leftwich's testimony adds Chekhov and Gogol' to this list of writers.³⁴

The Whitechapel Group engaged with other forms of Russian culture beyond the East End, too. They shared a love of Dyagilev's Ballets Russes, and particularly Leon Bakst's set designs. Meninsky's biographer states that 'seeing a show of Bakst's designs for the Diaghilev ballet'—presumably the Fine Art Society's *Exhibition of Drawings by Léon Bakst* in 1912—'sparked an interest in the theatre which stayed with him all his life' (Fig. 5). (In 1913 Meninsky taught at Edward Gordon Craig's School for the Art of the Theatre in Florence.) Bomberg produced a booklet of

³⁰ Leftwich, "Jewish" London Fifty Years Ago', p. 15.

³¹ David Mazower, *Yiddish Theatre in London* (London: Museum of the Jewish East End, 1987), pp. 11–17. See also Jim Davis, 'The East End', in Michael R. Booth and Joel H. Kaplan, eds, *The Edwardian Theatre: Essays on Performance and the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 201–19 (pp. 205–10).

³² See Laurence Senelick, 'For God, for Czar, for Fatherland', pp. 31–33, and Stuart Young, "'Formless", "Pretentious", "Hideous and Revolting": Non-Chekhov Russian and Soviet Drama on the British Stage', in Beasley and Bullock, *Russia in Britain*, pp. 87–112 (pp. 89–96). For a convenient summary, see the appendix to Young's essay, 'Productions of Russian Plays and Adaptations of Russian Novels on the London Stage, 1900–1940', pp. 107–8. Moshkovitsh's production of *The Father* was the first performance of the Strindberg play in Britain.

³³ Leftwich, entry for 3 February 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets.

³⁴ Leftwich, entry for 4 August 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets; Leonard Prager, *Yiddish Culture in Britain: A Guide* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 519–23. For information about specific authors and plays, see pp. 114–16 (on Andreev), 291 (on Gor'ky), 385, 396 (on Tolstoy).

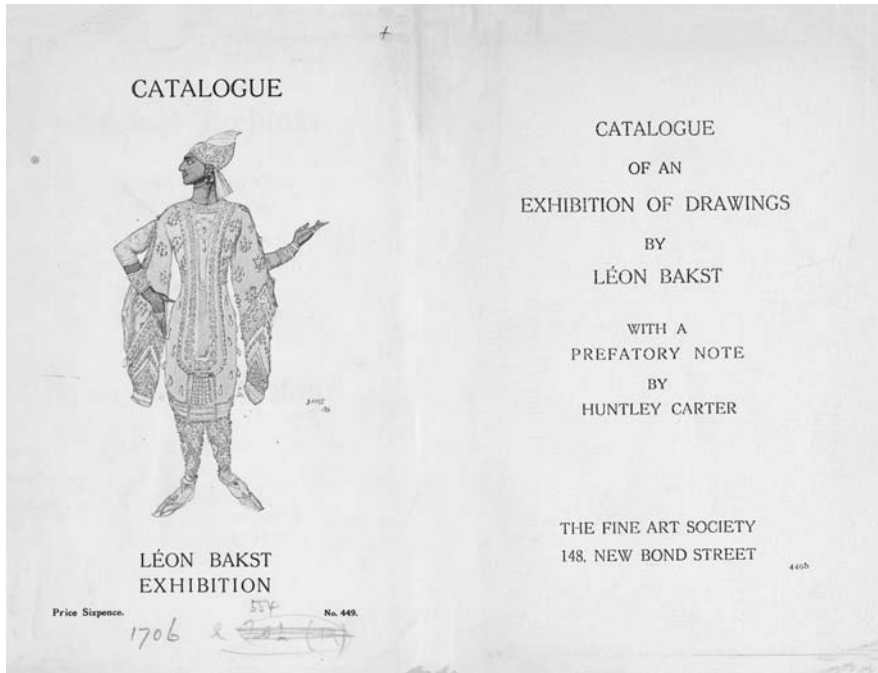


Fig. 5. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings by Léon Bakst* (London: Fine Art Society, 1912), cover and title page. Shelfmark 1706 e.554 (449), The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

lithographs and poems he titled *Russian Ballet*, published by the Tolstoyan Frank Henderson (Fig. 6), and Leftwich's and Leo Kenig's short-lived Yiddish arts magazine *Renesans* (*Renaissance*) published an article by Wolmark on Bakst in 1920.³⁵ The other Russian artist of particular interest to at least two members of the Whitechapel Group was Vasily Kandinsky. Richard Cork plausibly suggests that Bomberg's *Island of Joy* (c. 1912) 'contains echoes' of Kandinsky's *Komposition I* (1910), which had been exhibited at the annual Allied Artists' Association exhibition in 1910: 'although Kandinsky's work had no immediate effect on him, the memory of *Composition I* may still have subliminally affected Bomberg when he worked on *Island of Joy*', Cork writes. 'After all, both paintings contain riders in primitive settings, and the simplification of Kandinsky's figures is strikingly similar to the even more minimally defined fighters in the upper section of Bomberg's picture'.³⁶ Kramer was profoundly interested in Kandinsky's work, having been introduced to it before attending the Slade by his patron Michael Sadler and the art critic Frank Rutter at the Leeds Arts Club. His 1919 essay in *Renesans*, 'Form

³⁵ Taylor, *Bernard Meninsky*, pp. 17, 35–32; David Bomberg, *Russian Ballet* (London: Henderson's, 1919); Cork, *David Bomberg*, pp. 98, 122–6; Leftwich, 'Jewish' London Fifty Years Ago', p. 15.

³⁶ Cork, *David Bomberg*, pp. 33–4.

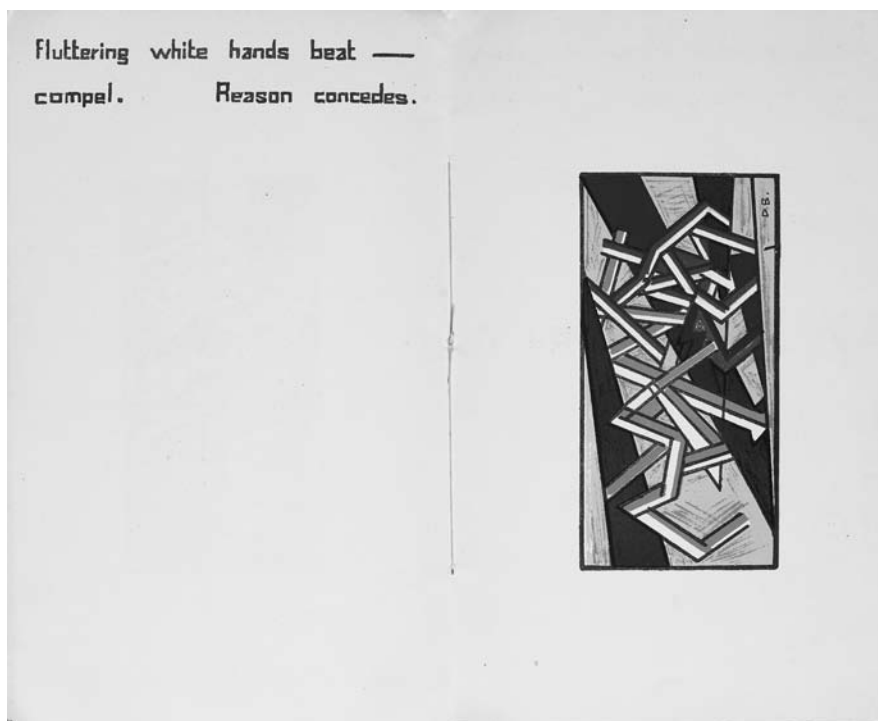


Fig. 6. David Bomberg, *Russian Ballet* (London: Henderson's, 1919), pp. 5–6. Shelfmark 3855 e.7, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. © DACS, London 2019.

and Shape' (1919), on the 'transcendental conception of sound and colour which makes them not only technical but spiritual factors', clearly draws on Kandinsky's ideas.³⁷

However, it would be a mistake to overemphasize the importance of Russian culture to the Whitechapel Group. Enthusiasm for Kandinsky and the Ballets Russes was hardly confined to Russophiles, and indeed, Bakst, like his student Shagal (Chagall), who also appeared in Leftwich's *Renesans*, could be considered part of the Group's Jewish, rather than Russian, culture. With the partial exception of Kramer, the Whitechapel Group do not, in fact, seem to have sought out Russian art or literature to any significant extent, nor identified with it as part of their heritage.³⁸ For instance, when Bomberg, the most innovative of the Whitechapel artists, began to engage with contemporary art, he was primarily

³⁷ Manson, *Jacob Kramer*, p. 26; Tom Steele, *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club, 1893–1923* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), pp. 189–93, 207–10; Jacob Kramer, 'Form and Shape' (1919), in *Jacob Kramer Reassessed* (London: Ben Uri Art Gallery, 1984), p. 9.

³⁸ When his work first appeared in *Colour* (August 1916) Kramer was designated 'J. Kramer (Russian)', and his contribution in December 1916 was a portrait of Gor'ky. C. Lewis Hind's discussion of Kramer's painting 'The Jew' began by describing it as 'by a Russian, Jacob Kramer, domiciled in England': C. Lewis Hind, 'The Jew', *Colour*, 6.2 (March 1917), p. 67. This, coupled with the fact

drawn to Walter Sickert and the Camden Town Group, Cézanne and Gauguin, and the Cubists and Italian Futurists, rather than to the Russian artists he saw in the 'Russian Group' section of Roger Fry's *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* in 1912.³⁹ Gertler later compared the effect of his encounter with 'Cézanne, Gauguin, Matisse, etc.' during the same period to 'the impact of the scientists of this age upon a simple student of Sir Isaac Newton'.⁴⁰ Clare Winsten's work between 1910 and 1912, her most experimental period, also shows the influence of Gauguin and Matisse.⁴¹ In 1914, when Rosenberg gave a series of lectures on modern art in Cape Town, he told Edward Marsh he wanted to talk 'about John, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Innes, the early Picasso (not the cubist one), Spencer, Gertler, Lamb, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas'.⁴² Around the same time, Kramer was professing admiration for Gauguin and Van Gogh.⁴³

The writers, too, wrote little or nothing of Chekhov, Dostoevsky, Gor'ky, Tolstoy, or Turgenev. Tolstoy exerted some influence, though through his didactic writings rather than his novels: Rosenberg came from a family that identified as Tolstoyan, Stephen Winsten recalled spending holidays at the Tuckton House Tolstoyan colony as a child, and Gilbert Cannan's *roman à clef* about Gertler, *Mendel* (1916), described Mendel (Gertler) and Mitchell (Nevinson) reading *What is Art?* and having 'their young conceit... put out by it'.⁴⁴ In 1912 when Rosenberg read Turgenev's *A House of Gentlefolk* on the recommendation of a friend, he responded that though 'Panshin is very good—and the aunt does live', he was left with 'a discouraging sense of the futility of life; a sort of numbing effect. I like to read something joyous—buoyant, a clarion call to life'.⁴⁵ Leftwich's comments on *The Unwritten Law* imply that he had read *Crime and Punishment*, and in his description of the collaborative novel he, Rosenberg, and Winsten were writing about their daily lives, he remarks that 'if there were a Dickens or better still a

that Kramer joined the 9th (Russian) Labour Battalion suggests his identification with Russia was stronger than that of his Whitechapel friends.

³⁹ Cork, *David Bomberg*, pp. 14–19, 29–31, 42, 54–8.

⁴⁰ A 'Studio' Representative, 'Mark Gertler: The Man and his Art', *The Studio*, 104 (September 1932), 158–63 (p. 163).

⁴¹ MacDougall, 'Whitechapel Girl', in *Whitechapel at War*, pp. 104–5.

⁴² Isaac Rosenberg, letter to Edward Marsh, 24 July 1914 [?], in Rosenberg, *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg: Poetry, Prose, Letters, Paintings, and Drawings*, ed. by Ian Parsons (London: Chatto and Windus, 1979), p. 204.

⁴³ Manson, *Jacob Kramer*, p. 43.

⁴⁴ Winsten, Stephen Samuel, Oral History, 29 June 1976, reel 2, cat. no. 784, sound archive, Imperial War Museum. In the interview, Winsten talks at some length about his frequent holidays at Tuckton House, but again his testimony is unreliable, since he claims, for instance, to have met a number of people there who did not visit the colony—including Tolstoy himself. Isaac Rosenberg, letter to R. C. Trevelyan, [last week of May 1916], in *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg*, p. 234: 'my people are Tolstoylians [*sic*] and object to my being in khaki'; Gilbert Cannan, *Mendel: A Story of Youth* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916), p. 147.

⁴⁵ Isaac Rosenberg, letter to Winifreda Seaton [?], [1912], in *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg*, p. 186. I have given here Garnett's translation of the title of *Dvoryanskoe gnezdo* (1859), as it is the most likely (because most often reprinted) translation to have been read by Rosenberg. By 1912 translations by William Ralston and Isabel Hapgood had also been published in Britain. Rosenberg spells Turgenev's name differently from all three in his letter ('Turgeneff'); his spelling of 'Panshin' corresponds to Garnett's and Hapgood's, but not Ralston's ('Panshine').

Dostoevsky in the Y. S. L. [Young Socialist League] what a book it would make!' But such references are rare, and on the whole his diary records the group acquiring, as Andrew Crozier remarked, 'a culture... wholly other—Shakespeare, Gray, Carlyle, Swinburne, Wells, Shaw, Abercrombie, Ibsen, Maeterlinck'.⁴⁶ It is Ibsen, indeed, who looms largest in Leftwich's 1911 diary, as a list of references in the first four months' entries demonstrates. With a friend at work he discusses *Little Eyolf* (*Lille Eyolf*, 1894) on 2 January, *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896) on the third, and *When We Dead Awaken* (*Når vi døde vågner*, 1899) on the sixth. On 25 March he makes reference to *Emperor and Galilean* (*Kejser og Galilaer*, 1873) and quotes *Brand* (1866), and he is reading *Peer Gynt* (1867) on 31 March and 8 April. With Rodker, he sees *The Pillars of Society* (*Samfundets støtter*, 1877) at the People's Palace on 4 February ('the acting was appalling'), Winsten joins them for *A Doll's House* (*Et Dukkehjem*, 1879) at the Court Theatre on 11 March ('we were all overjoyed that we had seen it'), and Leftwich fails to see *The Master Builder* (*Bygmester Solness*, 1892) on 15 April.⁴⁷ Rosenberg's and Winsten's tastes appear to have been more exclusively English. 'When I reached England... I learned the language and loved the words, and loved the literature, English literature, and probably at fifteen knew more about English literature than most', Winsten recalled in 1976.⁴⁸ Leftwich remembered Rosenberg talking about 'Rossetti's letters and Keats and Shelley' ('I don't think I knew what real poetry was till I read Keats a couple of years ago', Rosenberg wrote around the same time), and he recalled Rosenberg's 'Donne period, his Rossetti enthusiasm, his admiration of Francis Thompson and his delight in Bottomley and Abercrombie'.⁴⁹ According to Leftwich, Rosenberg's influence meant that poetry was the group's primary enthusiasm in this period, and the style and subject matter of their early verse is indebted above all to romantic and late romantic models.⁵⁰ They began to associate with the Georgian poets in 1913, after Rosenberg had introduced himself to Laurence Binyon and Gertler had introduced him to Edward Marsh.⁵¹ 'We frequented Harold Monro's Poetry Bookshop and we became regulars at the Café Royal, and made friends there', wrote Leftwich in 1978, and in his 1936 essay on Rosenberg he recalls that 'Harold

⁴⁶ Leftwich, entries for 3 February, 22 July 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets; Leftwich, 'Autobiographical Note', p. 7; Andrew Crozier, 'Introduction', in John Rodker, *Poems & Adolphe* 1920, ed. by Andrew Crozier (Manchester: Carcanet, 1996), pp. vii–xxiii (p. x).

⁴⁷ Leftwich, entries for 2, 3, 6 January, 25, 31 March, 8 April, 4 February 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets.

⁴⁸ Winsten, Stephen Samuel, Oral History, 29 June 1976, reel 3, cat. no. 784, sound archive, Imperial War Museum.

⁴⁹ Leftwich, entry for 11 February 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets; Leftwich, 'Isaac Rosenberg', pp. i, iii; Isaac Rosenberg, letters to Winifreda Seaton, [1911], [Dec–Jan 1912–13], [March 1915], [spring 1915] in *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 181, 198, 208, 209; Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 56–61, 68, 74, 77–8.

⁵⁰ Leftwich, entry for 11 February 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets; Leftwich, 'Autobiographical Note', p. 9; Leftwich, 'Isaac Rosenberg', p. i. See, for example, Joseph Leftwich, 'Chigwell' and 'Flowers', in *Along the Years: Poems, 1911–1937* (London: Robert Anscombe, 1937), p. 79; Isaac Rosenberg, 'To J. H. Amschewitz' and 'Heart's First Word', in *Night and Day* (London: Israel Narodiczky, 1912), pp. 19–20; S. Winsten, 'The Moon', 'To my Love', 'Home', in *Chains* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1920), pp. 13, 74, 97.

⁵¹ Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 161–5, 186–98.

Monro, of the Poetry Bookshop, Edward Marsh, editor of "Georgian Poetry," and discerning art collector, Lawrence [*sic*] Binyon, whom he used to visit at the British Museum where he was Keeper of Prints and Drawings, Gordon Bottomley, about whose poetry he raved to me, were all very kind and showed interest in his work'.⁵² Leftwich, Rosenberg, and Winsten were published in the poetry journal *Voices*, edited by the Georgian poet, Thomas Moulton, and they also appeared in *Colour*, a predominantly fine art magazine that in addition printed reproductions of works by Bomberg, Brodzky, Gertler, Goldstein, Kramer, Meninsky, Wayner, and Wolmark.⁵³ The group's predilection for poetry rather than fiction would have been one factor in directing their attention away from Russian literature, since it was the nineteenth-century novel that still dominated British interest in Russian culture.

Although Rodker published in Harold Monro's *Poetry and Drama*, and indeed offered Monro his services as secretary, his interests, even in 1911, can be distinguished from the Georgian tendencies Leftwich attributes to the Whitechapel Group at this time. In fact, they enable us to see not only how Rodker has some points of contact with Russophile modernism, but also how we might read the Whitechapel Group's diverse practices as having some common aesthetic ground.⁵⁴ Evelyn Heinz has recently argued that Rodker's reputation as a publisher and poet has obscured his engagement with theatre and drama, where his significance and innovation are far more substantial. 'Due to the nature of the surviving records, we most encounter Rodker's dramatic writing in the context of the literary rather than the theatrical avant-garde', she remarks, 'His most conventionally dramatic writing was never performed or published and his published "drama" survives in the guise of dramatic poems which appeared in *The Egoist*, *Others*, Pound's *Catholic Anthology* and *The Little Review*'. Leftwich's diary shows that Rodker was writing what Heinz calls 'political drama' as early as 1911: on 22 March Leftwich records that Rodker was writing a play about 'a man about to be married and filled with an intense affection for all women', who takes 'pity on a prostitute who accosts him in the street', and on 24 July he describes it as containing 'a lot of propagandist stuff'

⁵² Leftwich, 'Autobiographical Note', p. 9; Leftwich, 'Isaac Rosenberg', p. ii.

⁵³ Dickson and MacDougall, 'First Fruits: The Whitechapel Boys in Print, c. 1912–20', pp. 87–92; Kunio Shin, 'The Work of Modern British Art in the Age of Colour Reproduction: Wyndham Lewis and C. R. W. Nevinson in *Colour*, 1914–1921', *Journal of Wyndham Lewis Studies*, 8 (2017), 57–86 (pp. 65–7). Winsten contributed poetry, fiction and essays in nine issues of *Voices* between November 1919 and December 1920; Leftwich and Rosenberg appeared only once each: see Joseph Leftwich, 'Books on Russia', *Voices*, 4.6 (December 1920), 237–8, an oddly vague essay against books (unnamed) that sought to define Russia with insufficient knowledge of the country as a whole, and Isaac Rosenberg, 'I mingle with your bones', *Voices*, 5.3 (summer 1921), 73, which was followed by Samuel Roth's laudatory essay, 'Isaac Rosenberg', 74–5. Leftwich was much more fully represented in *Colour*, where he published thirteen poems and one short story between 1915 and 1921. Rosenberg had three poems published in 1915 ('Heart's First Word', 'A Girl's Thoughts', 'Wedded' in the June, July, and August issues), and Leftwich's poem on his death, 'Killed in Action' was erroneously attributed to him in October 1919. Winsten published one poem in November 1919 ('Your Nursery', as J. Winsten).

⁵⁴ Evelyn Heinz, 'John Rodker (1894–1955) and Modernist Material Culture: Theatre, Translation, Publishing', PhD thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, 2017, p. 73. Heinz's source is a letter from Rodker to Monro in the Harold Monro Papers, held in the Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (box 3), but she notes that the date is illegible.

about the 'evil conditions in workshops which compel girls to go on the streets to earn livelihood'. In the same diary entry, Leftwich indicates Rodker's departure from the shared intellectual terrain of the Whitechapel Group: he 'is developing very curious ideas lately on sex morality... And then he talks much about the New Art in the Theatre and in painting. I wonder where he has got all this from. It seems so erotic, so hectic, so unbalanced'.⁵⁵

Rodker was surely getting his ideas about 'the New Art in the Theatre and in painting' from the *New Age*, the journal in which he would publish his first poems the following year, aged eighteen. The weekly was edited by A. R. Orage, who appeared briefly in chapter one as co-founder with Holbrook Jackson of the Fabian Arts Group in 1907. Before moving to London, Orage had founded the influential Leeds Arts Club with Jackson in 1903, which Jacob Kramer later attended.⁵⁶ Like the Leeds Arts Club, the *New Age* combined socialist politics with a cultural programme influenced by Edward Carpenter, Friedrich Nietzsche, and John Ruskin: it was committed to asserting the value of the arts in the work of social reconstruction. As Ann Ardis has discussed, though it opened its pages to diverse views and works, its editorial perspective was firmly asserted.⁵⁷ In the issue of the *New Age* published four days before Leftwich's comments in his diary, Rodker would have read the first of Huntly Carter's 'Letters from Abroad', subtitled 'The New Idea of Dramatic Action'. Writing from Berlin, where he was researching a book on Max Reinhardt, Carter argued that 'the most pressing need of the drama and of the theatre' was 'a complete revolution' in the idea of dramatic action: action should not be confined to the words and movements of actors, but involve 'the language of music and the visualized scene'. Only then might 'the deepest mysteries—mysteries embraced by the rhythm of the universe—and the remotest adventures of the human soul' be revealed. That ambition was already under way in painting, Carter wrote: he praised the work of the 'ultra-modern movement in painting' being shown at the Berlin Secession exhibition (he named Auguste Chabaud, André Derain, Kees van Dongen, Lyonel Feininger, Othon Friesz, Pablo Picasso, Maurice de Vlaminck, and noted that, 'The influence of the new movement in painting is not, however, confined to the studio. It is invading the theatre'. Carter, the journal's art and, since May, also its drama columnist, had been developing this argument over a series of articles and two theatre supplements during 1910 and 1911, but as he became more interested in the Continental European avant-gardes and the vitalist and individualist philosophies that informed them, his articles were increasingly incompatible with the English socialism of Orage's journal.⁵⁸ On 27 June 1912, Carter published his last column in the *New Age*, and on 12 September

⁵⁵ Heinz, 'John Rodker', pp. 24, 45; Leftwich, entries for 22 March, 24 July 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets.

⁵⁶ Steele, *Alfred Orage and the Leeds Arts Club*, pp. 65–135; Manson, *Jacob Kramer*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ Ardis, *Modernism and Cultural Conflict*, pp. 143–72.

⁵⁸ Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: I. The New Idea of Dramatic Action', *New Age*, ns 9.12 (20 July 1911), 271–2. The theatre supplements were published on 2 June 1910 and 2 March 1911. See also Huntly Carter, 'The "Blue Bird" and Bergson in Paris', *New Age*, ns 9.2 (11 May 1911), 43–5 (p. 44).

made his debut as the art and theatre critic in the far more appropriate space of *The Freewoman*, Dora Marsden's feminist, individualist anarchist journal that began in November 1911.

Rodker also read *The Freewoman*, and while it was the *New Age* that published his first poems, it was in *The Freewoman* that Rodker made his debut as a drama critic in 1912, promoting what Carter called 'the Art of the Theatre'.⁵⁹ On 1 August, his review of Annie Horniman's Manchester Repertory Theatre Company residencies at the Coronet Theatre and the Playhouse Theatre inveighed against its 'propagandist drama' that appeals only to "'advanced" people', who already share its views. Despite Leftwich's characterization of the play Rodker was writing the previous year as 'propagandist', Rodker called for the creation of 'living entities embodying new values' instead of 'the mere pulpit-device of preaching' to an audience.⁶⁰ On 3 October he published a scathing review of an adaptation of Walter Browne's allegorical *Everywoman* (1911) at the Drury Lane Theatre, in which he compared 'the infinite grossness of its attempt at an "Art" setting', with the achievements of Reinhardt, Maurice Maeterlinck (another of the heroes of Carter's 'Art of the Theatre'), and the Rhymers' Club poet, John Davidson:

Reinhardt, in 'The Miracle,' had something new to say on rhythm; Maeterlinck, in 'Sister Beatrice,' showed the infinite yearning of life; Davidson, in 'The Ballad of a Nun,' pictured the breathlessness of actual beauty, but 'Everywoman' possesses not one of these qualities. Pretension, which is the most repulsive form of vulgarity, is all it possesses. It is 'The Miracle' without Reinhardt; it is 'The Ballad of a Nun' without the nun.

Rodker concludes by quoting Nietzsche's critique of shame and pessimism in *The Genealogy of Morals*, and giving a rallying cry: 'The "bleat of the sentimentalist" and the soul-destroying inertia of the pessimist are actual things. They have both been talking to the optimist. The time is ripe for the actionist'.⁶¹

Despite Rodker's stated antipathy to propagandist theatre, Heinz interprets Rodker's call to 'the actionist' in terms of his involvement in radical politics. He had been elected Secretary of the Stepney branch of the Young Socialist League in June 1911 and, as we know from Leftwich, he was a regular at the anarchist Jubilee Street Club.⁶² Though the term is not common now, 'actionist' was used in the period as a synonym for activist, and also specifically to describe proponents of anarchist direct action: Guy Aldred, active in Whitechapel anarchist circles and a regular *Freewoman* contributor, had helped to set up the Industrial Union of Direct Actionists in 1907.⁶³ As Heinz points out, in *The Freewoman* issue of 27 June 1912, Barbara Low, the Secretary of *The Freewoman* Discussion Circle (and sister

⁵⁹ Huntly Carter, 'Editorial Notes', *New Age* (supplement), ns 7.5 (2 June 1910), 1–3 (p. 1).

⁶⁰ J. Rodker, 'Repertory and a New Morality', *The Freewoman*, 2.37 (1 August 1912), p. 208.

⁶¹ J. Rodker, 'Moralities and Morality', *The Freewoman*, 2.46 (3 October 1912), 389–90; Walter Browne, *Everywoman: Her Pilgrimage in Quest of Love*, rev. by Stephen Phillips (London: Frederick Warne, 1912).

⁶² Leftwich, entry for 1 July 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets.

⁶³ Guy A. Aldred, 'The Industrial Union of Direct Actionists', *Voice of Labour* (18 May 1907), p. 107.

of Constance Garnett's former colleague, Frances Low, at the People's Palace), reported that a member had 'suggested the formation of a special "Actionist Group," a suggestion received with marked approval'.⁶⁴ Rodker could have read this account and been referring in his review directly to the proposal, or he may have been present, or indeed been the member proposing the Actionist Group, since, in her memoir, his future wife Sonia Cohen recalled that he always accompanied her to *The Freewoman* Discussion Circle meetings.⁶⁵ Further evidence that Rodker was working out the relationship between his aesthetics and politics is provided by the fact that he invited Frank Rutter to speak to the Young Socialist League on 4 August 1911 on 'Socialism and Art'. Rutter was the *Sunday Times* art critic, and well known as the founder of the Allied Artists' Association, which he described as 'socialism in art'. In 1910 he had published *Revolution in Art*, dedicated 'to the rebels of either sex all the world over who in any way are fighting for freedom of any kind', and comparing Cézanne and Gauguin to Marx and Kropotkin.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, Rutter spoke to the Young Socialist League not about socialism but mainly about the New English Art Club, and although Leftwich recorded in his diary that 'he was good', he also remarked that 'the whole evening was a failure'. None of the audience (which included Bomberg, Sonia Cohen, and Winsten, as well as Leftwich and Rodker) 'seemed to be in the least attending to Rutter except Jimmy [Rodker], who had put himself in the chair. I wonder what Rutter thought of the gathering and of Jimmy for bringing him down to it'.⁶⁷

But what would 'actionist' drama be, if not propaganda? How might drama create 'living entities embodying new values' without falling back into 'the mere pulpit-device of preaching' to an audience?⁶⁸ Over the next few years, Rodker began to work out a positive response to the critique he made in 1912. First, he published an article on 'The Theatre in Whitechapel' in the debut issue of *Monro's Poetry and Drama* (March 1913), praising Moris Moshkovitch's season at the Pavilion. Picking up on his criticism of Horniman's theatre as preaching to the converted, he praises the fact that a 'formidable' collection of plays—Andreev's *Anathema* (*Anatema*, 1909), Strindberg's *The Father* (*Fadren*, 1887), Tolstoy's *The Power of Darkness* (*Vlast' t'my*), and an adaptation of Zola's *Thérèse Raquin* (1868)—has been presented to 'the whole Jewish colony in London. Every facility is given the Jewish worker to attend the performances. The play does not commence until 8:30, and the cheapest seat is fourpence'. The lack of 'elaborate staging and over-refined acting' and the engagement of the audience with the performance produce a drama 'of tremendous virility and irresistible carrying force'. What is

⁶⁴ Heinz, 'John Rodker', pp. 48–50; B. Low, '“The Freewoman” Discussion Circle', *The Freewoman*, 2.32 (27 June 1912), p. 115.

⁶⁵ S. Rodker, *The End has Various Places*, pp. 142–3.

⁶⁶ Frank Rutter, *Since I Was Twenty-Five*, p. 185; Frank Rutter, *Revolution in Art: An Introduction to the Study of Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Other Modern Painters* (London: Art News Press, 1910), p. 18. In April 1912 Rutter moved from London to Leeds to take up the position of curator at Leeds City Art Gallery, and became a central figure in the Leeds Arts Club, through which he knew Jacob Kramer (Manson, *Jacob Kramer*, p. 26).

⁶⁷ Leftwich, entries for 1 July, 4 August 1911, Joseph Leftwich Diary, LC8729, Tower Hamlets.

⁶⁸ Rodker, 'Repertory and a New Morality', p. 208.

notable here is that Rodker is conspicuously uninterested in the subtlety of the play text, and asserts instead that

it is the crudity and the strength of Zola and Strindberg, rather than their psychology or their characterisation, which have made them popular with these audiences. The refinements of Shakespeare or Goethe leave them quite cold, unless they are served in the adapted forms of Gordin's *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil*... or the same writer's *King Lear*, where melodrama is given splendid play.

It is the overall effect of a play, rather than articulated ideas, that Rodker suggests are most important, and he is particularly interested in the way a play can work with an audience's collective memory:

It is not strange that an audience, for the most part ignorant of every other language save its own, accustomed to continuous persecution, should have the iron so deeply in its soul that the stage is only the mirror of life when an atmosphere of deep melancholy broods over the play. In Tolstoi, Zola, or Andreef they find the expression of all their fatalism, that legacy from their eastern origin and the conditions under which they have so long lived.⁶⁹

The following year, Rodker developed some of these ideas into a manifesto entitled 'The Theatre' in the third incarnation of Marsden's journal, *The Egoist*. Rodker now altogether dismisses 'intellectual drama', from Shakespeare to Strindberg and Chekhov as 'not drama at all', but merely 'the "acting version" of a novel', and proposes instead a theatre of 'pure emotion'. Where 'words are a waste product of emotion and do not concern it', 'emotion invariably translates itself into action'. Unlike the propagandist, 'utilitarian' drama that 'attempts to elevate' through words, Rodker's theatre aims to trigger what he calls 'race memories' in the audience. While 'Hamlet need not affect a single member of the audience who does not wish it', an audience is not able to resist the emotions summoned up, for example, by a smell: 'a smell of musk wafted through a theatre... penetrates deeper into the mind through the senses, until the body is rapt into those vague splendid imaginings which are the flutterings of memories of man and the earth when they were young'. He concludes by proposing to 'take a theatre in London, using for the plays either human marionettes of the Dutch-doll type or naked humans, or to clothe them in a sort of cylindrical garment. The plays will be the completion of a cycle dealing with the primitive emotions, of which Fear is one, these being I think the simplest for the evocation of race memories'. The manifesto is followed by the stage directions for 'Fear', in which Pierrot and Columbine, playing chess, are

⁶⁹ J. Rodker, 'The Theatre in Whitechapel', *Poetry and Drama*, 1.1 (March 1913), 43–4. Yankev (Jacob) Gordin's plays based on *Faust* and *King Lear* were *Got, mentsh un tayvl* [*God, Man, and Devil*] (1900) and *Der yiddisher kenig l'ier* [*The Jewish King Lear*] (1892). On Gordin, see Barbara Henry, *Rewriting Russia: Jacob Gordin's Yiddish Drama* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2011), and Beth Kaplan, *Finding the Jewish Shakespeare: The Life and Legacy of Jacob Gordin* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

distracted, increasingly unsettled, and ultimately terrified by the sound of a third character, never seen.⁷⁰

Rodker's manifesto would seem to be categorically different from the Russophile modernisms I described in chapter one, which were characterized by what I called 'linguistic optimism', a faith in the semantic power of words, contrasted with the 'linguistic pessimism' or 'demoralization' that Francophile modernism inherited from literary Decadence.⁷¹ Indeed, the source for the use of Pierrot in 'Fear' was probably Jules Laforgue's play 'Pierrot fumiste', which Rodker translated in 1917, though the *commedia dell'arte* had become a major inspiration and resource for a number of theatre practitioners in this period, notably Edward Gordon Craig. The Ballets Russes' *Petrushka*, first performed in Paris in 1911 and in London in 1913, also drew on the Pierrot story, as Catriona Kelly has discussed.⁷² In contrast with Rosenberg's early writings, which were formed by his reading of English romantic poetry, Rodker's show 'how much influenced I was by the French Poetry of 1850–1910', as he remarked in the introductory note to his *Collected Poems*.⁷³ That is borne out by the first poem he had published, 'A Slice of Life', in the *New Age* on 27 August 1912:

The sky broods over the river,
The waves tumble and flee--
And down go the dead things ever,
Down to the sea:

A dog, an empty keg,
An outworn hat--
And, with a broken leg,
A pregnant cat.⁷⁴

The French influence is evident here not only in the reference to French naturalism in the title, but more importantly in the strikingly Laforguean cadence of the second stanza, a cadence which would become much more familiar in Britain three

⁷⁰ John Rodker, 'The Theatre', *The Egoist*, 21.1 (2 November 1914), 414–15. Dutch dolls are wooden dolls with movable limbs.

⁷¹ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 104.

⁷² Heinz, 'John Rodker', pp. 126–7; Patterson, 'Cultural Critique and Canon Formation, 1910–1937', pp. 61–4, notes 96, 103. Heinz and Patterson note that Pound sent the translation to *Drama*, but it was not published, and it does not seem to have survived. On the *commedia dell'arte* in the period, see Martin Green and John Swan, *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (New York: Macmillan, 1986); Olga Taxidou, *The Mask: A Periodical Performance by Edward Gordon Craig* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), pp. 111–39. The important point that Kelly makes is that the Ballets Russes' *Petrushka* was one of several Russian symbolist reworkings of the Russian Petrushka story that identify the character with the quite distinct French Pierrot character, to which it is historically unconnected: Catriona Kelly, *Petrushka: The Russian Carnival Puppet Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 125, 145–72. See also J. Douglas Clayton, *Pierrot in Petrograd: The Commedia dell'Arte/Balagan in Twentieth-Century Russian Theatre and Drama* (Montreal, QC and Kingston, ON: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 136–8.

⁷³ John Rodker, 'A Note', in *Collected Poems, 1912–1925* (Paris: Hours Press, 1930), [n. pag.].

⁷⁴ J. Rodker, 'A Slice of Life', *New Age*, 11.9 (27 June 1912), p. 211. The poem was misattributed to Norman Fitzroy Webb; a correction was printed in the issue of 18 July 1912 (p. 282).

years later when T. S. Eliot's early poems began to be published.⁷⁵ Rodker published only one more poem in the *New Age*, but two years later he contributed ten of the poems that would make up his first book to *The Egoist*, by then established as the home of imagism.⁷⁶ *The Egoist* seemed an appropriate venue for Rodker's work: imagism also traced its genealogy through French symbolism, and indeed in 'The Theatre' Rodker appeared to allude to the journal's imagist contributions when he described the aim of his drama as 'the liberation of a complex' (recalling Pound's definition of 'the Image' as 'that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time'), and remarked that 'the rustling of a few leaves' conveyed a 'sense of impending tragedy which surpasses all the poignancy made by poets telling of great loves' (recalling Pound's poem, 'Liu Ch'e').⁷⁷ However, in his review of Rodker's *Poems* (1914), Richard Aldington, the journal's assistant editor and one of the first imagists, firmly distinguished Rodker's poetry from imagism, and he did so in terms highly relevant to this study.

Aldington reviewed Rodker's book alongside Amy Lowell's *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed* (1914) and stated that they were 'at the antipodes'. Lowell's work 'has at least a strong tendency towards the "hard edges" and precision, which are so dear to the Hellenic tradition', Aldington writes, but Rodker 'is all vagueness and useless reaction to primitivism, all woody edges, and, lastly, he is careless of aesthetic effect'. Rodker 'is undoubtedly a person who cares more for rebellion in the arts than for anything else; whereas, Miss Lowell, though occasionally quite Celtic in her technique, cares primarily for beauty'. The cause of these differences, as Aldington's allusion to 'the Hellenic tradition' implies, is racial:

I should say that the effect of the present war—the effect, I mean, on my taste in general—has been to confirm and stimulate my natural feeling for the Latin nations, for Latin art and for Latin literature. And—at least in European art—I have a corresponding dislike for non-Latin productions.

Now, I am not going to say that a book, like Mr. Rodker's, whose tradition is clearly Slavonic, is a book produced by the spread of Prussian ideals—though I think it might be argued that this is so. I am not going to say this, because I would have to write many articles and engage in a great deal of labour to prove my point. For this reason, instead of looking on Mr. Rodker as a Slav indirectly and perfectly unconsciously acted on by Prussian theories of art (I refer, of course to the Prussian mania for abstractions), I am content to look upon him as a revolutionary. Indeed, though I personally detest his kind of art...yet I shall be extremely sorry if Mr. Rodker does not get the money and support that he wants for his theatrical experiments. He is perfectly justified in demanding the right to experiment, at least; and however un-Latin he may be, I hereby promise to come to his first night and to buy my seat.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ T. S. Eliot, 'Poems' ['Preludes' and 'Rhapsody of [*sic*] a Windy Night'], *Blast*, 2 (1914), 48–51.

⁷⁶ J. Rodker, 'Poems', *The Egoist*, 1.10 (15 May 1914), p. 194: 'Consummation', 'The Poet to His Poems', 'Sleep-sick', 'Under the Trees', 'The Music Hall'; John Rodker, 'Poems', *The Egoist*, 1.17 (1 September 1914), p. 336: 'Spelled', 'Under the Trees—III.', 'The Storm', 'Vibro-Massage', 'To the London Sparrow'.

⁷⁷ Rodker, 'The Theatre', p. 414; Rebecca West, 'Imagisme', *New Freewoman*, 1.5 (15 August 1913), 86–7 (p. 87); Richard Aldington, 'Modern Poetry and the Imagists', *The Egoist*, 1.11 (1 June 1914), 201–3 (p. 203).

⁷⁸ Richard Aldington, 'Two Poets', *The Egoist*, 1.22 (16 November 1914), 422–3.

Given that Aldington is writing in the context of Britain's alliance with Russia against Germany in the First World War, his equation of 'Slavonic' with 'Prussian' is strange. As chapter three will show, in the first months of the war there was a deliberate and successful propaganda effort to construct Russia as an ally worthy of Britain, which rested on establishing its values as spiritual and romantic in opposition to Prussian mechanism and materialism. And though it would become common for conservative critics to align the supposed abstraction of cubist and vorticist art with Prussian mechanism during the war, even that superficial rationale appears entirely absent here.⁷⁹ Rodker's poems are clearly written in an imagist idiom, as other reviewers noted, their dominant influence is French symbolism, and they depart no more than Aldington's or Lowell's poems from imagist 'rules' such as 'direct treatment of the "Thing," whether subjective or objective', 'the natural object is always the adequate symbol', and 'go in fear of abstractions'.⁸⁰ So what is Aldington's motivation for this attack on one of *The Egoist's* own contributors? Dominic Williams has justly remarked that 'the only reason Aldington can have for calling him a Slav with unconsciously Prussian influences—just like the Jews of the Pale of Settlement, living in Slavic territory but speaking a Germanic language—is that he is Jewish'.⁸¹ Aldington is protecting imagism and *The Egoist* from association with 'Slavonic', Prussian, and Jewish voices and values.

It is noticeable, however, that Aldington does not feel the need to protect the theatre from Rodker's experiments, yet no rationale is given for the distinction. Why should one be justified in demanding the right to experiment in the theatre, but not in poetry? The opposition Aldington draws between Rodker's caring 'more for rebellion in the arts than for anything else' and Lowell caring 'primarily for beauty' is relevant here. Aldington seems to suggest that theatre is the place for rebellion, and poetry is the place for beauty, and he associates himself with the latter conservative alliance. But beauty is not the only aim of poetry, or art, and Aldington's confidence in asserting a supposedly self-explanatory 'beauty' is itself revealing. Andrew Crozier's comments on the distinctiveness of Rodker's early poetry are instructive on this point. Crozier suggests that, unlike much imagist poetry, it is not the object that is the focus of Rodker's verse, but the subject. 'The poems disclose imagist vignettes of sudden perception, which are not, however, textually self-sufficient, but part of a discourse of affective experience... the self is identified as the site of experience, consciousness and analysis'. Therefore, 'in Rodker we find neither the erasure of the writing subject, nor the ironic objectification of the dramatic subject in its imputed language: both of them modes which constituted the modernity of Pound and Eliot'.⁸² Here Crozier provides a possible

⁷⁹ 'Junkerism in Art', *The Times* (10 March 1915), p. 8, col. c.

⁸⁰ R. H. C. [A. R. Orage], 'Readers and Writers', *New Age*, ns 15.23 (8 October 1914), 548–9 (p. 549). Orage's review also used a war analogy, but to make a quite different argument: 'the Imagists and such-like triflers—can they produce a poem to match a rifle, or even parallel in their verse the discipline of the goose-step? They are simply idlers, hiding from one reality in the pretence of another. The latest of the school is Mr. John Rodker'; West, 'Imagisme', pp. 86–7.

⁸¹ Dominic Paul Williams, 'Modernism, Antisemitism and Jewish Identity in the Writing and Publishing of John Rodker', PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2004, p. 115.

⁸² Crozier, 'Introduction', in Rodker, *Poems & Adolphe* 1920, p. xvii.

interpretation of Aldington's charge of 'abstraction', and his criticism that Rodker is 'careless of style' and his work 'unable to bear close technical severity': that is, Rodker is less interested in the shaping of the concrete object, than in its effect on the self.⁸³ This interpretation also underlines the continuity between Rodker's poetry and his drama, and it is interesting to note that one of the few positive reviews of Rodker's first collection was by Huntly Carter, published in the same issue as Aldington's review. Significantly, it was as drama, not poetry, that Carter praised Rodker's work: 'Anyone who reads the "Descent into Hell" must admit that it reveals a remarkable sense of the dramatic value of time and silence', he writes, 'A few words rise from the abyss. They sink again as eternal happenings become too deep for words. This way lies the exclusion of words, altogether'.⁸⁴ It is not surprising that Carter was also interested in Rodker's collaboration a year later with the dancers Kathleen Dillon and Hester Sainsbury, former pupils of the renowned choreographer Margaret Morris. Rodker, Bomberg, and their Whitechapel friend Abraham Fineberg had accompanied Sonia Cohen on a trip to Bournemouth in 1913, when she was invited by the composer Rutland Boughton and his partner the artist Christina Walshe to take part in a summer school they were running with Morris. The following August, both Cohen and Rodker participated in the first of Boughton's Glastonbury Festivals 'of Music, Dance and Mystic Drama': Cohen danced in several of the performances, and Rodker directed two short plays performed by Cohen and some of Morris's students, including Dillon.⁸⁵ During 1915 and 1916 Rodker, Dillon, and Sainsbury collaborated on a special issue of Alfred Kreymborg's magazine, *Others*, devoted to their 'dance poems', and at least one performance of 'some little plays', which Huntly Carter reviewed in the January 1916 issue of *Colour*. 'Each movement,' Carter wrote, 'was a design as precise as imagist verse'.⁸⁶ It was particularly appropriate, then, that the sketches of the dancers Bomberg made in Bournemouth in 1913 formed the basis of the lithograph used for the cover of Rodker's *Poems*, reviewed so antagonistically by Aldington.⁸⁷

The Whitechapel Group cannot be said to have had a collective aesthetic. Rodker's symbolist-influenced poetry and drama, Cohen's participation in the natural dance movement, and Bomberg's cubo-futurist paintings are clearly different from Gertler's austere portraits, Rosenberg's intense, concise poems of his post-Georgian period, and Leftwich's translations of Yiddish literature. Yet there are points of connection in their aesthetic aims, which in turn suggest certain continu-

⁸³ Aldington, 'Two Poets', p. 423.

⁸⁴ Huntly Carter, 'Art and Drama: The Theatre and Armageddon', *The Egoist*, 1.22 (16 November 1914), 430–1 (p. 431).

⁸⁵ S. Rodker, *The End has Various Places*, pp. 148–9; Michael Hurd, *Rutland Boughton and the Glastonbury Festivals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 58–61, 71–5, 365–7. Cohen appeared in the programmes under the name of her namesake, 'Sonia Perovskaia': see note 18.

⁸⁶ *Others*, 1.4 (October 1915); Huntly Carter, 'Vues and Revues', *Colour*, 3.6 (January 1916), 222–7 (p. 227). See Heinz, 'John Rodker', pp. 82–107; John Rodker, 'The Choric School', *Drama*, 6 (August 1916), 436–45.

⁸⁷ Cork, *David Bomberg*, pp. 96–7; Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson, *Bomberg* (London: Ben Uri Gallery, 2017), pp. 45–8.

ities with Russophile modernism and a resistance to a Francophile modernism that privileges style and form. They congregate, though not completely consistently, around a preference for expressionism and even realism over formalism. Gertler's preference for realism over the stylistic innovation of his Bloomsbury acquaintances is the most explicit. Writing to Dora Carrington at the end of 1913, he defended a recently finished painting by asserting, 'I know it is not new, and our revolutionists would say of it that was academic. I don't care. Newness doesn't concern me. I just want to express *myself* and be personal. When a bird is inspired it sings, it sings: it does *not* wonder if its manner of singing is different to a bird that sang a thousand years ago—it just sings. As for realism—my work is real and I wanted to be real. The more I see of life, the more I get to think that realism is necessary'.⁸⁸ What Ian Parsons characterized as the combination of 'a bracing succinctness of diction with an exhilarating astringency' in Rosenberg's later poetry is also put at the service of precise description.⁸⁹ Leftwich's lifelong commitment to bringing Yiddish literature into English can also be understood in terms of a mimetic project. Like Garnett and, as we will see in chapter three, Katherine Mansfield, Leftwich was motivated by making literary works he admired available to the widest possible readership: his translations were not intended as either technical exercises or new creative works. To his readers, they exemplified the inevitable duality of Jewish experience: 'The bi-cultural, and bi-lingual, stream in Jewish life gave birth to a galaxy of heroic translators throughout the ages', wrote S. J. Goldsmith in a tribute to Leftwich, 'Effortlessly they switched from language to language, mood to mood, idiom to idiom'.⁹⁰

Rodker's and Bomberg's works cannot be described as realist. But Aldington's review of Rodker's *Poems* suggests how even their formally experimental art may be distinguished from that of their Francophile contemporaries. Of all the Whitechapel Group, Bomberg comes closest to formalism, but even he, in his interview about the 'Jewish section' in the 1914 Whitechapel Gallery exhibition, described his aesthetic aim as fundamentally mimetic: 'Life is very different to-day from what it was in the Middle Ages, and the new life should find its expression in a new art, which has been stimulated by new perceptions. I want to translate the life of a great city, its motion, its machinery, into an art that shall not be photographic, but expressive'.⁹¹ Bomberg places emphasis not on the art object as a thing-in-itself, but on the perceiving subject and her or his experience, as Rodker does in his writings on theatre, and also his 1914 article, 'The "New" Movement in Art', illustrated by two of Bomberg's drawings. There Rodker suggests that the new art must

⁸⁸ Mark Gertler, letter to Dora Carrington, [December 1913], in *Selected Letters*, ed. by Noel Carrington (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965), p. 60. MacDougall and Wolff understand Gertler to be referring to *The Artist's Mother* (1913): see MacDougall, *Mark Gertler*, pp. 87–8; Wolff, *AngloModern*, pp. 113–14. See also Gertler, letter to Dorothy Brett, January 1914, about a conversation with Gilbert Cannan: 'We discussed also the milk and water outlook of Roger Fry and his followers and most of the so-called "advanced" people' (pp. 63–4).

⁸⁹ Ian Parsons, 'Introduction', in *The Collected Works of Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. xv–xxix (p. xx).

⁹⁰ S. J. Goldsmith, 'Man of Two Cultures', in Goldsmith, ed., *Joseph Leftwich at Eighty-Five*, pp. 14–15 (p. 14).

⁹¹ 'A Jewish Futurist: Chat with Mr. David Bomberg', p. 13.

be experienced not through the intellect, but through the senses and intuition. Rodker's article is particularly interested in the intermediality of new movements in art: one of the most important aspects of the new movement, he writes, 'is the attempt to render the arts interchangeable, so that the same terminology may in time be used, whether referring to a picture, a poem, or a sonata'.⁹² While Pound was arguing in *Blast* that every concept or emotion should be realized solely in its 'primary pigment' ('if sound, to music, if formed words, to literature', etc.), and Aldington was criticizing Rodker's *vers libre* 'technique', the Whitechapel Group were working across the arts because their focus was not on the aesthetic refinement of the art object, but on achieving particular experiential effects.⁹³ The Whitechapel Group's attraction to the synthetic art forms of dance and theatre is emblematic of its rejection of art as private contemplation in favour of developing art's role as expression and communication. This was surely what was at stake in Aldington's stated preference for Lowell's caring 'primarily for beauty', over Rodker's caring for 'rebellion in the arts'. In this the Whitechapel Group share what I have called the linguistic optimism of the Russophile tradition traced throughout this book, whose adherents were more likely to recognize their aesthetics in Tolstoy's *Čto takoe iskusstvo?* (*What is Art?*) and Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912) (*Concerning the Spiritual in Art*), than in Clive Bell's *Art* (1914).⁹⁴ The artists of the Whitechapel Group were, to use Carter's coinage for their hero Leon Bakst, 'syntho-æsthetikites', who developed their art 'not as mere pleasure to the eye, but as a new language symbolising the deepest secrets of human character'.⁹⁵

⁹² J. Rodker, 'The "New" Movement in Art', *The Dial* [London], 2 (May 1914), 184–8 (p. 188, 186).

⁹³ Ezra Pound, 'Vortex: Pound', *Blast*, 1 (1914), 153–4; Aldington, 'Two Poets', p. 423.

⁹⁴ See Herbert Read's discussion of his correspondence with Jacob Kramer in March 1918: Herbert Read, [no title], in *Jacob Kramer: A Memorial Volume* (Leeds: E. J. Arnold, 1969), pp. 2–4: 'Kramer at this time was fully conscious of what was going on around him—in this letter he mentions Futurism, Cubism and Post Impressionism, only to dismiss them, either as misleading names or as inadequate modes of expression... I think that, in my reply to this letter, I must have defended Cubism and the formal values of art, for I was not at that time sufficiently familiar with the alternative values which Kramer was expounding—those values we now call Expressionism. Kramer is and always has been an expressionist—and that, if you like, has been his misfortune, for expressionism, as a style, has never been accepted in this country—at least not since the Middle Ages. It is true that to some extent Epstein was able to impose an expressionistic style on England, but only in the face of bitter opposition and with some degree of compromise. Jacob Kramer, because he is and has remained an expressionist, has suffered the same neglect as his contemporary David Bomberg' (p. 3).

⁹⁵ Huntly Carter, 'Art and Drama: Ballet Bakst', *New Age*, NS 11.9 (27 June 1912), p. 211.

2

Aspects of the Novel

The English Review, the Anglo-Russian Convention, and Impressionism

2.1 FORD'S *ENGLISH REVIEW* AND 'IMAGINATIVE LITERATURE'

Chapter one told the story of Russian literature's entry into turn-of-the-century literary networks in Britain. Russian literature was promoted by British-based members of the Chaikovsky circle as propaganda for their campaign against the Russian state; and by overlapping Tolstoyan, socialist, and simple life groups as both a political education and one of several models for a contemporary, ethical, national literature. This chapter examines how these discussions about Russian literature were taken up in pre-war debates that explicitly aimed to define and produce a new body of literature, one that we have come to call modernism.

In September 1908, at the bottom of a letter to Edward Garnett, Ford Madox Ford (at that time called Ford Madox Hueffer) added the following postscript:

By the bye: Cd. Connie translate something short of Tolstoi for the second no. of the E. R.—to balance France. I shd. prefer something not of a social propagandist kind, something like the sledge story in Ivan Ilyitch vol., Master & Man I think it is called—but I do not want to bar out the other at all.¹

Since the beginning of the year, Ford had been developing the idea of a new literary journal with Conrad, Garnett, Arthur Marwood (Ford's Winchelsea neighbour) and, initially, H. G. Wells.² By the end of September, the group had confirmed Conrad's

¹ Ford Madox Ford, letter to Edward Garnett, [September 1908], in Ford, *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, p. 30. Ludwig dates the letter 'December, 1908?', but Saunders is surely right in suggesting September 1908, since Garnett's review of Ford's *Mr. Apollo*, the main subject of the letter, appeared in *The Nation* on 29 August 1908, and Ford was able to publish Constance Garnett's response to this request in the first issue of the *English Review* on 25 November 1908. See M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 553, and Harvey, *Ford Madox Ford*, p. 28.

² Douglas Goldring, *South Lodge: Reminiscences of Violet Hunt, Ford Madox Ford and the English Review Circle* (London: Constable, 1943), p. 15, Douglas Goldring, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite: A Record of the Life and Writings of Ford Madox Ford* (London: Macdonald, 1948), p. 139; Violet Hunt, *The Flurried Years* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1926), p. 18; Arthur Mizener, *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford* (London: Bodley Head, 1971), p. 154; M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 242–3. These sources give slightly conflicting accounts of the group involved in planning the Review, but it appears that Ford, Conrad and—initially—Wells played central roles from the start. Ford's later

'Some Reminiscences' (later retitled *A Personal Record*) and Wells's *Tono-Bungay* as serials, and secured contributions from Norman Douglas, Anatole France, John Galsworthy, R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Thomas Hardy, W. H. Hudson, Henry James, George Meredith, and Stephen Reynolds.³ The addition of Tolstoy would add to the new journal's collection of established and popular writers, and increase its international range. Furthermore, Tolstoy had particular currency in September 1908, due to the publication that month of the first volume of Aylmer Maude's biography, *The Life of Tolstoy*.⁴

Despite Tolstoy's fame, popularity and currency, it is nevertheless somewhat surprising that Ford should request a translation of one of his stories for his journal, which appeared at the end of November. His knowledge of Tolstoy's oeuvre was evidently imperfect: in his request to Garnett he confuses the 'social propagandist' sledge story 'Master and Man' ('Khozyain i rabotnik') with the not-social-propagandist sledge story 'The Snowstorm' ('Metel', 1856), which Garnett had included in *The Death of Ivan Ilyitch, and Other Stories* in 1902.⁵ If Ford had wanted a story by a Russian author, one would have expected him to choose one by Turgenev, whom he and Conrad admired far more than Tolstoy, and with whose work he particularly associated Garnett. Her translation of Turgenev's works, he wrote in 1911, 'has given me, I think, more pleasure than anything else in the world except, perhaps, the writings of Mr. W. Hudson', and by 1931 his estimation of Turgenev had only increased: 'For me Turgenev is the greatest of all writers and Mrs. Garnett's rendering of his Russian into English is the most flawless and limpid of carryings across from one country to another of a literary masterpiece'.⁶ Garnett's translations of Turgenev were kept in Ford's dining room, which operated as the

accounts, which credit only himself and Marwood, and invent a 'virulent Tory of the new school' who was to share the editing and funding of the magazine, may have been designed to obscure the role of Wells, who, like the fictional Tory, withdrew from these roles before publication. See Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], *Thus to Revisit: Some Reminiscences* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1921), pp. 58–9; Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, pp. 376–86; Ford Madox Ford, letters to H. G. Wells and Catherine Wells, 29 January–23 February 1909, in *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, pp. 31–8; H. G. Wells, letters to Violet Paget, [early spring 1908], [autumn 1908], letters to Ford Madox Hueffer, [early in 1908], 28 September 1908, [late in 1908], 28 January 1909, [postmarked 5 February 1909], [February–March 1909], 2 April 1909, in *The Correspondence of H. G. Wells, 11: 1904–18*, ed. by David C. Smith (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1998), pp. 208, 209, 225–6, 233–4, 237–9.

³ Ford Madox Ford, letter to James B. Pinker, 16 October 1908, *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, p. 27; Joseph Conrad, letter to J. B. Pinker, 18 September [1908], letter to Norman Douglas, 29 September 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, iv: 1908–1911*, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 125, 130–1; H. G. Wells, letter to Violet Paget, [early spring 1908], in *Correspondence of H. G. Wells, 11: 208–9*; John Galsworthy, letter to Ford Madox Ford, 16 September 1908, Berg; Thomas Hardy, letters to Ford Madox Ford, 2 August 1908, 9 September 1908, box 59, folder 20, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell.

⁴ Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy: First Fifty Years* (London: Constable, 1908).

⁵ Leo Tolstoy, *The Death of Ivan Ilyitch and Other Stories*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1902).

⁶ Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], *Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections: Being the Memories of a Young Man* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1911), p. 188; Ford Madox Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 129. See Max Saunders, 'Ford and Turgenev', in Paul Skinner, ed., *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 63–78.

English Review office; Douglas Goldring, the *Review's* sub-editor, recalled that he would turn to them for relief when his day's proof reading was done.⁷

But for Ford, like James, Turgenyev belonged to the history of the French, not the Russian, novel, and he identified him closely with his other great master, Flaubert. Turgenyev 'had instinctively a great deal of the Frenchman's art', wrote Ford a few years later, and contrary to the argument of 'grudging Russophiles' who 'declare that Turgenyev gained nothing by living in France', Ford maintained that Turgenyev's work was informed by his proximity to Flaubert and his coterie: 'they lived and unfolded their unprecedented talents in the same years, in the same city, in the same circle, filled with the same high ideals and high enthusiasms... susceptible to sympathy, to encouragement, to ideas of rivalry, to contagious ambitions'.⁸ Yet this too would seem to make Turgenyev's work more appropriate for the *English Review* than Tolstoy's, for, as Douglas Goldring discovered when he and Ford visited Conrad to discuss the first number, plans for the review were notably Francophile: 'the Review, was, above all, to start a Movement and to found, in the French sense, a "school". Who the Masters of the new Academy were to be was hardly in doubt'. Over the course of the evening, he recalled, 'the conversation drifted away from the first number of the Review to a general consideration of the technique of the novel and the short story... After a while they started booming about Flaubert, hurling great chunks of *Madame Bovary* and *Un Coeur Simple* at one another, with ever-growing excitement'.⁹ Not only the content but the form of the *English Review* was inspired by a French model. Mark Morrisson has discussed how Ford adopted the structure and the tone of the *Mercure de France*, in which Ford saw the 'embodiment of the spirit of the Enlightenment': 'The use of a rational, disinterested and centrist tone to incorporate a wide range of experience, from the orthodox to the heterodox, allowed the *Mercure* to create a sense not only of public space, but also of a cohesive French culture—an achievement that Ford wished to emulate in England'.¹⁰

As Cliff Wulfman has remarked, '*The English Review* is often perceived as a fountainhead of modernism', yet at the same time it is the journal's mix of Edwardian and proto-modernist writers that he and Morrisson see as central to its identity. It was, in Morrisson's words, 'the first journal to bring together the most brilliant of the Edwardian lights—Conrad, Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy and Hudson—with

⁷ Goldring, *South Lodge*, p. 17.

⁸ Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], *Henry James: A Critical Study* (London: Martin Secker, 1913), p. 163; Hueffer [Ford], *Ancient Lights*, pp. 185–6. See also Ford, *The March of Literature*, p. 753: 'When you talk of Daudet, the Goncourts, Flaubert, Maupassant, Turgenyev, France, Bourget, Barrès, Henri de Regnier, you are talking of what we may call a box where sweets compacted lie—they had contacts physical and mental—all those men. They dined together *chez Brébant*; they had their *soirées de Medan*; and not only were their meetings national events but when they sat at dinner they shouted continually about technique—about style, cadences, progressions of effect, the aloofness of the author, the handling of conversation in novels, their architecture, their scale'. Conrad, however, famously wrote of Turgenyev 'Never was a writer so profoundly, so whole-souledly national': see J. C., 'Foreword', in E. Garnett, *Turgenyev*, pp. v–x (p. vii).

⁹ Goldring, *South Lodge*, p. 25; M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 245.

¹⁰ Mark Morrisson, 'The Myth of the Whole: Ford's *English Review*, the *Mercure de France*, and Early British Modernism', *ELH*, 63.2 (1996), 513–33 (p. 514).

the new talent of young modernist writers such as Pound, Lewis, and Lawrence'.¹¹ In this chapter I argue that it was not the generational difference that was most important to the *English Review's* identity—that was a characterization advanced by Ford and literary critics in hindsight—but a difference between two types of literature, two ways of writing, Ford's terms for these were 'imaginative literature' and 'factual' literature, written by 'artists' and 'propagandists' respectively. The *English Review* was created as a stage where two alternative models were displayed and debated in order to establish the terms that could narrate—and thereby create—a modern movement in British literature. This chapter will analyse how these terms were established and the values they encoded, and argue that they broadly correspond to the literary traditions this book terms Francophile and Russophile. Those values were not, however, only literary; they were also political: Ford's tenure as editor of the *English Review* occurred at a time of intense political debate in Britain, and the fact that a number of contributors were affiliated to the 'New Liberalism' brought contemporary domestic and international politics directly into the journal. Attitudes to Russia and the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention were of particular interest, and the chapter explores how international politics fed into literary criticism of the novel at a critical moment for the development of twentieth-century literature. Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes* (1911)—Ford's favourite of Conrad's novels—provides a paradigmatic working through of the *English Review's* literary politics in a form that makes clear their relevance to international politics too.

In his first editorial, inaugurating a series of four entitled 'On the Functions of the Arts in the Republic', Ford characterized the *English Review* as 'a periodical devoted to the arts, to letters and ideas' and to 'topics of the month'. This seems at first unremarkable, but Ford suggests that his conception of 'topics of the month' marks his journal out from its rivals. For a journal of art and letters like the *English Review*, Ford argues, topics of the month are not drawn from the realm of politics or society news, they are 'the production of a well-flavoured book, the commencement of a historic series, the production of a play not too shallow, the chronicling of a symphony, the opening of a galley containing fine etchings': good art, in short, is event enough to constitute the month's 'topic'. The topic of the first month's review is, accordingly, the publication of the first volume of the British issue of Henry James's New York edition, *Roderick Hudson*, published by Macmillan on 29 September 1908.¹²

According to Ford's editorial, the appearance of the New York edition should be regarded 'as an event at least as important in the history of a civilisation as the recording of the will of a sovereign people with regard to some policy of exclusion,

¹¹ Cliff Wulfman, 'Ford Madox Ford and *The English Review* (1908–37)', in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 1: *Britain and Ireland, 1880–1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 226–39 (pp. 227–8); Morrisson, 'The Myth of the Whole', p. 513.

¹² [Ford Madox Ford], 'Editorial: The Functions of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', *English Review*, 1 (1908), 157–60 (p. 158); Leon Edel, Dan H. Laurence, and James Rambeau, eds, *A Bibliography of Henry James*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 138–9.

admission, of humanitarianism, of pugnacity'. But this is not only because the publication of an influential author's collected work deserves notice, rather the qualities of this particular author's work are significant. Ford describes the edition as a 'great body of imaginative effort . . . settling the form of a life-work of an author so single-minded in the effort to express, so felicitous and so successful in expressing in imaginative terms all that is most real, most permanent and most fugitive in the life around him'. Ford argued that the 'literature at the present day divides itself into two sharply defined classes—the imaginative and the factual', and James's fiction is the epitome of 'imaginative literature'.¹³ Its function in 'the Republic' is 'to stimulate thought', but it does this not by setting out to persuade readers of particular arguments—quite the opposite. The imaginative writer's 'actual and first desire must always be the expression of himself—the expression of himself as he is, not as he would like other people to think him, the expression of his view of life as it is, not as he would like it to be'. This is James's 'great value to the Republic', writes Ford:

for whatever his private views may be, we have no means of knowing them. He himself never appears, he never buttonholes us, he never moralises. He may be a Republican, he may be an Anglican. But he never, by the fifth of an inch, drags round his pictures of life so as to make it appear that, if the social state were what he desires it to be, all would be well with the world.

Ford ends his editorial by asserting that the lesson of James's fiction is particularly important in England, because the country needs to take stock: 'what we so very much need to-day is a picture of life we live', he writes, since 'England, less than any of the nations, knows where it stands, or to what it trends'. Yet imaginative writers are rare in England: 'the novelist who is intent merely to register—to *constater*—is almost unknown'. His use of the French verb is significant: we must learn from French literature. Flaubert's writing, Ford concludes, warned France of the Franco-Prussian war; by attending to James, Britain might avoid comparable disasters, because imaginative literature teaches us to think.¹⁴

In this and subsequent editorials Ford develops the arguments about the function of literature he had begun to set out in his 'Literary Portraits' series for the *Tribune* during 1907 and 1908, and they provide the basis for his later literary criticism, his essay 'On Impressionism' (1914), and the books, *Henry James* (1913), *Joseph Conrad* (1924), and *The English Novel* (1930). As we saw in chapter one, the term 'impressionism' had become associated with Ford, Conrad, Crane, and James in the late 1890s. By 1914, Ford had adopted the term for the 'school' or 'Movement' he later claimed the *English Review* had been founded to promote, and identified it with the values the *Review* attributed to 'imaginative literature'.¹⁵

¹³ Ford also cites 'a third type, the merely inventive, which if it be not in any way to be contemned, has functions in the Republic nearly negligible': 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature' (p. 159).

¹⁴ [Ford], 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', pp. 158–60.

¹⁵ Ford Madox Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword: Memories and Criticisms* (London: George Allen, 1938), p. 281.

In 'On Impressionism', for example, Ford defines literary impressionism as 'the expression of an ego', 'a frank expression of personality', in contrast with writing that is 'to satisfy' the author—to get, as the saying is, something off the chest. He must not write propaganda which it is his desire to write'. This distinction between writing as individual expression and writing as propaganda had also been made by Conrad, whose conversation is credited in 'On Impressionism' as the source of Ford's approach to fiction.¹⁶ In his 1897 'Author's Note' to *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, Conrad had remarked that fiction is 'the appeal of one temperament to all the other innumerable temperaments', which to be effective 'must be an impression conveyed through the senses; and, in fact, it cannot be made in any other way, because temperament, whether individual or collective, is not amenable to persuasion'.¹⁷ The distinction had also been made earlier, and in terms closer to Ford's, in James's contribution to the 'Art of Fiction' debates of the 1880s, which presented the novel as 'a personal impression of life', and the novelist as 'one of the people on whom nothing is lost'.¹⁸

But in devoting his first editorial to a definition of 'imaginative literature' and an affirmation of its values, Ford is not only writing literary criticism, he is also setting out an editorial approach for the *English Review*. Just as James 'never buttonholes us, he never moralises', so the *Review* will also resist persuading its readers to follow its point of view. The literary criticism and the editorial position are closely bound together, as one can see in the strange paragraph in the editorial in which Ford begins by praising James's expression of the 'most real, most permanent and most fugitive in the life around him' and segues into a description of the *Review*:

For the record of events assimilated by the human mind to-day moulds the event of to-morrow, and the nearer the record comes to registering the truth, and so to rendering it as to make it assimilable by the human apprehension, the more near it comes to being a historic expression, the more near it comes to being a historic event itself. The ENGLISH REVIEW sets boldly upon its front the words 'No party bias.' This means to say that we are here not to cry out 'Go in this direction,' but simply to point out where we stand.¹⁹

Is this why Ford asked for a story by Tolstoy from Constance Garnett? The reason he gave Edward Garnett was that he wanted the story 'to balance France'. Anatole

¹⁶ Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], 'On Impressionism', *Poetry and Drama*, 2 (1914), 167–75, 323–34 (pp. 167, 169, 333–4, 172).

¹⁷ Joseph Conrad, 'The Nigger of the "Narcissus": A Tale of the Forecastle, VIII. Author's Note', *New Review*, 17 (1897), 628–31 (p. 629).

¹⁸ Henry James, 'The Art of Fiction', *Longman's Magazine*, 4 (1884), 502–21 (pp. 507, 510). For relevant discussions of impressionism, see Michael H. Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine, 1908–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 105–20; Jesse Matz, *Literary Impressionism and Modernist Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 12–52, 155–73; Max Saunders, *Self Impression: Life-Writing, Autobiographical Fiction, and the Forms of Modern Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 260–88; Max Saunders, 'From Pre-Raphaelism to Impressionism', in Laura Colombino, ed., *Ford Madox Ford and Visual Culture* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), pp. 51–70.

¹⁹ [Ford], 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', p. 159.

France had promised a story for the *Review* earlier in the year, and at the end of September or early October (probably after Ford wrote to Garnett), he and Conrad chose 'Les Etrennes de Mademoiselle de Doucine' ('Mademoiselle de Doucine's New Year's Presents').²⁰ Ford viewed France as 'the last survivor' of what he called 'the Flaubert School', the highpoint of French realism, in which he included Alphonse Daudet, Flaubert, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Guy de Maupassant, and Turgenev, and his phrasing in the letter to Garnett puns on this association, suggesting that it is not only France's (the author's) story, but also France (the nation) or, more specifically, the Frenchness of the French realist novel that he would like balanced in the magazine by Tolstoy.²¹ Ford's editorial makes clear where the magazine stands—with the 'imaginative literature' exemplified by the work of Flaubert and James—but by publishing 'factual' as well as 'imaginative' literature, the magazine remains true to its non-partisan goals.

Constance Garnett responded to Ford's request by sending him a translation of Tolstoy's 'Nabeg' (1852), 'The Raid'. Juxtaposing this series of loosely linked observations of the Caucasian war with 'Les Etrennes de Mademoiselle de Doucine', a humorous vignette set in 1696 about an elderly man visiting his niece, highlights Tolstoy's expansiveness and France's deliberately restricted palette. Tolstoy's first-person narrative is directed towards vividly realizing a world that is foreign to both the narrator and the reader, while France's third-person tale approaches the familiarity of a fable in its tight hold on a small world. The contrast is all the stronger because France's story was published in French—Conrad remarked to his French translator, the *Mercure* reviewer Henry Durand-Davray, 'Le Prince Anatole donne un conte qui ne sera pas profané par un traducteur—au moins!'.²²

In the event, the first half of 'The Raid' was brought forward to the *Review*'s first issue, so readers were presented with Tolstoy unbalanced by Anatole France—apart from in the form of Conrad's laudatory review of France's *L'Île des Pingouins* (1908) (*Penguin Island*).²³ Tolstoy was, nevertheless, balanced by writers Ford viewed as the inheritors of the French realist tradition: Conrad, W. H. Hudson, and Henry James, and in the second issue the second half of 'The Raid' was balanced by

²⁰ H. G. Wells, letter to Violet Paget, [early spring 1908], in *The Correspondence of H. G. Wells*, 11: 208; Joseph Conrad, letter to Ford Madox Ford, 29 September or 6 October 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 131.

²¹ Ford, *The English Novel*, pp. 129–30. The previous year, Ford had praised France for knowing, unlike 'the English writer', that 'the duty of an imaginative writer is to suppress himself and to register life as dispassionately as he may': see Ford Madox Hueffer, 'Literary Portraits, II: M. Anatole France', *The Tribune*, 2 (3 August 1907), p. 2. See also Max Saunders, "'Adventures of the Soul Among Masterpieces': Ford and France (Anatole)", in Alexandra Becquet and Claire Davison, eds, *Ford Madox Ford's Cosmopolis: Psycho-geography, Flânerie, and the Cultures of Paris* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016), pp. 129–54.

²² Joseph Conrad, letter to H.-D. Davray, 9 October 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 141: 'Prince Anatole is giving us a tale that won't be profaned by a translator, at least!'. However, later in October Ford was asking Conrad and Edward Garnett to translate a story by France. In light of Conrad's remark to Durand-Davray, it may have been the second story by France they were considering, rather than 'Les Etrennes de Mademoiselle de Doucine': see Ford Madox Ford, letter to Edward Garnett, 17 October 1908, in *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, p. 27.

²³ Joseph Conrad, "'L'Île des Pingouins". Par Anatole France' (review), *English Review*, 1.1 (December 1908), 188–90; R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, pp. 239–40.

France's postponed story. How explicitly the *Review* identified Conrad, James, and France as part of the same movement is made clear in a letter Conrad sent to Ford on 10 October, where he counselled that 'a 2nd story from "Anatole" is a mistake. The subject is not good—really it isn't—and as it is with H[enry] J[ames] and myself going on you must guard against stereotyping the Review'.²⁴ A year later, Ford made the *Review*'s literary policy more explicit still. In the second and third instalments of his series of editorials entitled 'The Critical Attitude', he turned his attention to 'English Literature of To-day' and argued that two 'literary schools' were discernible. Unsurprisingly, they bear a strong resemblance to the distinction he had made between 'imaginative literature' and 'factual' literature in his first editorial, but Ford now used them to categorize British literary culture. So, one school belongs to 'the great main-stream of European International Literature', 'trained in... the great French school of writers of the eighties', and is represented by James, Conrad, and less successfully, George Moore and John Galsworthy. The other is the legacy of 'the temperamentally British novel, the loose amorphous, genial and easy-going thing that was represented by Fielding, by Dickens and by Thackeray, and with more art and less geniality by Anthony Trollope', whose contemporary exponents are Wells, Bennett, and Kipling. The writers of the first school are defined primarily as being 'wholly concerned with their Art', whereas the second are 'not artists in the strict sense', because they undermine their art through their aspiration to be 'prophets'. Yet it is these, according to Ford, inferior writers that are popularly admired. Wells, especially, is read by the writers and thinkers of the future: 'young Oxford, young Cambridge, the young men and women of the medical schools and of the provincial universities discuss his ideas with the avidity that their forefathers accorded to Ruskin'.²⁵ Ford's 'Critical Attitude' series, and the *English Review* as a whole, aimed to correct this.

Thus while the *Review* might not quite 'cry out "Go in this direction"', it firmly points out 'where we stand', and each issue's literary contributions can be assigned quite easily to the two schools Ford delineated in his editorials. In the first issue, Tolstoy's 'The Raid' and H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay* are balanced by James's 'The Jolly Corner' and Conrad's 'Some Reminiscences' and, in the second, by Anatole France's 'Les Etrences de Mademoiselle de Doucine' and Vernon Lee's 'The Virgin of the Seven Daggers', as well as the second instalment of Conrad's memoir. After the conclusion of *Tono-Bungay*, Arnold Bennett's 'The Matador of the Five Towns' might be seen to take its aesthetic place in the fifth issue (April 1909), balanced by Ford's own collaboration with Conrad, 'The Nature of a Crime'. Although in 'English Literature of To-day' Ford does not discuss the younger writers he was publishing, and indeed they may have seemed at that point less easily classifiable into the two literary schools he set out there, in hindsight the sixth issue (May 1909) might be understood to set Wyndham Lewis's story 'The Pole' (about 'a young

²⁴ Joseph Conrad, letter to Ford Madox Ford, 10 October 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 142.

²⁵ E. R. [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day, II', *English Review*, 3 (1909), 655–72 (pp. 659, 670–1, 662, 671, 659, 664, 668).

Polish or Russian student') and a story by the Russian writer Lewis most admired, Dostoevsky, 'An Honest Thief' ('Chestnyi vor', 1848) against the continuations of Conrad's memoir and 'The Nature of a Crime', and also 'Goldfinches at Ryme Intrinsica', by W. H. Hudson. In the fifteenth issue (February 1910)—the last in which Ford had editorial involvement—one might see D. H. Lawrence's 'Goose Fair' and the three short sketches by Chekhov set against Violet Hunt's 'The Wife of Altamont'. If Ford recognized the quality of Lawrence's work as soon as he first encountered it in 1909, he also knew that it was not work that conformed to his own predilections. His comments the following year on the manuscript of Lawrence's second novel, *The Trespasser*, caused Lawrence to tell Louie Burrows that Ford 'belongs to the opposite school of novelists to me: he says prose *must* be impersonal, like Turgenev or Flaubert. I say no'. Three months later he wrote to Violet Hunt, 'Ford accuses me of Dostoeffskyism'.²⁶

The starkest and historically most significant of these oppositions was the one Ford created in his first issue, when he set James's short story 'The Jolly Corner' against the first quarter of Wells's novel, *Tono-Bungay*. It is hard to think of more polarized examples of the Jamesian and Wellsian approaches to fiction. *Tono-Bungay* came to be seen as the emblematic anti-modernist, and specifically anti-Jamesian, novel in twentieth-century criticism: in the seminal New Critical statement on fiction, Mark Schorer's 'Technique as Discovery' (1948), Wells's novel is presented as the major example of fiction that prioritizes content over technique, and thereby fails as art. Conversely, 'The Jolly Corner' is an excellent example of what Schorer sees as the 'modern' form of fiction ('from James and Conrad down'), in which the writer has understood that 'technique is the only means he has of discovering, exploring, developing his subject, of conveying its meaning, and, finally, of evaluating it'. 'The writer capable of the most exacting technical scrutiny of his subject matter will produce works with the most satisfying content', writes Schorer, 'works with thickness and resonance, works which reverberate, works with maximum meaning'.²⁷

'The Jolly Corner' revolves around Spencer Brydon, who has returned to New York after thirty-three years in Europe, to 'look at his "property"'. At night, he takes to visiting his empty family home on 'a jolly corner' of a New York street to imagine and, as the story turns ghostly, literally to pursue, his alter ego—the self he might have become if he had stayed in New York. He describes his visits to the house, and his imagined encounter with his alter ego, as a means to 'cultivate' his 'perception'. 'He was bringing it on, bringing it to perfection, by practice, the expenditure by which it had grown so fine that he was now aware of impressions, attestations of his general postulate, that couldn't have broken upon him at once'.

²⁶ Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword*, pp. 98–104; see D. H. Lawrence, letters to Blanche Jennings, 1 November 1909, Louie Burrows, 11 December 1909, 9 September 1910, letter to Violet Hunt, 13 December 1910, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 1901–13, ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 141, 147, 178, 199.

²⁷ Mark Schorer, 'Technique as Discovery', *Hudson Review*, 1 (1948), 67–87 (pp. 74–5, 73, 67). For a reading of *Tono-Bungay* as a direct response to the narrative approach of Conrad, Ford, and James, see Linda Dryden, *Joseph Conrad and H. G. Wells: The Fin-de-Siècle Literary Scene* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 69–94.

As the tale is told almost entirely from Brydon's point of view in free indirect speech, the reader's experience of Brydon's cultivation of his perception is identical with the experience of James's prose style, which relays impressions gradually, minutely refining and revising instances of perception, as if polishing its technique, 'bringing it on to perfection'. As the tale develops, however, Brydon's confidence in his perception falters, and he sees something he cannot rationalize—a door he left open in the house has been, inexplicably, closed. From this point, the opacity of Brydon's and James's language is no longer experienced by the reader as part of the process of cultivating perception and technique in order to achieve clarity, rather it becomes apparent that it is a display of cultivation, a display of technique, that the reader is invited to value as an end in itself.²⁸

The term James introduces at this stage to replace the initial aim of 'perception' is 'discretion'. Rather than push open the door to reveal who closed it, Brydon asserts 'the value of Discretion': 'He wouldn't touch it—it seemed now that he might *if* he would: he would only just wait there a little to show, to prove that he wouldn't'. Where perception promised final revelation, discretion relinquishes its possibility and places value in that relinquishment. As in other late tales by James, the house itself is not only fundamental to the organization of the plot by providing a series of doors to facilitate or obstruct the protagonist's passage, and through which to perceive, or outside of which to enact discretion, it is also presented as an analogue of the prose style, a maze of thresholds, stairs, rooms opening out of each other, with no clear vista presented: 'the house, as the case stood, admirably lent itself; he might wonder at the taste, the native architecture of the particular time, which could rejoice so in the multiplication of doors—the opposite extreme to the modern, the actual, almost complete proscription of them'.²⁹

But 'The Jolly Corner' not only affirms its own technique, its own discretion, its own anti-modernity. It also critiques the values it rejects. The house on the jolly corner is not rented out, nor does Brydon live there while he is in New York, and he has refused the lucrative offers of developers: 'There were values other than the beastly rent-values'. But Brydon owns another house 'not quite so "good"', which is being converted into a block of flats. This house has the financial value of enabling him to live in New York without renting the house on the jolly corner, and also the psychological value of showing him his alter ego as a wealthy New York property developer. This alter ego is associated with the American and the modern, and the expression of Brydon's full potential: 'It comes over me that I had then a strange *alter ego* deep down somewhere within me, as the full-blown flower is in the small tight bud, and that I just took the course, I just transferred him to the climate, that blighted him at once and for ever'. But these are not the values the tale supports. In contrast to the financial value being achieved by the 'not quite so "good"' house, the value of the house on the jolly corner is in itself, in the experience of its materiality, 'the mere sight of the walls, mere shapes of the rooms, mere sound of the floors, mere feel, in his hand, of the old silver-plated knobs of several

²⁸ Henry James, 'The Jolly Corner', *English Review*, 1 (1908), 5–35 (pp. 6, 20, 24).

²⁹ James, 'The Jolly Corner', pp. 25, 24.

mahogany doors'. These values are explicitly stated to be anti-rational, because to be rational is to value utility and ultimately money. Explaining to his friend Alice Staverton the fact that he is not living in the house nor selling it, that he is not using it in any way, Brydon says, 'the beauty of it—I mean of my perversity, of my refusal to agree to a "deal"—is just in the total absence of a reason. Don't you see that if I had a reason about the matter at all it would *have* to be the other way and would then be inevitably a reason of dollars? There are no reasons here *but* of dollars. Let us therefore have none whatever—not the ghost of one'. When Brydon finally encounters his alter ego, or 'the ghost of one', in the house on the jolly corner, his other's clothes show that he is rich, his hands are 'splendid' and 'strong', but he is anguished and maimed: 'one of these hands had lost two fingers, which were reduced to stumps, as if accidentally shot away'. The successful alter ego, who has behaved rationally, using both his property and his abilities to their full potential, is a 'horror'.³⁰ The tale affirms Brydon's life, in which his potential was kept in bud, and his discretion required thought to stand in for action. It also affirms James's technique, which, like the house on the jolly corner, is a thing in itself, rather than a means to utility, even the utility of perception. The values 'The Jolly Corner' works so hard to establish as anti-modern are precisely those that Schorer argues inaugurate modern fiction.

Ford placed 'The Jolly Corner' at the beginning of the first issue of the *English Review*, following Hardy's poem 'A Sunday Morning Tragedy'. The first instalment of *Tono-Bungay* was put at the end of the *Review*'s literary section. Like 'The Jolly Corner', *Tono-Bungay* debates and rejects commercial values, indeed the serial's ironic subtitle is 'A Romance of Commerce'. Moreover, the first section of the novel, 'The Days Before Tono-Bungay was Invented', the part that appeared in the same issue as James's story, is centrally concerned with houses, and one house in particular—the fictional country mansion Bladesover House, in which Wells's protagonist, George Ponderevo, the son of the housekeeper, grows up. But where James's house on the jolly corner operates as a marker of intrinsic value, distinct from financial and associated social values, Bladesover has no intrinsic value, it operates only as a symbol of a social system: 'Bladesover illuminates England; it has become all that is spacious, dignified, pretentious, and truly conservative in English life. It is my social datum. That is why I have drawn it here on so large a scale', George tells the reader. Unlike James's empty house, appreciated for its structural features and space, Bladesover House, and George's subsequent childhood homes—those of his poor cousins, the Frapps, and his uncle, the chemist Edward Ponderevo—are described in terms of interior decoration rather than architecture. In Bladesover House's 'big saloon', for example, 'down the centre of the elaborate ceiling were three chandeliers, each bearing some hundreds of dangling glass lustres, and over the interminable carpet—it impressed me as about as big as Sarmatia in the store-room Atlas—were islands and archipelagos of chintz-covered chairs and couches, tables, great Sèvres vases on pedestals, a bronze man and horse. Somewhere in this wilderness one came, I remember, upon a big harp beside a

³⁰ James, 'The Jolly Corner', pp. 11, 6, 14, 11, 12, 30.

lyre-shaped music-stand, and a grand piano'. In Edward and Susan Ponderevo's house, 'something was hung about or wrapped round or draped over everything. There was bright-patterned muslin round the gas-bracket in the middle of the room, round the mirror over the mantel, stuff with ball-fringe along the mantel and casing in the fireplace—I first saw ball-fringe here—and even the lamp on the little bureau wore a shade like a large muslin hat'. James's focus is the structure of the house of fiction, how it is put together; Wells is interested in the house's contents.³¹

Wells explicitly distances his story from writing that places a high value on technique. In the first chapter, George tells us that he has 'found the restraints and rules of the art (as I made them out) impossible for me. I like to write, I am keenly interested in writing, but it is not my technique'. He explains this first by saying that he is temperamentally unsuited to writing to rules: 'I'm an engineer with a patent or two and a set of ideas; most of whatever artist there is in me has been given to turbine machines and boat-building and the problem of flying, and do what I will I fail to see how I can be other than a lax undisciplined storyteller. I must sprawl and flounder, comment and theorise, if I am to get the thing out I have in mind'. But also, more importantly, he suggests that his story dictates writing differently, 'it isn't a constructed tale I have to tell but unmanageable realities'. George appears to have a notably un-Jamesian confidence in his ability to tell 'the thing... I have in mind', 'realities' or, as he puts it in the previous paragraph, 'Life—as one man has found it'. To tell this story, George and Wells deliberately eschew Jamesian 'discretion'. Hearing Mrs. Mackridge, a former servant of Bladesover House and defender of its hierarchical values, repeat her former employer's admiration for 'Tact', George resolves 'that if ever I found this polypus of Tact growing up in my soul, I would tear it out by the roots, throw it forth and stamp on it'. Through George, then, Wells argues that the novel that conforms to the Jamesian 'art of fiction', the novel of technique and discretion, is conservative and sterile: it serves the social hierarchies of an earlier age. But for Wells it does not follow that 'to get the thing out I have in mind' is to align oneself with modern commercial values—after all, the novel's main plot is a satire on commerce, and Edward Ponderevo's wish that he had 'been born American—where things hum' is ultimately supported by the text no more than is Brydon's fascination with his American businessman alter ego.³² The fact that, unlike James, Wells offers no stable ground of value—neither in George, who ends the novel even more implicated in his country's self-destruction, nor in narrative technique—is for Schorer the most obvious mark of the novel's failure. George's paean to the 'Science' or 'Truth' at the 'heart of life' that he sees symbolized by his newly invented destroyer at the end of the novel 'denies every value that the book had been aiming toward', Schorer writes, bemused: 'As far as one can tell Wells intends no irony'. Surely Wells does, as most other readers of this novel have noted, but Schorer's failure to read *Tono-Bungay*'s end as satire is symptomatic of his conception of modern fiction, which has no place for that mode.

³¹ H. G. Wells, 'Tono-Bungay: A Romance of Commerce. Book the First: The Days Before Tono-Bungay Was Invented', *English Review*, 1 (1908), 81–154 (pp. 129, 97, 121).

³² Wells, 'Tono-Bungay', pp. 84, 94, 131.

For while satire may value technique, it also values content: what it has to say is as important as the way it is said. But Schorer's analysis is predicated on his belief that 'modern criticism has shown us that to speak of content as such is not to speak of art at all, but of experience; and that it is only when we speak of the achieved content, the form, the work of art as a work of art, that we speak as critics. The difference between content, or experience, and achieved content, or art, is technique'.³³

As Simon James has remarked, 'in *Tono-Bungay* one can see Wells irritably turning against James's valorization of the aesthetic for its own sake. Here the *Bildung* narrative of moral development is both evaded and parodied: narrative closure does not demonstrate society's eventual accommodation of the protagonist'.³⁴ During the next few years, the distinction between James's and Wells's approach to fiction would be explicitly and controversially drawn by the novelists' irascible public debate about the novel and its contemporary exponents. In 'The Contemporary Novel', published in the *Fortnightly Review* in November 1911, Wells argued against 'art of fiction' criticism that sought to define and therefore, he thought, restrict the novel because 'the novel I hold to be a discursive thing; it is not a single interest, but a woven tapestry of interests; one is drawn on first by this affection and curiosity, and then by that; it is something to return to, and I do not see that we can possibly set any limit to its extent'. Clearly with James in mind, Wells charged critics, or, to use his term, 'adjudicators', with narrowing the scope of the novel by insisting on 'an alleged sense of technique, which is too often no more than the attempt to exact a laboriousness of method'.³⁵

In 1914 James's essay on 'The Younger Generation' in the *Times Literary Supplement* revisited the terms he had set out thirty years before in 'The Art of Fiction' to evaluate contemporary novelists. Wells and Arnold Bennett, James remarks, 'have practically launched the boat' of the style of fiction rowed by Gilbert Cannan, D. H. Lawrence, Compton Mackenzie, and Hugh Walpole, a style James characterizes as the author 'simply recording his possession or, to repeat our more emphatic term, his saturation' in 'his own body of reference, in a closer notation, a sharper specification of the signs of life and consciousness in the human scene and the human subject than the three or four generations before them had at all been moved to insist on'. This approach, James complains, leaves one asking, 'Yes, yes; but is this *all*? These are the circumstances of the interest—we see, we see; but where is the interest itself, where and what is its centre and how are we to measure it in relation to *that*?'.³⁶

³³ Schorer, 'Technique as Discovery', pp. 75, 67. For two relevant engagements with Schorer's criticism of *Tono-Bungay*, see David Lodge, *Language of Fiction: Essays in Criticism and Verbal Analysis of the English Novel* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 214–42, and William Kupinse, 'Wasted Value: The Serial Logic of H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay*', *Novel*, 33.1 (1999), 51–72.

³⁴ Simon J. James, *Maps of Utopia: H. G. Wells, Modernity and the End of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 105.

³⁵ H. G. Wells, 'The Contemporary Novel', *Fortnightly Review*, 90 (November 1911), 860–73 (pp. 863, 862). For a recent discussion of the James/Wells debate, see James, *Maps of Utopia*, pp. 1–35.

³⁶ Henry James, 'The Younger Generation [I]', *Times Literary Supplement* (19 March 1914), 133–4 (pp. 133, 134).

In 'The Jolly Corner' and *Tono-Bungay*, both James and Wells identified the problem modernity presented to literature as commodification, which both explored through the trope of property. As Geoff Gilbert has discussed, that trope looms large in modernist writing: 'when modernism lays claim to autonomy, it has to extricate itself from the field of property'. But 'modernism's value is not distinct from other forms of value, such as market value', Gilbert notes; on the contrary it 'signals the historicity and thus the fragility of the particular operative distinctions on which genres and markets and properties depend'. The lesson of early twentieth-century literature about property is not, as James would have us believe, that art is distinct from commerce, but rather that in the early twentieth century literature wants to assert its difference from commerce in an unstable literary market.³⁷

The distinctions in the way that difference is asserted are important. James and Wells may be responding to the same problem, but their fictional solutions are fundamentally different. Jed Esty nicely characterizes the innovation of *Tono-Bungay*'s response in comparison with a work that has much in common with 'The Jolly Corner', Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891). 'Taken as a pair', he writes, these novels 'capture the disintegration of realism into subjective (aestheticist) and objective (naturalist) modes'. Having described *Dorian Gray* as a novel in which the 'soul who begins to live as a pure and ageless artwork ends up embodying the logic of pure commodification', Esty asks what a novel would be like that was organized 'so that the very premise of the text is the idea that the protagonist's inner life is already fully shaped by the logic of reification? Where the commodified soul was not revealed to itself in gothic paroxysm at the moment of closure', as in both Wilde's and James's texts, 'but taken as the center of a biographical plot in a tale dedicated from the start to the unstable laws of modern marketing, a life story shaped by the boom-and-bust of capitalist speculation, where characterization and commodification cannot be separated? In fact, we have such a book: H. G. Wells's *Tono-Bungay*'.³⁸ In the works by Wilde and James, the art of fiction offers a refuge from the commercial values it critiques; in *Tono-Bungay*, Wells shows what it is for fiction itself to be shaped by those values. The precision of narrative technique and the integrity of the structure of the plot are not relevant criteria for evaluating the success of such a novel.

The importance of the well-known debate between James and Wells for this chapter is that what literary history remembers as an argument between two novelists, two individuals, about the importance of technique—an argument that James, as Schorer remarked, won ('James grows for us and Wells disappears')—was perceived at the beginning of the twentieth century as the presentation of two different possibilities for the future of modern British literature, especially, but not exclusively, the novel.³⁹ In staging that debate on its pages, with a clear preference for a future founded on the French realist novel as transferred to English writing

³⁷ Gilbert, *Before Modernism Was*, p. 43.

³⁸ Jed Esty, *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 103–4.

³⁹ Schorer, 'Technique as Discovery', p. 73.

by James, Conrad, and Ford, the *English Review* began the process of defining modernism. By 1948, the date of Schorer's essay, the *Review's* definitions were so well established they seemed to offer an objective measure with which to evaluate modern fiction. Like the fiction they described, they aimed to assert art's difference from commerce in an unstable literary market.

Although recent critical surveys have tended to represent this debate as one between French and English traditions—'Should English novelists learn the "method" of the French master Gustave Flaubert, or could they trust to the unmethodical examples of Austen and Dickens?' is the question posed in the *Oxford English Literary History*—the Russian novel, especially as practiced by Tolstoy, remained a major element in the discussion.⁴⁰ Ford's description of the 'temperamentally British novel' as a 'loose amorphous, genial and easy-going thing' is of the same order as James's famous characterization of *War and Peace*, Thackeray's *The Newcomes*, and Dumas' *Les Trois Mousquetaires* (*The Three Musketeers*) as 'large loose baggy monsters, with their queer elements of the accidental and the arbitrary', made the previous year in his preface to the New York edition of *The Tragic Muse*.⁴¹ In 'The Younger Generation', it is Tolstoy that James identifies as 'the great illustrative master-hand on all this ground of disconnexion of method from matter' he criticizes in Bennett, Wells, and their followers: 'of all great painters of the social picture', James remarks, 'it was given that epic genius most to serve admirably as a rash adventurer and a "caution," and execrably, pestilentially, as a model'.⁴² And in the two critical works primarily responsible for transferring the art of fiction debate into academic criticism, Percy Lubbock's *The Craft of Fiction* (1921) and E. M. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel* (1927), it is Tolstoy, rather than Dickens, who provides the major counterpoint to Flaubert and James. Lubbock begins his remarkably Jamesian disquisition by establishing his straw man, a novel that is the antithesis of 'perfect form'. Casting around for 'a great and brilliant novel, a well-known novel, and at the same time a large and crowded and unmanageable novel', he settles on *War and Peace*, which he argues fails to be the masterpiece it could have been because it is unable to combine its two main stories into 'one design', and neither story is 'given its full development'. It is, he concludes, 'wasteful of its subject; that is the whole objection to its loose, unstructural form. Criticism bases its conclusion upon nothing whatever but the injury done to the story, the loss of its full potential value'.⁴³ For Forster, on the other hand, 'no English novelist is as great as Tolstoy' because 'for me the whole intricate position of method resolves itself not into formulæ but into the power of the writer to bounce the reader into accepting what he says'. The cultivation of form or 'pattern', favoured by James, Ford, and Lubbock, 'may externalize the atmosphere, spring naturally from the plot, but it shuts the doors on life and leaves the novelist doing exercises, generally

⁴⁰ Chris Baldick, *The Oxford English Literary History*, x: 1910–1940: *The Modern Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 156.

⁴¹ [Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day, II', p. 671; Henry James, 'Preface', in *The Tragic Muse*, 2 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 1: v–xxii (p. x).

⁴² Henry James, 'The Younger Generation', p. 134.

⁴³ Percy Lubbock, *The Craft of Fiction* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1921), pp. 26, 41.

in the drawing-room. Beauty has arrived', Forster concludes, 'but in too tyrannous a guise'.⁴⁴ In Lubbock's and Forster's influential criticism, we see the literary values James and Ford had debated to promote their own writing and that of those they admired in the process of being established as transcendent critical truths.

2.2 NEW LIBERALS, THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION, AND REALISM

The preceding discussion has sought to take seriously Ford's statement in 1910 that he had started the *English Review* 'with the definite design of giving imaginative literature a chance in England'.⁴⁵ 'Imaginative literature' is not a loose category in Ford's critical lexicon: it connotes a commitment to artistry or technique that he traces through a French tradition, and is opposed to 'factual' literature or 'propaganda', associated by Ford and James with the nineteenth-century English novel, especially that of Dickens, and with Tolstoy. The deliberate heterogeneity of the magazine provided Ford with a field of contemporary literature from which to isolate and canonize a particular literary tradition and, more importantly for this book, exclude another. Although Ford's editorials confine their criticism to Victorian and Edwardian authors, they establish the tools and values for extending that criticism to the younger writers, the future modernists, published in the *Review*. Ford himself began this work in his later writings, such as 'A Haughty and Proud Generation' (1922), and the final chapter of *Mightier Than the Sword* (1938).⁴⁶

In a summary statement concluding the first volume of the *English Review* in March 1909, Ford wrote that "The English Review" differs from all its contemporaries in the fact that it is mainly concerned with literature. It thus competes in no way with any review now existing... Its contemporaries deal mostly with facts political and contemporary'.⁴⁷ We have seen how Ford's first editorial insisted that the first volume of James's New York edition was a 'topic of the month' as worthy of notice as any political decision or social event. Yet the implicit debate in the *English Review* over the role and future of the novel was not only an aesthetic debate, nor even a broadly cultural debate; it was a debate keyed to national and international politics. Despite Ford's remarks to the contrary, the *English Review* published a substantial amount of contemporary political commentary. From the first issue the magazine was formally divided between literature and contemporary discussion, the latter in a section modelled on the *Mercur de France's* 'Revue du Mois', called 'The Month'.⁴⁸ Though 'The Month' contained literary and cultural articles, notably reviews and Ford's editorials, throughout the first volume it also contained a specific 'Political and Diplomatic' section that published essays

⁴⁴ E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927), pp. 16, 107, 209–10.

⁴⁵ Ford Madox Ford, letter to R. A. Scott-James, [January? 1910], in *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, p. 40.

⁴⁶ Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford Madox Ford], 'A Haughty and Proud Generation', *Yale Review*, 11 (1922), 703–17; Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword*, pp. 264–92.

⁴⁷ [Ford Madox Ford], 'The English Review', *English Review*, 1.4 (1909), p. xii.

⁴⁸ See Morrisson, 'The Myth of the Whole', p. 523.

on, successively, 'The Unemployed', 'Prospects of Parliaments', 'The Empire', and 'Modern Life'.

From the sixth issue (May 1909) the political content increased, and at the conclusion of the third volume in November 1909 the journal's summary statement was adjusted accordingly. It now read, 'The "English Review" differs from its contemporaries in the fact that it is mainly concerned with *the better class of literature and the more advanced forms of thought*', acknowledging both its evaluation of literary 'classes' and its inclusion of non-literary 'thought'.⁴⁹ The increased attention to politics coincided with a change in the *Review*'s funding, which has been comprehensively described by Nora Tomlinson. Ford had launched the magazine with enough capital to fund only four issues, and after he fell out with his major backer, Arthur Marwood, in March 1909, Ford's brother-in-law David Soskis began making a series of loans to Ford and to the *Review*, to keep it solvent while he endeavoured to establish a company that could buy it. From July Soskis acted as the *Review*'s business manager, and in August he and the journalist W. T. Goode formed The English Review Limited, in which they began to sell shares.⁵⁰

Soskis had had some involvement with the *English Review* from its inception. A draft contents page in Ford's archive at Cornell shows that he originally envisioned including a 'Petersburg Letter', presumably to be written by Soskis, since between 1906 and 1908 he was the St Petersburg correspondent for *The Tribune*, the short-lived Liberal newspaper (Fig. 7). In fact, Ford had contemplated going to Russia with Soskis, to write a book about the 1905 revolution—'a book rather of impressions than of statistics, of course', he told his agent.⁵¹ He liked to relate that Georgy Gapon (Father Gapon)—the leader of the workers' demonstration on 22 January 1905 (9 January OS) that ended in the Bloody Sunday massacre and was one of the triggers of the 1905 Russian revolution—went into hiding at his mother's house in Hammersmith, though in fact he seems to have been a frequent visitor rather than house guest during most of his time in London, and it was the Soskises, who lived with Catherine Hueffer, who were his hosts. (Soskis and G. H. Perris wrote Gapon's autobiography, *The Story of My Life* during his London sojourn.)⁵²

⁴⁹ [Ford Madox Ford], 'The English Review', *English Review*, 3.12 (1909), p. x. My italics.

⁵⁰ Nora Tomlinson, 'An Old Man Mad about Writing' but Hopeless with Money: Ford Madox Ford and the Finances of the *English Review*', in Jason Harding, ed., *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 143–51 (pp. 144–6). Tomlinson's is the authoritative account of the *Review*'s finances, based on her study of Soskis's papers, contained in the Papers of Sir Frank Soskice (1902–1979), Lord Stow Hill, Parliamentary Archives, and Ford's papers at Cornell. See also Mizener, *The Saddest Story*, pp. 157–88; Ralph Herman Ruedy, 'Ford Madox Ford and the English Review', PhD thesis, Duke University, 1976, pp. 286–94, and Ford's own account in *Return to Yesterday*, pp. 197, 398–9, 409–11.

⁵¹ Ford Madox Ford, 'The New English Magazine', table of contents, box 15, folder 1, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell; Ford Madox Ford, letters to J. B. Pinker, [postmarked] 15 November 1905, [undated], box 1, items 37, 38, Ford Madox Ford Letters, MSS FMF1-316, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The second letter is included in Ford, *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, p. 23.

⁵² Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 135, Juliet M. Soskice, 'Life and Books: Father Gapon', *New Leader*, 1.9 (1 December 1922), 10, 1.10 (8 December 1922), 12–13; G. H. Perris, letters to David Soskice, 4 May 1905, 9 May 1905, Papers of David Soskice, STH/DS/1/LIT: Literary and Political Correspondence in English, Parliamentary Archives; Father George Gapon, *The Story of My Life* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1905).

The New-English Magazine.
Specimen. No.

1. The London Month
2. Poem G. Meredith.
3. A Nature Study W. H. Hudson.
4. Spindlet Reminiscences R. B. Cunningham Graham.
5. Short Story Henry James
6. London Gay
7. The Fall of Troy Troph. Girard
8. The Interference of the Indian Government
with the Judiciary. D. x x x x.
9. The Present State of Concor
Investigation A. Moore.
10. The House of the Future H. G. Wells
11. Serial
12. Petersburg letters

Fig. 7. Ford Madox Ford, 'The New English Magazine', table of contents, box 15, folder 1, Ford Madox Ford Collection, # 4605, Cornell University Library.

Ford did not go to Russia, and *The Tribune* folded in February 1908, so in May Soskis and his wife, Ford's sister Juliet, returned to London.⁵³ Nevertheless, Soskis contributed two articles to the first volume of the *Review*, one on 'Russia' in the 'Prospects of Parliaments' discussion in the second issue, and another on 'The Russian Spy System', in the 'Modern Life' discussion in the fourth.⁵⁴

As John Attridge has discussed, after Soskis became financially involved in the *English Review*, a significant number of the contributors were affiliated with the

⁵³ Barry Hollingsworth, 'Benckendorff's "Bête Noire": *The Tribune* and Russian Internal Affairs, 1906–1908', in William Harrison and Avril Pyman, eds, *Poetry, Prose and Public Opinion: Aspects of Russia, 1850–1970* (Letchworth: Avebury, 1984), pp. 106–32; Hollingsworth, 'David Soskice in Russia in 1917', p. 80; Ford Madox Ford, letters to Elsie Hueffer, 10 February 1906, 6 March 1906, box 36, folders 33, 45, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell; For further discussion of *The Tribune*, see Alan J. Lee, 'Franklin Thomasson and the *Tribune*: A Case-Study in the History of the Liberal Press, 1908–1908', *Historical Journal*, 16.2 (1973), 341–60.

⁵⁴ D. S. [David Soskis], 'Russia', *English Review*, 1.2 (January 1909), 339–50; D. S. [David Soskis], 'The Russian Spy System: The Azeff Scandals in Russia', *English Review*, 1.4 (March 1909), 816–32. Juliet Soskice contributed short stories to the third, tenth and fourteenth issues, adopting her husband's occasional pseudonym, 'Saturin': J. Saturin [Juliet Soskice], 'Iván—"Isvoschick"', *English Review*, 1.3 (February 1909), 447–52; J. Saturin [Juliet Soskice], 'Mother', *English Review*, 3.10 (September 1909), 266–81; J. Saturin [Juliet Soskice], 'Mamka', *English Review*, 4.14 (January 1910), 235–48.

New Liberalism. The second and third volumes included contributions from Soskis's former colleagues at the *Tribune*—H. N. Brailsford, J. A. Hobson, and its former political editor, L. T. Hobhouse—as well as from the Liberal journalists C. E. Montague, H. W. Nevinnson, and the Radical Liberal Members of Parliament, Hilaire Belloc, Charles Dilke, and G. P. Gooch.⁵⁵ New Liberalism distinguished itself from classical, laissez-faire Liberalism by advocating, 'presence of opportunity' rather than 'absence of restraint', as Hobson, one of its leading theorists, wrote in the November 1909 issue.⁵⁶ To a certain extent, this represented a move towards socialism: the 'salient issue in the liberal transformation', writes Michael Freeden, 'was the awareness of the "social" in addition to, and qualitatively different from, the "individual"'.⁵⁷ This entailed a new conception of the State, as Hobson explained in a subsequent article:

the whole conception disclosed by these new [i.e. twentieth-century] issues of the State, as an instrument for the adaptation of the economic and moral environment to the new needs of individual and social life, seeking to secure full opportunities of self-development and social service for all citizens, was foreign to the Liberalism of the last generation. Now in England, as elsewhere, these positive, constructive and primarily economic proposals are clamouring for consideration. The old *laissez-faire* Liberalism is dead.⁵⁸

New Liberalism was also, as this definition of the State suggests, anti-imperialist and internationalist, and the political section of the *Review* was not restricted to domestic affairs. It paid particular attention to Britain's involvement in events in the Balkan states, Persia, and Turkey, which also entailed analysis of its diplomatic relationship with Russia. In fact, the main factor unifying the political contributors to the *English Review* was their opposition to the Liberal imperialism of the Prime Minister Herbert Asquith and his foreign secretary Edward Grey, particularly as embodied in the Anglo-Russian Convention.⁵⁹ The Convention, signed on 31 August 1907, agreed spheres of influence in relation to Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet, and laid the basis for bringing Russia into formal alliance with Britain and France in 1914 against the Triple Alliance of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Italy. It had been supported by Liberal Imperialists, who sought to safeguard Britain's imperial interests, especially the approaches to India, which would be threatened by Russian control of central Asia. It was opposed by the Socialists, the Radicals in the Liberal Party, and the New Liberals, who argued that

⁵⁵ Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform*, rev. edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 37.

⁵⁶ John Attridge, 'Liberalism and Modernism in the Edwardian Era: New Liberals at Ford's *English Review*', in Harding, ed., *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing*, pp. 169–83; J. A. Hobson, 'The Extension of Liberalism', *English Review*, 3.12 (November 1909), 673–86 (p. 686).

⁵⁷ Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, p. 13.

⁵⁸ J. A. Hobson, 'After the Destruction of the Veto', *English Review*, 4.13 (December 1909), 111–21 (p. 111). See also L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911), p. 20: 'The modern State, as I shall show, goes far towards incorporating the elements of Liberal principle'.

⁵⁹ Attridge, 'Liberalism and Modernism in the Edwardian Era', p. 171, J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (London: James Nisbet, 1902); Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 164.

an alliance with the oppressive regime of tsarist Russia was in conflict with British values of democracy and political freedom, and that it curtailed British support of new or potential constitutional governments in Turkey, Persia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.⁶⁰ On 11 June 1907 a group of seventeen intellectuals, Radicals and Socialists, including four future contributors to the *English Review* under Ford's editorship (Edward Browne, R. B. Cunninghame Graham, John Galsworthy, and J. A. Hobson), wrote to the *Times* to protest against any agreement with tsarist Russia: 'We regard any alliance, understanding, or agreement with the present Russian Government as equivalent to taking sides against the Russian people in its struggle for constitutional rights and freedom', they wrote. 'We think any such agreement is likely to diminish our prestige as the supporter of liberty throughout the world'.⁶¹ Soskis and his *Tribune* colleagues unsurprisingly shared these views—after all, Nevinson was a member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, Hobhouse was on its General Committee, and Brailsford was on its Executive Committee. Soskis himself had worked for the *chaikovsky's* Russian Free Press Fund and the Agrarian Socialist League, and had co-edited *Free Russia*.⁶² During 1907 the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom had campaigned against the Convention: as J. F. Green reported in *Free Russia*, they had 'prepared a memorial, which was influentially signed, protesting against any alliance, entente, or arrangement between the two Governments as calculated to improve the credit of the Russian Government and to discourage those who were fighting for liberty in Russia', and they had organized a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on 14 July.⁶³

The Convention, as Michael Hughes has remarked, 'did not offer a definite conclusion either to the "Great Game", or to the suspicions and antagonisms which had fuelled it for the best part of a century'.⁶⁴ Visits from a delegation of Duma

⁶⁰ See A. J. Anthony Morris, *Radicalism Against War, 1906–1914: The Advocacy of Peace and Retrenchment* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 52–70; Keith Neilson, *Britain and the Last Tsar: British Policy and Russia, 1894–1917* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 267–88; Beryl Williams, 'Great Britain and Russia, 1905 to the 1907 Convention', and D. W. Sweet and R. T. B. Langhorne, 'Great Britain and Russia, 1907–1914', in F. H. Hinsley, ed., *British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 133–47, pp. 236–55; Keith M. Wilson, *The Policy of the Entente: Essays on the Determinants of British Foreign Policy, 1904–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 74–84.

⁶¹ L. A. Atherley-Jones et al., 'The Proposed Anglo-Russian Agreement [letter]', *The Times* (11 June 1907), p. 5.

⁶² Hollingsworth, 'David Soskice in Russia in 1917', pp. 76–8; Senese, S. M. *Stepniak-Kravchinskii*, pp. 112–13, 116. Also relevant is that in 1905 Brailsford had been convicted of conspiracy when he was found guilty of procuring three false passports that were used by Russian revolutionaries, one of whom died when his bomb exploded in St Petersburg. Brailsford admitted procuring the passports for a Russian friend (probably Soskis), but insisted that he had done so on the understanding they would not be used for terrorism: see F. M. Leventhal, *The Last Dissenter: H. N. Brailsford and His World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 52–5.

⁶³ Green, 'Our Activity', p. 5.

⁶⁴ Michael Hughes, 'Searching for the Soul of Russia: British Perceptions of Russia during the First World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20.2 (2009), 198–226 (p. 201). For a discussion of the Convention's benefit to Anglo-Russian commercial interests, see V. V. Kulikov, '"Vse russkoe teper'": zolotoe semiletie russkoi kul'tury, ekonomiki na Britanskikh ostrovakh (1907–1914)', in A. V. Kobak and O. L. Kuvaldina, eds, *Rossiya-Velikobritaniya: Pyat' vekov kul'turnykh svyazei* (St Petersburg: Institut Petra Velikogo/Evropeiskii Dom, 2015), pp. 380–7.

members in July 1909 and the Russian royal family for Cowes Week a month later drew support from Conservatives and Liberals, and censure from Labour, Radicals, and New Liberals.⁶⁵ Most of the *English Review*'s political articles are written from the latter's anti-imperialist and anti-tsarist perspective. Bar the cautiously optimistic (but markedly anti-tsarist) 'Persia', by the French former diplomat Eustache de Lorey in the second issue, the several essays on Russia, the Balkans, and the Middle East present the New Liberal arguments. The *English Review* published Nevinston's 'Notes on the Balkans' in the first issue, Brailsford's 'The Counter-Revolution in Turkey' and 'The Hush of Europe', in the sixth and eighth, 'The Persian Crisis' by the Cambridge Persian scholar Edward Browne in the ninth, and, in the eleventh, Charles Dilke's 'Foreign Affairs', which directly addressed the impact of the Anglo-Russian Convention on Britain's foreign policy.

Brailsford's 'The Hush of Europe' provides a particularly clear account of how New Liberals understood Britain's foreign policy in 1909, and Russia's influence on it. It responds to a speech made by the former Prime Minister and Liberal Imperialist Lord Rosebery at the opening of the Imperial Press Conference in June 1909, that presented the European continent as 'relapsing into militarism', forcing 'this little England to defend itself'.⁶⁶ Brailsford argues that the situation is no 'relapse', no 'return to a state of nature in which *homo homini lupus*', but the deliberate creation of politicians, including British politicians: it is the product of 'a tension and a jealousy between two closely knit groups of Powers. It is a struggle for predominance between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente', effectively managed by Grey, the Foreign Secretary, and Bernhard von Bülow, the German Chancellor. The future of Bosnia–Herzegovina had been decided earlier that year, Brailsford argues, by Germany's need to strengthen its alliance with Austro–Hungary, and the future of Persia, following its Constitutional Revolution of 1906, would be determined by, and subordinated to, Britain and Russia maintaining their alliance. Britain's previously warm relationship with the reformers in Turkey was also changed by the obligations of the Triple Entente: Turkey now looked to Germany rather than Britain to defend it against the Russian threat to its territory. Britain had not been strengthened by its alliances, and its association with Russia in particular had limited its influence. 'The pivot on which the whole fate of the Triple Entente turns is in short the character of the Russian Government', Brailsford concludes. 'Precisely because it is so nearly bankrupt, France dare not break the bond or cease to lend money. Precisely because we do not trust its good faith, we dare not insist on too much loyalty... We never know in an emergency whether the decision will lie with the Tsar, or with a Minister whom we think that we can within certain limits trust. A more risky or less profitable partnership it would be hard to conceive'.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Fiona K. Tomaszewski, *A Great Russia: Russia and the Triple Entente, 1905 to 1914* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), pp. 28–9; Neilson, *Britain and the Last Tsar*, p. 308.

⁶⁶ Thos. H. Hardman, ed., *A Parliament of the Press: The First Imperial Press Conference* (London: Horace Marshall, 1909), p. 15.

⁶⁷ H. N. Brailsford, 'The Hush in Europe', *English Review*, 2.8 (July 1909), 779–93 (pp. 781, 783, 790, 791–2).

The New Liberal contributors would appear to have little in common politically with Ford: in the final issue to which he contributed, Ford described himself as 'by temperament an obstinate, sentimental and old-fashioned Tory', and the previous year he had complained in letters to his wife that he was 'struggling to keep Soskice from turning the Review into a Whig Socialist organ'.⁶⁸ Yet the 'Complete Actuarial Scheme for Insuring John Doe against all the Vicissitudes of Life', contributed to the first two issues by Ford's Tory friend and initial backer Marwood, echoed contemporary New Liberal and socialist proposals for a national insurance, as a number of critics have pointed out.⁶⁹ Ford had also published the socialist politician and author R. B. Cunninghame Graham on 'Aspects of the Social Question' and Nevinson's 'Notes on the Balkans' in the first issue, and Belloc criticizing the power of the Press in the fourth—all before Soskis was involved in the management of the *Review*.⁷⁰ Furthermore, from May 1909 Ford not only gives space to the New Liberals, his own editorials go some way towards accommodating their principles. To what extent this was a strategy to draw in Liberal funding is difficult to ascertain. On 8 June Ford wrote to Soskis that while he insisted on having the sole 'voice in the matter of editing' until Soskis's company was formed, 'in order to help you with your friends I have voluntarily consulted you as to the Editorial for July just as I have voluntarily consulted Marwood'. Though he was 'willing to make the editorial side as little offensive to your friends as it can be', he wrote, the *Review*'s financial ties meant that 'I cannot until your scheme absolutely succeeds make the Review militantly offensive to Marwood's friends'. And Ford insisted that even when Soskis's company was established, their agreement 'was that the political side was to be managed by a committee, that the editorial notes were to be impartial and were to be written by myself upon any given topic selected by the committee'.⁷¹

As his letter to Soskis on 8 June makes clear, Ford continued to write the editorial introductions to 'The Month'. But in April 1909 the 'Political and Diplomatic' heading that had divided the political articles from the editorial material was dropped, and in these essays, collectively entitled 'The Critical Attitude', one can see Ford engaged in the difficult task of making 'the editorial side as little offensive' as possible to the New Liberals Soskis hoped to interest in the *Review*, while at the same time attempting to avoid alienating the *Review*'s original Tory backers.⁷²

⁶⁸ Didymus [Ford Madox Ford], 'A Declaration of Faith', *English Review*, 4.15 (February 1910), 543–51 (p. 544); Ford Madox Hueffer, letter to Elsie Hueffer, 'Monday' [1909], Ford Madox Hueffer, letter to Elsie Hueffer, postmarked 14 June 1909, box 37, folder 45, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell.

⁶⁹ For example, M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 251.

⁷⁰ Attridge notes furthermore that Ford referred to Nevinson and Brailsford as two of the *Daily News*'s 'most attractive writers' in his January 1910 editorial: [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: Women's Suffrage, the Circulating Libraries, The Drama, Fine Art', *English Review*, 4.14 (January 2010), 329–46 (p. 333).

⁷¹ Ford Madox Ford, letter to David Soskice, 8 June 1909, box 41, folder 66, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell.

⁷² Ford, letter to Soskice, 8 June 1909, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell. In April 1909 Ford wrote to his wife that he was 'writing political stuff for the Review': Ford Madox Ford, letter to Elsie Hueffer, postmarked 14 April 1909, box 37, folder 52, Ford Madox Ford Collection, #4605, Cornell.

The three editorials that discuss foreign affairs cover the same terrain as the articles by the New Liberals. The editorial for May 1909 begins with a section entitled 'Little States and Great Nations', which initially appears consistent with the New Liberal, anti-imperialist reading of the Bosnian crisis. It condemns Germany's role in obtaining Russian support for Austro-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while pointing out the hypocrisy of British complaints about German imperialism: 'she stands very much where we did not so very long ago. She wants what we wanted then, what to-day we have got. . . whatever may be said for the advisability of this imperial idea—we originally took this empire . . . from Great Moguls, from rajahs, from chiefs, from sultans, from wild islanders'. But the lesson Ford draws from the Bosnian crisis is different from that drawn by his New Liberal contributors. Rather than arguing that Britain should dismantle its empire, he justifies it as a necessary protection against the fate of the Bosnia-Herzegovina. What the events in the Balkans have taught us, he writes, is that 'small States can expect no mercy. It should prove to us that if we sink to the level of a small State we need expect no better a fate than is that of Poland to-day, or a future no more splendid than that of modern Greece'. At this point, on the brink of advocating British imperialism and jeopardizing New Liberal support for the *Review*, Ford shifts the focus of his argument from political action to the less contentious topic of political rhetoric. 'England is enormously strong, yet the English are perpetually proclaiming themselves open to invasion', he writes. Other nations continue to build their empires, but Britain undermines its established importance and strength by self-criticism, putting itself at risk of invasion by a more confident empire: 'And so Prussia sees us, according to our own showing; open to invasion, lacking in patriotism, our powers of acquisition dwindling, our hardihood all gone, our manhood degenerate. And by giving this impression we are to blame—we are capitally to blame. For we are encouraging aggression'. Ford concludes by arguing that it is the nation's responsibility to maintain and advertise the strength of its empire, for the sake of peace in Europe: 'Let us, in the name of peace, make quite certain how our house stands. Let us put it in order; let us ensure that it shall remain in order and then, watchful but with a sense of national decency, let us proclaim, *urbi et orbi*, that we are quietly confident in our strength. Then let us be quiet about it'.⁷³ Ford thus advocates rhetorical promotion of the existing strength of the British empire as a means of preserving peace, but he resists advocating its expansion or even defence through war.

Ford's two other editorials on foreign affairs display similar tensions between Tory and Liberal imperialism and New Liberal anti-imperialism. The June editorial argues the New Liberal position that Britain's and Germany's competitive expansion of their naval fleet is 'eminently imbecile', but also, remarkably, that Britain's superiority could warrant 'making the construction of a battleship by any other Power than ourselves a *casus belli*. . . a war to bring about the reduction of armaments

⁷³ 'F', 'The Critical Attitude: Little States and Great Nations', *English Review*, 2.6 (May 1909), 355–60 (pp. 356, 357, 359, 360).

would be a war to promote an ultimate peace'.⁷⁴ In the July editorial, Ford's criticism of Grey's foreign policy resembles Brailsford's in 'The Hush of Europe', which followed the editorial, and the articles by Edward Browne and Charles Dilke in subsequent issues. Like Brailsford, Browne, and Dilke, Ford notes that Britain can no longer be relied upon to support new democracies as it had in the past, and he criticizes the Anglo-Russian Convention. 'There were two empires, Persia and Turkey, in which popular agitations were striving to establish constitutional Governments: our traditions should have made us espouse these causes. There were two small nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were suddenly annexed by a neighbouring great Power: our traditions should have led us to espouse their cause. What happened?'. But once again, Ford's concern is less for the foreign nations than for Britain's imperial interests. Because of Grey's weak foreign policies, he writes, 'Russia is in effective occupation of Persia; Prussia has secured treaty rights to an overland route to India. Where then is the British Empire?'.⁷⁵

What are the implications of these discussions in 'The Month' for the literary content of the *Review*? It would be unwise to assume too close a connection, in light of Soskis's management of the political contributions, and for that reason, I depart from some aspects of Paul Peppis's influential account of the magazine's cultural politics. Peppis mistakenly attributes the imperialism of the Liberal Government to the *Review*'s New Liberal contributors, which misleads him into seeing the political content of the journal as consistent with Ford's editorials, and the *Review*'s politics overall as 'mirror[ing] the attitudes of the (New) Liberal government'. Reading Ford's and the journal's international politics as consistently 'conservative, patriotic, and imperialist', makes some of the literary contributions look more incongruous and isolated than they were and misrepresents the journal's main debates. For Peppis, the definitive debate in the magazine is not between imaginative literature and propaganda nor between Tory and New Liberal politics, but between the *Review*'s 'Edwardian' conception of English national identity that he attributes to both Ford and the New Liberals, and the origin of the 'avant-garde project to reform English culture and character' he locates in the travel stories of Wyndham Lewis, published in the *Review* in the issues of May, June, and August 1909.⁷⁶ While this chapter's account of the *English Review* also has the effect of placing Lewis in opposition to Ford's editorial stance, it does not see that opposition as isolated, but rather aligned with the literature Ford designates 'factual' or

⁷⁴ 'B', 'The Critical Attitude: Finance', *English Review*, 2.7 (June 1909), 581–6 (pp. 584, 585). See Morris, *Radicalism Against War*, pp. 122–7, 158–64; David Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 165–80; Howard Weinroth, 'Left Wing Opposition to Naval Armaments in Britain before 1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6.4 (1971), 93–120.

⁷⁵ 'E. R.', 'The Critical Attitude: Splendid Isolations', *English Review*, 2.8 (July 1909), 761–6 (pp. 764, 766). See David G. Herrmann, *The Arming of Europe and the Making of the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 113–46; Neilson, *Britain and the Last Tsar*, pp. 267–88.

⁷⁶ Paul Peppis, *Literature, Politics and the English Avant-Garde* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 29, 22.

'propagandist', which becomes associated in the journal with the political commentary of the New Liberals.

Peppis's account springs from a reading of the famous passage in *Return to Yesterday* (1931), where Ford remembers first meeting Lewis. Since that passage, and Peppis's interpretation of it, turns on Ford's attitude towards Russia, it is worth addressing in detail. Ford recalled that the meeting occurred while he was having lunch with Marwood and discussing the poverty of that month's contributions to the *English Review*. He asked his secretary to pray to St Anthony for a good contribution, and at that moment Lewis appeared. He was, Ford wrote, 'extraordinary in appearance. It was just after Azeff had tried to sell me the Tsar's diary and I was determined to have nothing to do with Russians. He seemed to be Russian. He wore an immense steeple-crowned hat. Long black locks fell from it. His coat was one of those Russian-looking coats that have no revers'. Ford is referring here to an incident when the notorious double agent, Evno Azef, had sent a messenger to offer part of Nikolay II's diary for publication in the *Review*. Soskis knew Azef, as he described in the very detailed account of Azef's career he published in the *English Review* in March 1909, a month after Azef had been exposed as a police spy.⁷⁷ According to Ford, his first words to Lewis were: 'I don't want any Tsar's diaries. I don't want any Russian revelations. I don't want to see hear or smell any Slavs'.⁷⁸ In his long quotation from this passage, Peppis omits the contextual information about Azef's attempted sale of the diary, so that what in Ford's account is a plausible mistake about Lewis's nationality, becomes in Peppis's account a much more deliberate interpretation of Lewis's appearance. He consolidates this by implying that Ford's greeting is a slip that conceals his real meaning. Peppis writes,

The fictionalized editor's rejection of the Lewis figure on national and racial grounds—"I don't want any Russian revelations [revolutions?]. I don't want to see, hear or smell any Slavs"—presents in fictive form the Edwardian elite's worry that a violent political revolution, like that which had transpired in Russia in 1905 and 1906, might be pending in England.

⁷⁷ D. S. [Soskis], 'The Russian Spy System', p. 816. Goldring gives a different account of Ford and Lewis's first meeting, which contains no reference to Russians (*South Lodge*, p. 40), but Ford gives his account again in 'Literary Portraits, XLIII: Mr. Wyndham Lewis and "Blast"', *The Outlook* (4 July 1914), 15–16 (p. 15), and he repeated the story about Azef and Nikolay II's diary in *A History of Our Own Times*. There he adds that he 'took it round to my bank for internment whilst I informed the police. In the interval between then and my return a little after midnight my house had been carefully gone through and all my papers which were very many had been thrown all over the floor'. Ford also notes that 'the reputed Tsar's journal turned out to be nothing more than a list of trials and executions of Nihilists with comments of an extreme naiveté in that sovereign's hand', which makes it possible to identify the 'diary' as the document Soskis describes at the end of 'The Russian Spy System': 'On my table is now lying a unique document, a book of about sixteen inches in length, ten in breadth and four in thickness. It is the Tsar's Gazette, issued in one single copy for his personal use. Every few days the Minister of the Interior during his report to the Tsar hands over to his master a periodical account of revolutionary events. The Tsar reads the report immediately and marks it. Then it is sent back to the Department of Police, where it is kept in the greatest secrecy as a most precious relic because of the marks made by the Tsar upon it. At the end of every year all the numbers of the Tsar's Gazette are catalogued and magnificently bound. The number I speak of is for the year 1897' (pp. 831–2): see Ford, *A History of Our Own Times*, p. 84.

⁷⁸ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 407.

This typographical sleight of hand enables Peppis to argue that

The unexpected appearance of a revolutionary English writer in Ford's legend reflects both period anxieties about domestic unrest and foreign competition and period ambitions for national success. The figure who arrives in the nick of time, at a moment of crisis, bearing revolutionary writing that 'saves' Ford, English culture, even the empire, incarnates Ford's Edwardian hope that the young modernists he 'discovered' would once more put English culture and Britain at the forefront of Europe.⁷⁹

In fact, nowhere in *Return to Yesterday* does Ford describe Lewis or his writing as revolutionary, novel, or different in any way from other contributions to the *Review* apart from in its quality: 'his writing was of extraordinary brilliance', he remarks. Marwood's comment, on reading the manuscript Lewis presented on that first occasion, 'The Pole', was reportedly, 'We are saved. St. Anthony has answered our prayer', which refers to Ford's secretary's prayer to St. Anthony for 'a good contribution for that month's number'. Lewis 'saves' Marwood and Ford, then, by providing good writing for the *Review*, rather than a new (avant-garde or modernist) kind of writing that will 'put English culture and Britain at the forefront of Europe'. Though Ford respected the quality of Lewis's writing, he did not see it as 'imaginative literature', the type of writing that he thought would improve British culture, like James's. In fact, in *Return to Yesterday* Ford recounts Lewis describing his own writing in terms that repeat the opposition between 'imaginative literature' and propaganda, and place his work in the latter category. 'What people want is me, not you. They want to see me. A Vortex. To liven them up. You and Conrad had the idea of concealing yourself when you wrote. I display myself all over the page. In every word'.⁸⁰ In this account, Lewis is the very antithesis of James, whose 'great value to the Republic', Ford told his readers is that 'whatever his private views may be, we have no means of knowing them. He himself never appears, he never buttonholes us, he never moralises'. Lewis did not value 'discretion'.

In this anecdote about Lewis, published in 1931, we also see Ford making the generational distinction between the Edwardian contributors and the younger future modernists that later critics would see as defining the *English Review*. It is a distinction Ford introduced in his description of the *Review* in *Thus to Revisit* (1921) and intensified in his retelling of the story about Lewis in *Mightier than the Sword* (1938).⁸¹ But even in these accounts, Ford emphasizes that the *English Review* was founded to start 'a Movement', and though that movement's make-up is not consistently described, the publication of 'les jeunes' is represented as a change of policy after realizing it was impossible to 'cement together the Immortals' (*Thus to Revisit*) or find readers for 'a magazine devoted to imaginative literature and technical criticism alone' (*Return to Yesterday*).⁸² In *Mightier than the Sword*, where Ford gives an extended account of the 'Flaubert-Turgenev-Conrad-James

⁷⁹ Peppis, *Literature, Politics and the English Avant-Garde*, pp. 20, 28, 30–1.

⁸⁰ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, pp. 408, 407, 406, 418.

⁸¹ Hueffer [Ford], *Thus to Revisit*, pp. 58–60; Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword*, pp. 281–3.

⁸² Hueffer [Ford], *Thus to Revisit*, p. 59; Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 377.

wave of Impressionism', the appearance of the younger writers in the *Review* is represented as a veritable putsch:

It didn't, my poor old Impressionist Movement, last such a Hell of a time. The hounds of Youth were upon its track almost before it sat in the saddle. The control of the *English Review*, which I had started mainly with the idea of giving a shove to Impressionism in its literary form, was really snatched from my hands by Mr. Pound and his explosive-mouthed gang of scarce-breeched filibusterers... before I had really got accustomed to sitting in my own saddle.⁸³

Reading the *English Review* back through canonical modernism—so that we see it as recording the moment where the torch is passed on from older writers and a recognizable 'modernism' begins to appear in the work of the youth—obscures Ford's original literary programme. Reading the magazine forward from the art of fiction debates of the 1880s recovers a journal in which the classification of contributors turns not on whether they are young or old, but rather on whether they are artists (James, Conrad, France, Hudson) or propagandists (Wells, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Lawrence, and Lewis). If the operative distinction in the *Review* during Ford's editorship was not between young and old or 'Edwardian' and 'avant-garde', but rather between imaginative and factual literature, between artists and propagandists, the relevance of the New Liberal political contributions becomes clearer: like the debate set up between James's and Wells's fiction in the *Review*, it turns on the definition and importance of what is called in the *English Review* 'realism'.

John Attridge has argued that although Ford would not have endorsed the radical reform agenda of the *English Review*'s New Liberal contributors, such as J. A. Hobson, 'Ford's overt concern with the agency of ideals and sentiment in politics does align him, in an unexpected way, with New Liberalism'. Discussing a number of Ford's editorials in 1909 and 1910, Attridge shows that Ford's repeated calls for the return of idealism to political discourse look to the Victorian Liberal tradition as a model, especially to the oratory of William Gladstone.⁸⁴ In his editorial for the July 1909 issue, for example, Ford wrote that 'For Liberalism to be effective there must be behind it a certain glow of humanitarian faith, a certain visionary quality, an absolute incapacity to temporize. So that when we remember the late Mr. Gladstone's splendid rhetorical handling of the Balkan question we feel bitterly ashamed of Sir Edward Grey's'.⁸⁵ The New Liberals also espoused the importance of ideals in politics, even while 'continuing in a modified form some central motifs of the positivist heritage': Attridge quotes Brailsford's description of Hobson's political theory: 'in a changing world the ideals that move us are also facts among the visible and measurable realities'. The New Liberals presented Gladstone's moral leadership as the precursor of their increased attention to social questions: 'by habitually calling upon what was best in men,' wrote L. T. Hobhouse,

⁸³ Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword*, pp. 270, 281.

⁸⁴ Attridge, 'Liberalism and Modernism in the Edwardian Era', pp. 175, 179, 176–80.

⁸⁵ E. R. [Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: Splendid Isolations', p. 763.

Gladstone 'deepened the sense of public responsibility and paved the way, half unconsciously, for the fuller exercise of the social conscience'.⁸⁶

Attridge stops short of relating the New Liberal political essays to the literary debates in the *Review*, but his article helps us to see how Ford and the New Liberals may have articulated the relationship between the two parts of the magazine. He notes that Hobson's 'The Task of Realism' in the October 1909 issue concludes by characterizing the *Review* as devoted to 'a rendering of realism in many fields of thought and art', and in doing so, contributing to 'experiments in collective self-consciousness, as a means of accelerating and directing the "urge of the world" towards human enlightenment and well-being'. Hobson's argument is that 'intellectual and practical progress' has been stalled by a characteristically English failure to confront the intellectual consequences of the scientific and philosophical discoveries of the nineteenth century, such as those made by Darwin and Marx. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, 'poetic prophets, co-operative socialists, utilitarian theorists, philosophic radicals, whether their primary impulse was drawn from romantic art, philosophic reflection, or from some passion of practical reform, all aimed consciously and avowedly at a general transformation of life', but during the nineteenth century the ideals underpinning enquiry and change were lost in a conservative retreat into specialization. 'Feeling "in our bones," as nurses say, that the inflowing realism of modern science and of a literature and art which was drinking eagerly the realistic spirit, would wash us away from all our old conventional moorings, we set ourselves, doggedly, to stem the tide, and by diverting its force into the thousand little practically serviceable channels which I have described, to render it innocuous'.⁸⁷ As Attridge remarks, 'what seems particularly to have attracted Hobson to the *English Review*, then, was its combination of imaginative writing with social and political commentary, which represented an effort to tie together the many manifestations of "realism" into a single *Zeitgeist*'.⁸⁸

In his editorials for the October and November 1909 issues, on 'English Literature of To-day', Ford is in dialogue with Hobson's article: he inveighs against academic specialization in the writing of history in the first ('there is no particular attempt to awaken an historic sense, but enormous efforts to secure a meticulous knowledge of a small period are encouraged'), and in the second 'realism' is deployed as a term of approval for Ford's favoured artists: James and Conrad are, he writes, 'in the strictest sense, realists'.⁸⁹ But while the consistent terminology suggests Ford and Hobson share an aesthetic programme, their lists of admired writers reveal their opposition. For Hobson, it is Tolstoy, Zola, Ibsen, Shaw, and Eugène Brieux who stand for the 'early inroads of realism into fiction, poetry and

⁸⁶ Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, p. 8; H. N. Brailsford, *The Life-Work of J. A. Hobson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 11; Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 106.

⁸⁷ J. A. Hobson, 'The Task of Realism', *English Review*, 3.11 (October 1909), 543–54 (pp. 554, 547, 543, 548).

⁸⁸ Attridge, 'Liberalism and Modernism in the Edwardian Era', p. 175.

⁸⁹ [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day', *English Review*, 3.11 (October 1909), 481–94 (p. 484); E. R. [Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day, II', p. 662.

the drama' that the English resisted for a generation.⁹⁰ For Ford, it is precisely these writers (Shaw and Zola are mentioned in particular) that represent an inferior realism that sacrifices art to sociological argument.⁹¹ Therefore, while Hobson's article claims to contribute to the *English Review's* already-existing ideological programme, it actually, perhaps unintentionally, thoroughly undermines it, and it does this precisely by suggesting a continuity of opinion across the magazine. This is evident in how readily one reader of the *Review*, D. H. Lawrence, adopts Hobson's characterization, writing to Louie Burrows on 16 October that reading the *English Review* 'is the best possible way to get into touch with the new young school of realism'.⁹²

It is telling that Lawrence was able to interpret the *Review* as promoting a school with which he aligned himself, even though the literary values promoted by Ford were antithetical to his own. 'I have just finished Wells' *Tono-Bungay*—in the *English Review*', he wrote to Blanche Jennings in March 1909. 'You must, must read *Tono-Bungay*... It is the best novel Wells has written—it is the best novel I have read for—oh, how long?'. Conversely, eight months later, he asked Jennings, 'What do you think of Ford Madox Hueffer's "A Call"? I think it has more art than life'.⁹³ In contrast, Joseph Conrad found the *English Review* increasingly uncongenial, and after gout prevented him completing the eighth instalment of his reminiscences for the July 1909 issue, he made no more contributions under Ford's editorship. To Ford, Conrad wrote that his 'contributions were for a *person* not for an *editor*. The ER I hear is no longer your property, and there is I believe another circumstance which for purely personal reason[s] (exceptionally personal I mean) make[s] me unwilling to contribute anything more to the ER'. As Max Saunders relates, Conrad was distancing himself from Ford for a number of reasons during this period, including disapproval of his affair with Violet Hunt. But he had a particular reason for withdrawing from the *Review*: 'A Russian has got hold of the ER and I can not contribute any more', he wrote to John Galsworthy on 13 July.⁹⁴ Not surprisingly, it was this reason Ford chose to cite in *Return to Yesterday*, where he wrote that when the *Review* was 'sold to a company whose members were mostly Liberal in complexion and whose managing director was Russian... Marwood being a strong Tory and Conrad a Pole with a violent hatred for all Russians, they decided between them that Conrad's contribution should cease'.⁹⁵

Violet Hunt's friend, the Liberal MP Alfred Mond, bought the *English Review* in December 1909, encouraged by Ford, who had assumed he would regain control of the magazine from Soskis. But Mond immediately sacked Ford and

⁹⁰ Hobson, 'The Task of Realism', pp. 549–50.

⁹¹ E. R. [Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day, II', pp. 656–7, 666.

⁹² D. H. Lawrence, letter to Louie Burrows, 16 October 1909, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 139.

⁹³ D. H. Lawrence, letters to Blanche Jennings, 6 March 1909, 1 November 1909, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 119, 141.

⁹⁴ M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 268–74; Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 13 July 1909, letter to Edward Garnett, 19 July 1909, letter to Ford Madox Ford, 31 July 1909, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, IV: 254, 258, 264, 272. See also Jason Harding, 'The Right Accent: Conrad and the *English Review*', *Conradiana*, 41.2–3 (2009), 221–43.

⁹⁵ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 197.

installed Austin Harrison, the former editor of *The Observer*.⁹⁶ In 1912 Ford published a bitter novel about the demise of the *Review* and his marriage, using the Daniel Chaucer pseudonym he had invented for *The Simple Life Limited* the year before. Given his antagonism towards Soskis, it seems strange that he makes the patently autobiographical hero of *The New Humpty-Dumpty* Russian, with an anarchist and socialist history. As Saunders remarks, Sergius Mihailovitch Macdonald's 'anarchist background recalls Soskice', and his ancestor who claims to be king of Scotland 'shows that Ford was also thinking of Cunninghame Graham', as Shaw was eighteen years before, with his own Sergius in *Arms and the Man*. But neither Macdonald's nationality nor his political past is celebrated. He tells Lady Aldington, the Violet Hunt figure, 'I've been an anarchist in Tottenham Court Road; I have been a member of the Fabian Society in Putney, S. W., I was one of the Milhiukoff, exiled deputies of the Duma at Sveabord. Now I'm trying to save my soul—don't forget that I'm a countryman of the great and regretted Tolstoi—I am trying to save my soul by carrying flowers from the Grand Duke to Madame Sassonoff'. Macdonald's financial support of 'that London Russian anarchist club' and 'some Socialist society in the west end of London' is praised only because it has enabled the former to 'become capitalists' and brought about the dissolution of the latter when disagreements about which pamphlets to print resulted in mutual litigation.⁹⁷ Macdonald, in short, appears to be made Russian in order to give Ford the opportunity to disavow every value associated with the Russians he knew. The one Russian who is valued by the novel, if only surreptitiously, is Turgenev. Ford drew the book's motto (and its original title) from the Russian proverb, 'the heart of another is a dark forest', which appeared in Garnett's 1899 translation of Turgenev's 'The Duellist' ('Breter', 1847).⁹⁸

The *English Review* continued to publish Russian literature under Harrison's editorship, but without Ford's Russophobic framing that promoted 'imaginative literature' over so-called 'propaganda'. At the beginning of his career Harrison had worked for Reuters in St Petersburg for about a year and he had returned in 1905 to cover the aftermath of the revolution for *The Observer*. In his first year at the *Review* he published two short works by Tolstoy translated by Aylmer and Louise Maude, a short story by Chekhov (anonymously translated), and an essay on contemporary Russian fiction by Emile Dillon.⁹⁹ During the war years, he published

⁹⁶ M. Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford*, 1: 252, 293–4; Martha S. Vogeler, *Austin Harrison and the English Review* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008), pp. 61–5.

⁹⁷ Chaucer [Ford], *The New Humpty-Dumpty*, pp. 24, 36–7.

⁹⁸ Chaucer [Ford], *The New Humpty-Dumpty*, pp. iii, vi, 432, Ivan Turgenev, 'The Duellist', in *The Jew and Other Stories*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1899), pp. 170–251 (p. 243). The phrase appeared again in Garnett's 1934 translation of *A Month in the Country*: Ivan Turgenev, 'A Month in the Country', in *Three Plays*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Cassell, 1934), pp. 5–176 (p. 17). Ford appears to have first used the phrase in Ford Madox Hueffer, 'Literary Portraits, VIII [i.e. X]: Maxim Gorky', *The Tribune*, 2 (28 September 1907), p. 2, and used it again in 1911 in the dedication to his daughters in Hueffer [Ford], *Ancient Lights*, p. xi.

⁹⁹ Vogeler, *Austin Harrison and the English Review*, pp. 31, 40, 177; Leo Tolstoy, 'Singing in the Village', *English Review*, 4.16 (March 1910), 644–7; Leo Tolstoy, 'Traveller and Peasant' *English Review*, 5 (April 1910), 617–24; Anton Chekhov, 'Just for a Lark', *English Review*, 6 (November 1910), 625–8; E. J. Dillon, 'Nihilism in Contemporary Russian Literature', *English Review*, 6 (October 1910), 436–51.

further translations (of works by Chekhov, Gor'ky and Kuprin), commissioned and wrote book and theatre reviews with laudatory accounts of Sergey Dyagilev's ballets and operas, and analyses—initially sympathetic—of the Russian revolutions and their aftermath.¹⁰⁰ In need of money, Conrad returned to the *English Review's* pages with his novel about Russian revolutionaries, *Under Western Eyes*, serialized between December 1910 and October 1911. Superficially, its subject matter seemed consistent with the journal's literary and party politics. However, as the rest of this chapter will explore, *Under Western Eyes* was entirely the product of the journal's earlier era.

2.3 CONRAD AND THE ANTI-RUSSIAN NOVEL

'Some Reminiscences'—retitled *A Personal Record* for book publication in the United States in 1912—was commissioned by Ford for the *English Review*, and first described by Conrad as 'intimate personal autobiographical things under the general title (for book form perhaps) of the Life and the Art. They will tell in a measure my own story and as it were the story of my books—they will be concerned with Polish life and life at sea, intimate thought and sensations'. Conrad's premature curtailment of the series—he had envisioned writing almost twice as much for a first volume, with a second volume published 'by and by'—resulted in a memoir with more to say about his family (it drew on 'the 2 vols of my uncle's Memoirs which I have by me') than 'life and art'.¹⁰¹ But the literary values that Conrad shared with Ford, those of 'imaginative' or 'impressionist' literature, are articulated nevertheless. In the first paragraph, Conrad describes how he began the tenth chapter of *Almayer's Folly* working on a steamer stuck in the frozen Seine in the middle of Rouen. He thinks of the city's most famous literary son, the muse of impressionism: 'since saints are supposed to look benignantly on humble believers,

¹⁰⁰ Vogeler, *Austin Harrison and the English Review*, pp. 103, 232; Anton Tchekhov, 'The Darling', trans. by Constance Garnett, *English Review*, 20 (May 1915), 138–50; A. Kuprin, 'An Easter Party', trans. by John D'Auvergne, *English Review*, 22 (June 1916), 523–9; Maxim Gorki, 'My Childhood', trans. by Mrs. G. M. Foakes, *English Review*, 20–21 (June–Sept 1915), 269–87, 402–25, 25–50, 138–54; Maxim Gorki, 'The Eagle', trans. by Baroness Bila and W. J. Morrison, *English Review*, 23 (August 1916), 121–7; Maxim Gorki, 'In the World: An Autobiography', trans. by Mrs. G. M. Foakes, *English Review*, 24–25 (April–Aug 1917), 290–309, 386–402, 501–15, 103–24; 'Books', review of A. E. Johnson, *The Russian Ballet*, *English Review*, 16 (Dec 1913), 147; 'Books', review of Troy and Margaret West Kenney, *The Dance*, *English Review*, 17 (July 1914), 565; S. O. [Austin Harrison], 'The Russians at Drury Lane', *English Review*, 17 (July 1914), 561–64; 'Books', review of Rosa Newmarch, *The Russian Opera* and H. [i.e. M.] Montagu Nathan, *History of Russian Music*, *English Review*, 17 (July 1914), 567–9; Austin Harrison, 'A New World', *English Review*, 24 (June 1917), 550–60 (p. 553); Austin Harrison, '1918', *English Review*, 28 (Feb 1919), 177–87 (pp. 177–81); Hamilton Fyfe, 'The Problem of Russia', *English Review*, 28 (Feb 1919), 140–9.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Conrad, letters to J. B. Pinker, 18 September 1908, 25 November 1908, 21 January 1909, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 125, 153, 189, 138. See Jean M. Szczypien, 'A Personal Record and the Bobrowski Memoirs', *The Conradian*, 9.2 (1984), 81–9; and Zdzisław Najder, 'Joseph Conrad and Tadeusz Bobrowski', and 'A Personal Record', in *Conrad in Perspective: Essays on Art and Fidelity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 44–67 (pp. 59–64), pp. 102–9 (p. 107).

I indulge in the pleasant fancy that the shade of old Flaubert . . . might have hovered with amused interest over the decks'.¹⁰²

The Flaubertian muse is certainly apparent throughout 'Some Reminiscences' in Conrad's characterization of art, and his own art in particular, in terms of 'Fidelity'.¹⁰³ The first instalment concludes by justifying the reminiscences as 'not the whim of uneasy egotism' but rather 'an imaginative and exact rendering of authentic memories'. The combination of fidelity and the imagination is crucial to Conrad's conception of art as truth: 'Only in men's imagination does every truth find an effective and undeniable existence. Imagination, not invention, is the supreme master of art as of life'.¹⁰⁴ The fifth chapter, published in April 1909, presents a manifesto that develops the opposition between imagination and art on one side, and egotism, invention, and morality on the other. Our 'true task', Conrad argues, is 'the unwearied self-forgetful attention to every phase of the living universe reflected in our consciousness'. 'Self-forgetful' is an important word here, as Conrad means to 'keep these reminiscences from turning into confessions, a form of literary activity discredited by Jean Jacques Rousseau on account of the extreme thoroughness he brought to the work of justifying his own existence'. Rousseau, Conrad notes, 'was no novelist', 'he had no imagination, as the most casual perusal of "Emile" will prove'; he was 'an artless moralist'. While the novelist, the writer of 'imaginative prose' (such as Anatole France, 'the most eloquent and just of French prose-writers'), inevitably presents himself in his works, because his 'conscience, his deeper sense of things, lawful and unlawful, gives him his attitude before the world', the moralist 'has no conscience except the one he is at pains to produce for the use of others'.¹⁰⁵ Ford had made the same point in his first editorial, when he remarked that, in contrast to 'factual' or 'inventive' literature, 'imaginative literature', such as that by Flaubert or James, must always be 'the expression of his life as it is, not as he would like it to be'.¹⁰⁶

As well as articulating Conrad's and Ford's impressionist credo, 'Some Reminiscences' draws on the impressionist techniques developed by Conrad in his novels. The memoir genre precludes a formal frame narrator, but like Ford's *The Good Soldier*, Conrad's first person account of events in the past achieves a similar combination of distance and immediacy as that created by the two-tier narration in Conrad's (and James's) fiction. Like the frame narrator of *Heart of Darkness*, the fifty-year-old Conrad begins his story by describing a ship waiting to continue its voyage, from which the tale is taken over by the second narrator, the thirty-six-year-old Conrad writing *Almayer's Folly*, and these Conrads remember other Conrads—the five-year-old who accompanied his mother from exile to stay at her brother's estate near Kiev, the ten-year-old reader of Victor Hugo,

¹⁰² Joseph Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences, I', *English Review*, 1.1 (December 1908), 36–51 (p. 36).

¹⁰³ J. C. K. [Joseph Conrad], 'A Familiar Preface', in Joseph Conrad, *Some Reminiscences* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1912), pp. 8–23 (p. 20).

¹⁰⁴ Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences, I', p. 51.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences. Part II, I', *English Review*, 2.5 (April 1909), 59–69 (pp. 60–1, 62–3).

¹⁰⁶ [Ford], 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic I. Literature', pp. 159–60.

the fifteen-year-old travelling in Switzerland with his tutor, and so on. The reminiscences proceed by juxtaposing what Conrad refers to as 'formative impressions' that stand in for larger ideas. For example, the story of his great-uncle Mikołaj Bobrowski ('Nicholas B.'), a sub-lieutenant in Napoleon's Grande Armée, eating a Lithuanian dog 'symbolised, to my childish imagination, the whole horror of the retreat from Moscow and the immorality of a conqueror's ambition', and to the adult imagination, Poland's starvation 'on a diet of false hopes' of national independence. His violent antipathy but polite greeting to a visitor who interrupts him while writing *Nostromo* 'tells you more than a whole volume of confessions à la Jean Jacques Rousseau would do'.¹⁰⁷

'Some Reminiscences', then, precisely expresses the *English Review's* impressionist literary values. But it also shows that Conrad shared some of the views of the New Liberals of the Soskis group on foreign politics. In October 1908 Conrad had told his agent J. B. Pinker that 'Some Reminiscences' aimed 'to make Polish life enter English literature... To reveal a very particular state of society'.¹⁰⁸ In setting Napoleon's 'immoral' imperial ambitions against the struggle to restore Polish independence, Conrad echoes New Liberal anti-imperialism and support for nation states. Although his letters comment only rarely on politics, two remarks show him engaging with Liberal debates about the international situation. On 20 November 1908, Conrad wrote to Galsworthy that he had found Nevinson's *The New Spirit in India* (1908) 'most interesting. Nevinson is a dear'. Presumably commenting on Nevinson's view that the British administration risked stifling rather than guiding 'the new spirit which we call the unrest of India', Conrad remarked 'what is happening now there only shows that nations as well as men may find themselves in a bitterly false position. Of course I am aware that there are many people in this country who do not think that there is anything false about the position; but I imagine that Nevinson feels it deeply'.¹⁰⁹ Almost two years later, he wrote to Galsworthy criticizing the Liberal imperialists handling of the aftermath of the Bosnian annexation crisis: 'Grey bungled the Servian business in accordance with the best Liberal traditions. Morley is interesting—but A[squith] isn't'.¹¹⁰

In both cases, Conrad's remarks were driven by his particular hostility towards the Russian Empire. In *The New Spirit in India*, Nevinson had argued that 'when

¹⁰⁷ Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences, I', p. 51; Joseph Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences, III', *English Review*, 1.3 (February 1909), 432–46 (p. 432); Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences. Part II, I', p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Conrad, letter to J. B. Pinker, 7 October 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 138.

¹⁰⁹ Henry W. Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1908), p. 322; Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 20 November 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 151.

¹¹⁰ Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 5 August 1910, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 354. Coincidentally, Conrad mentions Nevinson again in this letter, noting that he has a story ('Sitting at a Play') in *Harper's Magazine*, where 'The Secret Sharer' was being serialized: 'Lord it is bad. The whole N° is so inept that I feel sick to see myself there'. The New Liberals in the *English Review* would have disagreed with Conrad about John Morley, whose administration as secretary of state for India they criticized: see J. A. Hobson, 'South Africa as an Imperial Asset', *English Review*, 3.10 (September 1909), 324–34 (p. 332). In *Return to Yesterday*, Ford wrote at some length of his dislike of Morley, on more personal grounds (pp. 98–102).

the very worst that can be said against our rule has been said, the substitution of Russia's rule for ours would be an incalculable disaster from which India might recover only after many generations, just as Poland, the Caucasus, and Persia may'.¹¹¹ Grey's handling of the Bosnian crisis was characterized by his unwillingness to displease Russia by pressurizing them to use their influence with Serbia, and the crisis strengthened the central powers.¹¹² The *Reminiscences* depict the brutality of the Russian autocracy in its treatment of Conrad's politically active parents and, by extension, the Polish people. The few months of his mother's leave from exile were 'the very happiest of my existence', Conrad writes, but 'over all this hung the oppressive shadow of the great Russian Empire—the shadow lowering with the darkness of a new-born national hatred fostered by the Moscow school of journalists against the Poles after the ill-omened rising of 1863'.¹¹³ Conrad had used this image of Russia as an overbearing shadow in his most substantial political essay, 'Autocracy and War', published during the Russo-Japanese War in the *Fortnightly Review* on 1 July 1905. It operates there as one of a cluster of images (ghosts, spectres, phantoms, shadows) by which Conrad argues that Russia's military power, now revealed as inferior to Japan's, has long been illusory. This, he writes, has been the 'real object-lesson of this war... The ghost of Russian might is laid. Only Europe, accustomed so long to the presence of that portent seems unable to comprehend that, as in the fables of our childhood, the twelve strokes of the hour have rung, the cock has crowed, the apparition has vanished—never to haunt again this world which has been used to gaze at it with vague dread and many misgivings'. Conrad cites Otto von Bismarck's legendary pronouncement, on returning from his assignment as Prussia's Ambassador to Russia, 'La Russie c'est le néant': Russia is nothingness.¹¹⁴

No explicit comment by Conrad on the Anglo-Russian Convention is extant, but other remarks suggest his opinion was less straightforward than one might expect. In 1885, the year before he took British nationality, Conrad had written positively of Britain entering into an 'anti-Russian alliance' with Germany.¹¹⁵ By the time of writing 'Autocracy and War', however, he perceived Germany as the main threat to peace in Europe, and he also criticized the modern political alliances based on industrial and commercial interests, without the glue of dynastic relationships to solidify them.¹¹⁶ In June 1907, a month and a half before the Convention was signed, Galsworthy sent him his anti-Convention story, 'The Alliance: An Allegory', recently published in *The Nation*. Conrad replied from Geneva on 17 June, 'I will look at the allegory to-night. Don't give up too much of your time to Massingham [editor of *The Nation*]. There are other ways to serve the nation. This

¹¹¹ Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India*, p. 320.

¹¹² D. W. Sweet, 'The Bosnian Crisis', in Hinsley, ed., *British Foreign Policy Under Sir Edward Grey*, pp. 178–92 (pp. 188–92).

¹¹³ Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences', I, p. 51.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Conrad, 'Autocracy and War', *Fortnightly Review*, NS 78.463 (1 July 1905), 1–21 (pp. 5, 8).

¹¹⁵ Joseph Conrad, letter to Spiridion Kliszczewski, 13 October 1885, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, I: 12.

¹¹⁶ Conrad, 'Autocracy and War', pp. 14, 21.

isn't advice. It's a sudden thought which occurred to me. A government—believe me—is either the expression of a people's character or an illustrated commentary on the same. Are we allied with Russia so much as that? I haven't seen a paper French or Engl^{sh} for the last 3 weeks'. In September, he referred to 'a thumping row' he had had with Galsworthy, but told him that, 'At bottom we want the same thing. It is a difference of policy but as neither of us two is likely to have charge of the foreign affairs very soon we may let our differences stand over till we meet'. The editors' footnote to this remark in the published letters reads, 'Differences over the future of Russia?', which seems plausible, if unsubstantiated.¹¹⁷ In September 1914, his unpublished 'Political Memorandum' argued for pro-Austrian, anti-German diplomacy 'in order to achieve a balance of power against Prussian influence in Europe', because 'in this particular respect, England cannot count on Russia, firstly because Russia will be defeated and secondly (and mainly!) because Prussia and Russia may, in the near future, be united'.¹¹⁸ It seems that Conrad, though certainly no friend of Russian autocracy, was less disturbed by the Convention than his friends because he did not see a fundamental distinction between the Russian people and their government, had little faith in the efficacy of political alliances, and because he was more concerned with preserving peace in Europe than with political change in Russia.

Despite sharing the New Liberals' antipathy towards tsarist Russia, Conrad was himself no Liberal, though Zdzisław Najder has cautioned against seeing Conrad as simply a political conservative, as the term is understood in Britain or the United States. Works such as *Nostromo*, *The Secret Agent*, *The Mirror of the Sea*, and 'Autocracy and War' show 'an awareness of widespread injustice and corruption, a strong disapproval of the status quo, and an acute consciousness of the need for fundamental social and political change', writes Najder; yet at the same time, Conrad was avowedly anti-democratic: 'democracy meant for him (like for a typical French conservative) a mechanistic government of the mob, with an inbuilt tendency to autocracy'. According to Najder, the contradictions of Conrad's political attitudes are the legacy of his Polish political heritage. 'It is a peculiar characteristic of nineteenth-century Polish political thought that its dominant trends are at the same time traditionalist and progressive', he writes. 'All Polish patriotic thinkers had to be traditionalist, or even conservative, because they wanted to restore their partitioned country... To accept the present as the basis for change would have meant to resign from the national dream, to renounce the dignity and the glories of the past. This conservative impulse was strengthened by a constant need to preserve the remnants of the old order in the form of the language, tradition and

¹¹⁷ John Galsworthy, 'The Alliance: An Allegory', *The Nation* (8 June 1907), 555–6; Joseph Conrad, letters to John Galsworthy, 17 June 1907, 15 September 1907, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1903–1907*, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 454, 474.

¹¹⁸ Joseph Conrad, 'Political Memorandum', in *Conrad's Polish Background: Letters to and from Polish Friends*, ed. by Zdzisław Najder, trans. by Halina Carroll (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 303–4 (p. 304).

customs'.¹¹⁹ Though Conrad was, he wrote to Ada Galsworthy, 'greatly moved' by the news of reforms in Russia following the 1905 revolution, and his parents, particularly his father, were leading members of the radical wing of Poland's national independence movement, he had no sympathy with the Russian revolutionaries and émigrés who were so close to his friends, the Garnetts. Their propaganda 'tends to weaken the national sentiment the preservation of which is my concern', he wrote in 1899.¹²⁰ In 'The Crime of Partition' (1915) and 'A Note on the Polish Problem' (1916) he insisted on Poland's 'national temperament', its existence as a 'spiritual entity', in contrast to the phantasmal nature of Russia he had outlined in 'Autocracy and War'.¹²¹ Indeed, he does not seem to have been able to conceive of friendship with Russians: 'Que signifie un salon Russo-Polonais?', he asked Marguerite Poradowska in December 1908. 'Les choses, les sentiments changent sans doute—mais moi je n'ai pas changé. Enfin. Tout de même c'est curieux'.¹²² In 1915 he refused an invitation to join the Polish War Relief Committee, telling Ignacy Paderewski, 'I cannot join a committee where I understand Russian names will appear', and he greeted neither of the Russian revolutions of 1917 with enthusiasm. In March 1917 he told Hugh Dent, 'I can't say I am delighted at the Russian revolution. The fate of Russia is of no interest whatever to me; but from the only point of view I am concerned—the efficiency of the Alliance—I don't think it will be of any advantage to us. Political trustworthiness was not born and matured in three days'.¹²³

Conrad's only other contribution to the *English Review* under Ford's editorship was the short novel 'The Nature of a Crime', his third and final collaboration with

¹¹⁹ Zdzisław Najder, 'Conrad and Rousseau: Concepts of Man and Society', in *Conrad in Perspective*, pp. 139–52 (pp. 150, 146, 151).

¹²⁰ Joseph Conrad, letter to Ada Galsworthy, 2 November 1905, *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, III: 294; Joseph Conrad, letter to R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 8 February 1899, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, II: 1898–1902, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 158. The whole letter is important: Conrad turns down Cunninghame Graham's invitation to join him on the platform of an anti-tsarist meeting organized by the Social Democratic Federation, saying 'I am not a peace man, nor a democrat (I don't know what the word means really) . . . When I was in Poland 5 years ago and managed to get in contact with the youth of the university in Warsaw I preached at them and abused them for their social democratic tendencies. L'idée démocratique est un très beau phantôme, and to run after it may be fine sport, but I confess I do not see what evils it is destined to remedy'. Also relevant is Edward Garnett's comment that 'my Nihilist friends, Stepniak and Volkhovsky, had always subtly decried the Poles when one sympathized with their position as "under dog"': see 'Introduction', in Edward Garnett, ed., *Letters from Conrad, 1895 to 1924* (London: Nonesuch Press, 1928), pp. v–xix (p. vi). On Conrad's parents, see Zdzisław Najder, 'Joseph Conrad's Parents', in *Conrad in Perspective*, pp. 18–43.

¹²¹ Joseph Conrad, 'The Crime of Partition', 'A Note on the Polish Problem', in *Notes on Life & Letters* (London: Dent, 1921), pp. 153–77 (pp. 171, 174), 179–87 (p. 180).

¹²² Joseph Conrad, letter to Marguerite Poradowska, 13 December 1908, *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, IV: 163–4: 'What does a Russian-Polish salon mean? Things, feelings change no doubt—but I have not changed. Well. Still, it's unusual.'

¹²³ Joseph Conrad, telegram to Ignacy Paderewski, 27 March 1915, in Zdzisław Najder, ed., *Conrad under Familial Eyes*, trans. by Halina Carroll-Najder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 227; Joseph Conrad, letter to Hugh R. Dent, 19 March 1917, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, VI: 1917–1919, ed. by Laurence Davies, Frederick R. Karl, and Owen Knowles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 46. See also the letters to J. B. Pinker, 31 March 1917, John Quinn, 6 May 1917, 6 February 1918, and Hugh Walpole, 18 May 1917, pp. 60, 86–7, 180–1, 92–3.

Ford, which was serialized during April and May 1909. While its plot (the gradual revelation of the situation and temperament of an unnamed male narrator) and its method (the whole novel is written in the form of a letter to the narrator's would-be lover) are consistent with the *Review's* impressionist principles, it is a slight work in which critics have seen less Conrad than Ford.¹²⁴ But during the period he was involved with the *English Review*, Conrad was also writing his major work of the period, Ford's favourite of his novels, *Under Western Eyes*.¹²⁵ It is in this novel that the connections made in the *English Review*, between the competing realist traditions of the novel, Russian politics, and impressionism, are worked out most fully.

Conrad had begun *Under Western Eyes* in December 1907, turning to it as a break from writing *Chance* (1913), and initially conceiving it as a story to be published in two instalments of 7,000 words each.¹²⁶ Although in January 1908 he thought it would be 'done in a few days', it was not completed until 11 May 1910, interrupted by illness and work on 'Some Reminiscences'.¹²⁷ It was serialized between December 1910 and October 1911 in the *English Review*, and published by Methuen on 5 October 1911. From the first, Conrad emphasized that the story's Russian context was not simply a backdrop from which to develop universal themes: 'I am trying to capture the very soul of things Russian', he wrote to John Galsworthy on 6 January 1908. 'Here is given the very essence of things Russian. Not the mere outward manners and customs but the Russian feeling and thought', he told his agent, J. B. Pinker, the following day.¹²⁸ Yet this is not to say that the novel is sympathetic to Russophile literary or political values. On the contrary, the Russian subject matter acts as a foil to the novel's advancement of impressionism.

Conrad had drawn on Russian material before. The protagonist of his abandoned novel 'The Sisters' (1895–6) is the son of Russian peasants, *Heart of Darkness* contains the unnamed Russian from Tambov Oblast, and *The Secret Agent* features the foreign embassy official Mr. Vladimir, whose name suggests he is Russian, though his nationality is not specified.¹²⁹ The presentation of the anarchist subject matter

¹²⁴ Ignatz von Aschendorf [Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford], 'The Nature of a Crime', *English Review*, 2.5, 2.6 (April, May 1909), 70–8, 279–301. For discussion of the collaboration, see Conrad's and Ford's prefaces to Joseph Conrad and F. M. Hueffer, *The Nature of a Crime* (London: Duckworth, 1924), pp. 5–13, and Robert Hampson's afterword in Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford, *The Nature of a Crime* (Hastings: ReScript Books, 2012), pp. 93–107.

¹²⁵ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 193.

¹²⁶ Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 6 January 1908, letter to J. B. Pinker, 2 January 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 9, 7.

¹²⁷ Joseph Conrad, letters to John Galsworthy, 6 January 1908, 17 May 1910, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 11, 328. See also David Leon Higdon, 'Complete but Uncorrected: The Typescript of Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', in David R. Smith ed., *Joseph Conrad's Under Western Eyes: Beginnings, Revisions, Final Forms* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1991), pp. 83–119; and 'The Texts: An Essay', in Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, ed. by Roger Osborne and Paul Eggert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 295–68 (pp. 295–315).

¹²⁸ Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 6 January 1908, letter to J. B. Pinker, 7 January 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 8, 14.

¹²⁹ Joseph Conrad, *The Sisters* (New York: Crosby Gaige, 1928), p. 24; Conrad, 'Heart of Darkness', p. 140; Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* (London: Methuen, 1907), p. 23. On Mr. Vladimir's nationality, see Richard Niland, *Conrad and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 131.

in *The Secret Agent* and the short stories of the same period, 'An Anarchist' (1906) and 'The Informer' (1906), suggests Conrad drew on the world of the Garnetts' Russian friends and acquaintances, as well as that of the Rossettis, his more direct source.¹³⁰ In his 'Author's Note' to *The Secret Agent* Conrad remarked that the subject 'came to me in the shape of a few words uttered by a friend in a casual conversation about anarchists or rather anarchist activities; how brought about I don't remember now'.¹³¹ That friend was Ford, and in *Joseph Conrad* (1924), Ford wrote that he had 'provided Conrad with Anarchist literature, with memoirs, with introductions to at least one Anarchist young lady who figures in the *Secret Agent*'—that is, Olive or Helen Rossetti, who figure not in *The Secret Agent*, but in 'The Informer'.¹³² Though it was a Frenchman, Martial Bourdin, whose explosives detonated near the Royal Observatory in Greenwich in 1894, providing the focal point of Conrad's novel, Ford's accounts of the event connect it to Soskis's former acquaintance, Evno Azef, and as Richard Niland has remarked, having Mr. Vladimir orchestrate the terrorism allows Conrad 'to highlight a malignant Russian influence'.¹³³ Norman Sherry plausibly suggests that Conrad 'may have derived the idea of Vladimir and the foreign embassy as providing the initial impetus for the bomb outrage' from an article by the anarchist David Nicoll, the author of one of the pamphlets Conrad used in his research. Three months after the explosion in Greenwich, Nicoll wrote, 'The Russian and other Continental despotisms are very anxious to lay hands on the refugees from their tyranny . . . A few dynamite explosions in England would suit the book of the Russian police splendidly, and might even result in terrifying the English bourgeoisie into handing over the refugees to the vengeance of the Russian Czar'. Following Sherry's research into Conrad's sources, it is generally accepted that his portrayals of Yundt and Michaelis drew in part on the ideas and reputations of Mikhail Bakunin and Petr Kropotkin.¹³⁴

Nevertheless, *The Secret Agent* is not explicitly about Russian anarchism or socialism. Eloise Knapp Hay rightly notes that, though 'Russian politics become part of Conrad's subject for the first time in a novel, . . . one is struck, indeed, by the very un-Russian character' of the work.¹³⁵ The embassy's nationality is conspicuously unnamed, and Mr. Vladimir's colleagues and predecessors carry names more

¹³⁰ Joseph Conrad, 'The Informer' and 'An Anarchist' in *A Set of Six* (London: Methuen, 1908), pp. 79–109, 145–73. The stories had previously been serialized in 1906 in *Harper's Magazine*: 'An Anarchist' in August (vol. 113, 326–486) and 'The Informer' in December (vol. 114, 2–170).

¹³¹ Joseph Conrad, 'Author's Note', in *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* (London: Heinemann, 1921), pp. ix–xviii (p. xii).

¹³² Ford Madox Ford, *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance* (London: Duckworth, 1924), p. 231. See Norman Sherry, *Conrad's Western World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 205–18.

¹³³ Ford, *Return to Yesterday*, p. 134; Ford, *Mightier Than the Sword*, p. 95; Ford, *A History of Our Own Times*, p. 84; Eloise Knapp Hay, *The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad: A Critical Study* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 224–5; Niland, *Conrad and History*, p. 131. For a productively sceptical view of Ford's contribution, see Michael Newton, 'Four Notes on *The Secret Agent*: Sir William Harcourt, Ford and Helen Rossetti, Bourdin's Relations, and a Warning Against Δ', in Allan H. Simmons and J. H. Stape, eds, *The Secret Agent: Centennial Essays* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 129–46.

¹³⁴ Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, pp. 244, 257–8, 269–73.

¹³⁵ Knapp Hay, *The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad*, p. 235.

German than Russian.¹³⁶ Nor were the models for the anarchists only Russian: the main model for Karl Yundt was clearly the German anarchist Johann Most; the agent provocateur, Adolf Verloc, describes himself as 'a natural-born British subject... But my father was French'; and anarchism in 'The Anarchist' and 'The Informer' is associated above all with French activists.¹³⁷ In historical fact, as Barbara Melchiori has pointed out, the bombing campaign in late nineteenth-century Britain was the work of neither anarchists nor socialists, French, German, or Russian, but rather the Fenian Brotherhood, fighting for Home Rule, as Conrad knew. In his 'Author's Note' he acknowledged having read *Sidelights on the Home Rule Movement* by Robert Anderson, the former Assistant Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, which recounted his career in secret intelligence as an expert on the Fenian movement, and Sherry has suggested that the portraits of Michaelis and the Professor draw on the Fenians Edward O'Meagher Condon and Michael Davitt, and Luke Dillon respectively.¹³⁸ Conrad was typical of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers Melchiori terms 'dynamite novelists' in transferring the bomb threat from the Fenians to 'rather vaguely defined anarchists or, occasionally, Nihilists and socialists'.¹³⁹ The same move was made by Henry James in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), G. K. Chesterton in *The Man who was Thursday* (1908), and Ford in *The Simple Life Limited* (1911).¹⁴⁰

Under Western Eyes also drew on what Conrad knew of the Russian revolutionaries in Britain and their associates. Kropotkin again provided a model for aspects of Peter Ivanovitch, Kravchinsky's portrayal of Sof'ya Perovskaya in *Underground Russia* appears to have been a source for the character of Sophia Antonovna, and Conrad used a number of details from Soskis's *English Review* article on Azef.¹⁴¹ Thomas Moser has argued that the relationship between Razumov and Natalia Haldin draws on that between Kravchinsky and Olive Garnett.¹⁴² But this novel's response to Russia is quite distinct from that of *The Secret Agent*, which, like James's, Chesterton's, and Ford's novels, participates in the essentially comic genre of the dynamite novel. *Under Western Eyes* is unique in Conrad's oeuvre for not only drawing on his knowledge of Russian literature and politics, but mounting a sustained and, entirely serious, argument about them.

The protagonist of *Under Western Eyes*, Razumov, whose name was the novel's working title, is not only Russian by nationality; we are told that, without family bar a natural father he cannot acknowledge, 'his closest parentage was defined in

¹³⁶ Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907), pp. 22, 26.

¹³⁷ Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, p. 254; Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907), p. 29.

¹³⁸ Conrad, 'Author's Note', in *The Secret Agent* (1921), pp. xiii–xiv; Robert Anderson, *Sidelights on the Home Rule Movement* (London: John Murray, 1906); Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, pp. 261–9, 283–5. See also Hampson, *Conrad's Secrets*, pp. 78–87.

¹³⁹ Barbara Arnett Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 8. See also Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, pp. 260–9.

¹⁴⁰ Henry James, *The Princess Casamassima* (London: Macmillan, 1886); G. K. Chesterton, *The Man Who Was Thursday: A Nightmare* (Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1908); Chaucer [Ford], *The Simple Life Limited*.

¹⁴¹ Carabine, 'Introduction', in Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (2013), pp. xxxviii–xl.

¹⁴² Moser, 'An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters', pp. 3–44.

the statement that he was a Russian. Whatever good he expected from life would be given to or withheld from his hopes by that connexion alone'. Yet in one respect, Razumov is seen by his fellow characters as profoundly un-Russian. The narrator, the teacher of languages, tells us that Russians have 'an extraordinary love of words. They gather them up; they cherish them, but they don't hoard them in their breasts; on the contrary, they are always ready to pour them out by the hour or by the night with an enthusiasm, a sweeping abundance'. But Razumov's distinguishing feature is his silent aloofness, a feature the student revolutionary Haldin describes as 'your frigid English manner'.¹⁴³

It is this supposedly English characteristic that drives much of the novel's plot, for this novel about revolution is also a novel about revelation, to return to Paul Peppis's play on those words. At an early stage of the novel's composition, Conrad had written to Galsworthy that 'The psychological developments leading to Razumov's betrayal of Haldin, to his confession of the fact to his wife and to the death of these people (brought about mainly by the resemblance of their child to the late Haldin) form the real subject of the story'.¹⁴⁴ These psychological developments take place beneath a taciturn exterior that is consistently misread by other characters, as they interpret for themselves their 'impression' of Razumov, to use the term insisted on by the teacher of languages, and repeated later by Peter Ivanovitch. For example, Haldin interprets Razumov's character as generous, solid and strong, and as in sympathy with revolutionary ideas, which is disproved both by the revulsion towards Haldin Razumov records in his diary, and his betrayal of Haldin to the authorities. When Natalia Haldin speaks her brother's name for the first time to Razumov, he recoils with horror, but she interprets his response as grief for a close friend: 'he is a man of deep feeling—it is impossible to doubt it. You should have seen his face . . . Their friendship must have been the very brotherhood of souls!'. Before meeting Razumov, the teacher of languages interprets the reticence described by Natalia Haldin as a sign of sincerity, in contrast with the verbosity of the 'heroic fugitive' Peter Ivanovitch, and after meeting him reads his stillness as 'the acquired habit of a revolutionist, of a conspirator everlastingly on his guard against self-betrayal in a world of secret spies'. Peter Ivanovitch himself, like Haldin, finds that 'this taciturnity, this severe brow . . . inspires hopes'.¹⁴⁵

The drama of the novel lies to a great extent in the prospect of Razumov's real identity and actions being revealed, either by the authorities, as having initially tried to assist Haldin, or by the revolutionaries as Haldin's betrayer, and also, as we learn in Part Four, as a police spy reporting on revolutionary activity in Western Europe. Thus, although Razumov's aloofness proves an effective shield, certain characters threaten to interpret him correctly. First, Councillor Mikulin, whom Razumov feels may be 'the only man in the world able to understand his conduct. To be understood appeared extremely fascinating'; second, Madame de S—, of

¹⁴³ Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (London: Methuen, 1911), pp. 8–9, 2, 14.

¹⁴⁴ Joseph Conrad, letter to John Galsworthy, 6 January 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, IV: 9.

¹⁴⁵ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 166, 168, 204, 13, 170, 123, 185, 205.

whom Peter Ivanovitch tells Razumov, 'Nothing can remain obscure before that—that—inspired, yes, inspired penetration, this true light of femininity'; and third, Sophia Antonovna, 'the very spirit of ruthless revolution', whose observation Razumov feels 'like a physical contact'. Perspicacity is the weapon Razumov most fears, but, as the teacher of languages observes, 'there is not much perspicacity in the world', and it is only by his own confession that Razumov's secrets are finally revealed.¹⁴⁶

The supposedly perceptive 'visionaries', in their misreadings of Razumov, offer a series of examples of what Razumov calls 'your true conspirator's blindness, of the stupid subtlety of people with one idea'. Razumov represents himself as a 'thinker' in contrast to these 'believers' whose 'Utopias inspire in the mass of mediocre minds a disgust of reality and a contempt for the secular logic of human development'. But thinkers and believers alike are subordinated in this tale to the view of the 'spectator', as the teacher of languages calls himself. He, like Razumov, represents the political world in theatrical metaphors, but whereas Razumov is an actor, playing a part on the stage, the teacher of languages, 'fated to be a spectator', has the opportunity to 'glimpse behind the scenes' at the private conversations and relationships that put the public events in motion.¹⁴⁷ These events occur not 'through' the western eyes of the teacher of languages, but 'under' them, and the teacher's lack of intervention and interpretation recalls Conrad's description in 'Some Reminiscences' of the 'true task' of living as the 'self-forgetful attention to every phase of the living universe'. Conrad repeated his commitment to truth in his 1920 'Author's Note' to *Under Western Eyes*: 'My greatest anxiety was in being able to strike and sustain the note of scrupulous impartiality. The obligation of absolute fairness was imposed on me historically and hereditarily, by the peculiar experience of race and family, in addition to my primary conviction that truth alone is the justification of any fiction which makes the least claim to the quality of art'.¹⁴⁸

It is not through choice that the teacher refrains from joining the other characters in the work of interpretation. He tells us that his lack of ability to perceive, to imagine, and to interpret are the consequence of his profession:

Words, as is well known, are the great foes of reality. I have been for many years a teacher of languages. It is an occupation which at length becomes fatal to whatever share of imagination, observation, and insight an ordinary person may be heir to. To a teacher of languages there comes a time when the world is but a place of many words and man appears a mere talking animal not much more wonderful than a parrot.

Like George Ponderevo in *Tono-Bungay*, the teacher of languages claims to be ignorant of the 'proprieties to be observed' in the 'conduct of an invented story', but to be 'aware of my limitations and strong in my purpose'. But unlike George, he knows that words are not an expression of 'reality'. Indeed, the novel's dialogue

¹⁴⁶ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 293, 210, 219, 248, 369.

¹⁴⁷ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 280, 87, 242, 93, 248, 334, 325.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences. Part II, I', p. 61; Joseph Conrad, 'Authors' Note', in *Under Western Eyes* (London: Heinemann, 1921), pp. ix–xiii (p. x).

draws attention to the way words can obscure communication of reality, either because conversations are between parties who are withholding information from each other, or more simply because they are inconclusive. Razumov's conversation with Haldin is replete with unfinished sentences, in which neither are able to express themselves, whereas Councillor Mikulin deploys abbreviated phrases more deliberately to unsettle Razumov. When Natalia Haldin argues that Russia will find 'some better form of national freedom' than the governments of the West, the teacher of languages tells her, 'I haven't understood—I won't say a single word; I've understood all the words . . . But what can be this era of disembodied concord you are looking forward to. Life is a thing of form. It has its plastic shape and a definite intellectual aspect'. The teacher of languages, like the impressionist writer, insists on definiteness; Natalia's words cannot communicate to him the abstract ideal she envisions.¹⁴⁹

In these ways, *Under Western Eyes* is as self-reflexive a text as 'The Jolly Corner', articulating Conrad's theory of fiction through its plot. It is impressionist in the specific sense used by Conrad and Ford in the value it places on perception and the concrete. Through the narrator, the novel presents the figure of the writer as spectator.¹⁵⁰

But *Under Western Eyes* not only explores the impressionist's awareness of the limitation of language: the teacher is not a teacher of language, but of languages, and his 'western eyes' are acutely aware of national difference. Conrad conceived his linguistic pessimism in terms of translation: 'To render a crucial point of feeling in terms of human speech is really an impossible task. Written words can only form a sort of translation', he wrote in 1920.¹⁵¹ *Under Western Eyes* literalizes this metaphor, presenting the teacher of languages as the English translator of Razumov's Russian diary, which forms the basis for the story he tells. He begins his address to the reader by asserting his linguistic ability: 'all I have brought to it is my knowledge of the Russian language, which is sufficient for what is attempted here'. But it turns out not to be sufficient. When he sees a letter from Haldin to his sister, he remarks that the 'handwriting seemed cabalistic, incomprehensible to the experience of Western Europe', and he conceives of the Russian character as presenting a similar kind of opacity: 'I confess I have no comprehension of the Russian character. The illogicality of their attitude, the arbitrariness of their conclusions, the frequency of the exceptional, should present no difficulty to a student of many grammars; but there must be something else in the way, some special human trait—one of those subtle differences that are beyond the ken of mere professors'.¹⁵² Translation—or at least, translation of Russian and Russians—appears to require that something more is 'brought to it' after all.

¹⁴⁹ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 1, 98, 53, 94–5, 104.

¹⁵⁰ Compare Conrad, 'The Nigger of the "Narcissus": A Tale of the Forecastle, VIII. Author's Note', p. 630; James, 'The Jolly Corner', p. 20; [Ford], 'On Impressionism', p. 172; [Ford], 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', p. 160.

¹⁵¹ Joseph Conrad, 'Author's Note', in *Within the Tides: Tales* (London: Heinemann, 1921), pp. vii–xii (p. xi).

¹⁵² Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 2, 131, 2.

If the narrator claims not to understand the Russian character, he is nevertheless clearly prepared to interpret it negatively. Above all, he associates it with abstraction and generality: 'That propensity of lifting every problem from the plane of the understandable by means of some sort of mystic expression, is very Russian', he remarks of Natalia Haldin. 'It is the peculiarity of Russian natures that, however strongly engaged in the drama of action, they are still turning their ear to the murmur of abstract ideas', he notes when describing Councillor Mikulin's conversation with Razumov. Even though Razumov appears to define himself against the revolutionaries' abstraction, condemning them to General T— as 'Fanatical lovers of liberty in general. Liberty with a capital L, Excellency. Liberty that means nothing precise. Liberty in whose name crimes are committed', his own credo also appears in an abstract formulation:

History not Theory.
Patriotism not Internationalism.
Evolution not Revolution.
Direction not Destruction.
Unity not Disruption.¹⁵³

To what extent does Conrad give authority to the narrator's Russophobia? To what extent, in other words, is this an anti-Russian novel, rather than a novel with an anti-Russian narrator? In his 'Author's Note', Conrad remarked that he 'had never been called before to a greater effort of detachment: detachment from all passions, prejudices, and even from personal memories', and his letters record how difficult he found the composition of this novel. On 31 March 1908 he wrote to Ford, 'I am stuck dead with R[azumov]. Inventions dead. And yet the imagination works dans le vide. It's a most cruel torture', and on 30 November he wrote to Galsworthy that 'the doing of the Ist part has been very difficult. What you see is the residue of very many pages now destroyed'. Completion of the unrevised manuscript was followed by a nervous breakdown four days later.¹⁵⁴ Yet Conrad appears, like his narrator, to have considered himself successful in his impartiality: '*Under Western Eyes* on its first appearance in England was a failure with the public, perhaps because of that very detachment', he wrote in 1920. 'I obtained my reward some six years later when I first heard that the book had found universal recognition in Russia and had been re-published there in many editions'.¹⁵⁵

It is hard to see how Conrad could consider *Under Western Eyes* a successful exercise in detachment, free from 'passions, prejudices, and . . . personal memories'. The novel is profoundly critical of tsarist autocracy, the revolutionary movement and, indeed, Russia and Russians more broadly. For all the teacher of language's apparent limitations—his 'priggishness' (Wollaeger), his 'blindness' (Knapp Hay)—the correspondences between his statements and Conrad's elsewhere assign him

¹⁵³ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 102, 290, 48, 63.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Conrad, letter to Ford Madox Ford, 31 March 1908, letter to John Galsworthy 30 November 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 69, 155, 321, note 1.

¹⁵⁵ Conrad, 'Authors' Note', in *Under Western Eyes* (1921), pp. x–xi.

considerable authority, in his aesthetic views and his views about Russia.¹⁵⁶ In particular, the teacher's strikingly idiosyncratic use of the word 'cynicism' suggests authorial identification, and is the clearest internal instance of Conrad's lack of detachment. At the beginning of section three of Part First, the narrator maintains that the 'key-word... that could stand at the back of all the words covering the pages' is 'cynicism': 'that is the mark of Russia autocracy and of Russian revolt. In its pride of numbers, in its strange pretensions of sanctity, and in the secret readiness to abase itself in suffering, the spirit of Russia is the spirit of cynicism'. As J. M. Kertzer has remarked, 'cynicism' seems the wrong word in this context: the Russians in the novel are idealistic, not cynical, and in fact it is the West that seems cynical, not Russia, as the narrator appears to recognize when he later contrasts Russian 'simplicity' with European 'sophistication': 'Russian simplicity often marches innocently on the edge of cynicism for some lofty purpose. But it is a vain enterprise for sophisticated Europe to try and understand these doings'. Yet Razumov concurs with the teacher of languages, also describing Russians as cynical, and even using it as a synonym for its usual opposite, sincerity: 'We are Russians, that is—children; that is—sincere; that is—cynical, if you like'.¹⁵⁷

The fact that both the teacher and Razumov use the term in the same, idiosyncratic sense, suggests that the word is Conrad's, rather than his characters'. Kertzer finds that cynicism became 'a specifically Russian attribute and a term of contempt' in the middle of Conrad's writing career. It is first linked with Russia in *A Secret Agent* (1907) and, after its important use in *Under Western Eyes*, appears again as a Russian attribute in 'Prince Roman' (1911) and 'Poland: The Crime of Partition' (1919). Surprisingly, Conrad did not use the term in his extended discussion of Russia in 'Autocracy and War' (1905), but as Kertzer discusses, he did deploy a metaphor that he connected to cynicism the following year. In 'Autocracy and War' Conrad calls Russia 'part Ghoul, part Djinn, part Old Man of the Sea', 'inhuman in its character', 'the negation of everything worth living for... a bottomless abyss that has swallowed up every hope of mercy, every aspiration towards personal dignity, towards freedom, towards knowledge'. In 'Initiation', one of the 'memories and impressions' Conrad collected in *The Mirror of the Sea* in 1906, Conrad describes the 'cynical indifference of the sea to the merits of human suffering and courage', comparing its lack of 'generosity' to 'the conscienceless temper of a savage autocrat'.¹⁵⁸

It is this idea of Russia as negation or abstraction that Conrad portrays in *Under Western Eyes*, and that he has his narrator describe using Conrad's own term 'cynicism'. Russian autocracy and revolution are for Conrad two sides of the same coin:

¹⁵⁶ Mark A. Wollaeger, *Joseph Conrad and the Fictions of Skepticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 170; Eloise Knapp Hay, 'Under Western Eyes And the Missing Center', in Smith, ed., *Joseph Conrad's Under Western Eyes*, pp. 121–55 (p. 131).

¹⁵⁷ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 65, 123, 204, J. M. Kertzer, '"The Bitterness of Our Wisdom": Cynicism, Skepticism and Joseph Conrad', *Novel*, 16.2 (Winter, 1983), 121–40 (p. 122).

¹⁵⁸ Kertzer, '"The Bitterness of Our Wisdom"', p. 123; Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent* (1907), pp. 27, 47, Joseph Conrad, 'Prince Roman', *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, 16 (1911), 201–26 (p. 203); Joseph Conrad, 'Poland: The Crime of Partition', *Fortnightly Review*, 29 (1919), 657–69 (pp. 657, 661); Conrad, 'Autocracy and War', pp. 8, 12; Joseph Conrad, *The Mirror and the Sea: Memories and Impressions* (London: Methuen, 1906), pp. 222, 215.

'The ferocity and imbecility of an autocratic rule rejecting all legality and in fact basing itself upon complete moral anarchism provokes the no less imbecile and atrocious answer of a purely Utopian revolutionism encompassing destruction by the first means to hand', he wrote in his 'Author's Note'.¹⁵⁹ Although, as many critics have discussed, Razumov's political creed of 'History not Theory./ Patriotism not Internationalism./ Evolution not Revolution./ Direction not Destruction./ Unity not Disruption' provides a potential location of value in a Russian character by asserting a positivism that corresponds to Conrad's own views in 'Autocracy and War', its own abstract formulation demonstrates how ineffective it is as a philosophy for achieving 'evolution' or 'unity' in Russia. The positive terms are not generated by experience or borne out by action, they exist only in this binary opposition, this linguistic construction. 'Western thought, when it crosses [Russia's] frontier, falls under the spell of her autocracy and becomes a noxious parody of itself', Conrad had commented in 'Autocracy and War'.¹⁶⁰

Neither can Razumov's confessions at the end of the novel be read positively. Michael Greaney has argued that rather than a 'triumphant exit from his prison of lies', as some readers have interpreted the confessions, they are a negative action in the context of Conrad's philosophy. Greaney cites Marlow's denunciation of confession in *Chance* (1913), 'Never confess! Never, never!... a confession of whatever sort is always untimely... What a sell these confessions are! What a horrible sell! You seek sympathy, and all you get is the most evanescent sense of relief'.¹⁶¹ One might also think here of Conrad's remark in 'Some Reminiscences' about the importance of keeping 'these reminiscences from turning into confessions, a form of literary activity discredited by Jean Jacques Rousseau on account of the extreme thoroughness he brought to the work of justifying his own existence'.¹⁶² Conrad's choice of Geneva as the setting for much of the action of *Under Western Eyes* makes use of the city's reputation not only as a centre for Russian revolutionary activity, but also as the birthplace of Rousseau. Indeed, Conrad has Razumov write his first report for Mikulin on L'Île Rousseau, 'where the exiled effigy of the author of the *Social Contract* sat enthroned above the bowed head of Razumov in the sombre immobility of bronze'. When Razumov confesses, then, he is 'justifying his own existence' in a way that Conrad despised, explaining himself through the abstraction of words, devalued by the loquacious revolutionaries. In 'Some Reminiscences', as we saw earlier, Rousseau's writing stands as the antithesis to the impressionist recording of actions and events, which 'tells you more than a whole volume of confessions à la Jean Jacques Rousseau would do'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Conrad, 'Authors' Note', *Under Western Eyes* (1921), p. xiii.

¹⁶⁰ See Keith Carabine, *The Life and the Art: A Study of Conrad's "Under Western Eyes"* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 122–5; Niland, *Conrad and History*, pp. 140–4; Conrad, 'Autocracy and War', pp. 10, 11.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Conrad, *Chance: A Tale in Two Parts* (London: Methuen, 1913), pp. 193–4; see Michael Greaney, *Conrad, Language and Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 162–63.

¹⁶² Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences. Part II, I', p. 62.

¹⁶³ Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (1911), pp. 286–7. On Conrad and Rousseau, see David Dwan, 'Modernism and Rousseau', *Textual Practice*, 27.4 (2013), 537–63 (pp. 553–7), and Najder, 'Conrad and Rousseau', in *Conrad in Perspective*, pp. 139–52; Conrad, 'Some Reminiscences. Part II, I', p. 66.

The impressionist style and Russophobic subject matter of *Under Western Eyes* are intimately connected. It is not only Russia, the political entity, that Conrad opposes to his political and literary values, but also the Russian novel. If Conrad has Rousseau presiding over Geneva, he has Dostoevsky presiding over St Petersburg in the first part of the novel—and like Rousseau, Dostoevsky is strongly associated with writing as confession.¹⁶⁴ Conrad's novel demonstrates a profound engagement with Dostoevsky's work at all levels, and although the publication of *Under Western Eyes* preceded the 'the cult of Dostoevsky', generated by Constance Garnett's translations for Heinemann (1912–20), correspondences with *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (*Crime and Punishment*), first translated into English in 1886, were noted even in the first reviews in October 1911.¹⁶⁵ The connections have been summed up by Keith Carabine, Peter Kaye, and Zdzisław Najder. Najder notes the following parallels between Razumov and Raskol'nikov:

both commit odious crimes; both produce rational justifications for their acts; both confess them to women they love; and both do it in a situation when the suicide of another possible culprit can dispel all suspicions concerning themselves. Both consider themselves intellectually superior to their environment. Before and after their acts both wander aimlessly around St Petersburg, and are afflicted by a strange illness. In both cases accident plays a role in pushing them to their crimes: in the case of Raskolnikov it is his meeting with Lizaveta; in that of Razumov, the drunkenness of Ziemianitch. Both find it difficult to control themselves at the slightest allusion to their acts; but both tend to play with fire.

Najder also notes that the area of St Petersburg of Razumov's encounter with Ziemianitch seems to be the same district where the Marmeladovs live in *Crime and Punishment*, that Raskol'nikov's mother goes mad like Mrs Haldin, and that there is a 'visible parallelism in the development of action: after the fast initial pace of events there follow long sequences of reflections, talks and rencontres; the second part of *Under Western Eyes* contains a high proportion of conversations recorded or reported more typical of Dostoevsky than of Conrad. And then come dramatic accelerations and rather hasty endings'. To these points, Carabine's summary adds that the interviews between Mikulin and Razumov draw on those between Raskol'nikov and Porfiry, that the novel's central sections 'function as a

¹⁶⁴ See Jeffrey Berman and Donna VanWagenen, 'Under Western Eyes: Conrad's Diary of a Writer?', *Conradiana*, 9 (1977), 269–74; Michael John DiSanto, *Under Conrad's Eyes: The Novel as Criticism* (Montreal and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), pp. 132–62; Andrew Long, 'The Secret Policeman's Couch: Informing, Confession, and Interpellation in Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', *Studies in the Novel*, 35.4 (2003), 490–509.

¹⁶⁵ Mirsky, *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain*, p. 107; Richard Curle, 'New Novels: Mr. Conrad's New Novel', *Manchester Guardian* (11 October 1911), p. 5; F. G. Bettany, 'The World of Books: "Under Western Eyes"', *Sunday Times and Sunday Special* (15 October 1911), p. 7; James Douglas, 'Books and Bookmen: "Under Western Eyes"', *The Star* (16 October 1911), p. 2. The only English translation available was Frederick Whishaw's, Fedor Dostoïeffsky, *Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel* (London: Vizetelly, 1886), which was republished by Dent in 1911 (Fedor Dostoïeffsky, *Crime and Punishment*, trans. by Frederick Whishaw (London: J. M. Dent, 1911), and also by Walter Scott, with Dent's pagination, the same year. As noted in the introduction, the French translation was also widespread in Britain: Th. Dostoïevsky, *Le Crime et le châtiment*, trans. by Victor Derély, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1884).

sustained reply to Dostoevsky's diagnosis of Raskolnikoff's predicament and of his vision of his own and Russia's future'. Peter Kaye, citing Jocelyn Baines and Eloise Knapp Hay, lists a number of verbal echoes, and also connects Conrad's Kostia and Tekla to Dostoevsky's Lebezyatnikov and Lizaveta Ivanovna, respectively.¹⁶⁶ *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* was not the only work of Dostoevsky's to inform *Under Western Eyes*: Jeffery Berman and Donna VanWagenen have demonstrated that in his portrayal of Peter Ivanovitch Conrad drew on *Journal d'un écrivain* (1904), the French translation of *Dnevnik pisatelya* (1873–81) (*A Writer's Diary*), and Paul Kirschner has argued that the influence of *Un Adolescent* (1902), the French translation of *Podrostok* (1875), 'if not as glaringly obvious, was as profound and pervasive as that of *Crime and Punishment*'.¹⁶⁷ Though Conrad drew on other sources too, including works by Henri-Frédéric Amiel (*Fragments d'un journal intime*, 1882), Anatole France (*Le Lys rouge* [*The Red Lily*], 1894) and Turgenev (*Dym* [*Smoke*] and *Rudin*), it is Dostoevsky's work that plays the most important role in the novel's argument. Michael John DiSanto calls *Under Western Eyes* 'a critical commentary on Dostoevsky manifested in the form of a novel'.¹⁶⁸

In 'Autocracy and War', Conrad had argued that Russia was a 'phantom', a 'figure out of a nightmare seated upon a monument of fear and oppression'. Though his main focus in that essay was the country's political weakness, Conrad also represented Russia as culturally and spiritually vacuous. The 'curse' of autocracy, he argued, 'had entered her very soul', 'gone into the blood, tainting every mental activity in its source by a half-mystical, insensate, fascinating assertion of purity and holiness'. Dostoevsky and his fellow Slavophiles were clearly in Conrad's mind here, since he continued, 'Some of the best intellects of Russia, after struggling in vain against the spell, ended by throwing themselves at the feet of that hopeless despotism as a giddy man leaps into an abyss. An attentive survey of Russia's literature, of her church, of her administration, and the cross-currents of her thought, must end in the verdict that the Russia of to-day has not the right to give her voice on a single question touching the future of humanity'. Panslavism, according to Conrad, 'drift[s] impotently like shapes of mist' in the 'abyss' of Russia, a dream that far from articulating Russia's national spirit, is a hallucination produced by the 'poison of slavery' that has 'drugged the national temperament into the apathy of a hopeless fatalism'. Conrad explicitly rejects his generation's admiration for Russian literature: 'A brand of hopeless moral and mental inferiority is set upon Russian achievements... As her boasted military force that, corrupt in its origin, has ever struck no other but faltering blows, so her soul, kept benumbed by her

¹⁶⁶ Zdzisław Najder, 'Conrad and Rousseau', in *Conrad in Perspective*, p. 129; Keith Carabine, 'Introduction', in Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* (2013), pp. xxvii–liii (p. xlvii); Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism*, pp. 146–7.

¹⁶⁷ Berman and VanWagenen, 'Under Western Eyes: Conrad's Diary of a Writer?', pp. 269–74; Paul Kirschner, 'The French Face of Dostoyevsky in Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*: Some Consequences for Criticism', *Conradiana*, 30.3 (1998), 163–82 (p. 163). See also Ralph E. Matlaw, 'Dostoevskii and Conrad's Political Novels', in Leatherbarrow, ed., *Dostoevskii in Britain*, pp. 229–48.

¹⁶⁸ DiSanto, *Under Conrad's Eyes*, p. 132. Ford described it similarly: 'Here... you have Conrad appearing in the rôle of a Dostoevsky who is also an artist': see Ford Madox Ford, 'Introduction', in Conrad, *The Sisters*, pp. 1–16 (p. 3).

temporal and spiritual master with the poison of tyranny and superstition, will find itself on awakening possessed of no language, a monstrous full-grown child having first to learn the ways of living and articulate speech'.¹⁶⁹ In this light, Conrad's stated aim in *Under Western Eyes*, to give 'the very essence of things Russian', is to demonstrate that there is no essence, that any apparent national spirit is based on a mirage, a fiction.¹⁷⁰ The Russian novel, according to Conrad, has been at best an unwitting product of, and at worst complicit in, autocracy's work, peddling an empty mysticism that leaves autocracy in place, rather than crafting a Flaubertian fidelity that cultivates a critical attitude. It too, therefore, must be exposed as fiction through and through, fiction in the most literal sense.

Conrad enacts this exposure through a parody of Dostoevsky's style. The parodic nature of Part First, the teacher of languages' 'translation' of Razumov's 'document' or journal of the events in St Petersburg, is immediately apparent to the reader on beginning Part Second, where one seems to emerge not only from St Petersburg into Geneva, but from a vividly ventriloquized Dostoevskian world into a recognizably Conradian or Fordian one. The 'translation' is so detailed and so vividly focalized through Razumov that it renders the plot device of the document entirely implausible. The break between the novel's parts is so stark—far starker than required by plot or characterization—that the reader is made aware that Conrad makes this break to draw attention to the difference between the two narrative styles. Eloise Knapp Hay argues that the break is a means of developing the character of the narrator, 'to dramatize *the old Englishman's* detachment from Razumov'.¹⁷¹ In part, perhaps, but the more striking effect is that the break detaches the reader from the world of the novel, placing her in a critical position (a 'critical attitude') from which to register the entirely illusory, entirely fictional nature of the Dostoevskian Part First.

The narrative structure, and in particular the device of the teacher of languages translating Razumov's document, received much attention in early reviews. It was almost universally viewed as the one flaw in an otherwise masterful novel. R. A. Scott James, in the *Daily News*, was representative in complaining that Conrad had

heaped his story together in curious confusion. He takes us backwards and forwards in time, hither and thither in space. So absorbed is he at every point in that portion of the picture he is painting that he forgets the whole. Not that the total scheme is lacking. He has evidently from the very beginning, had the facts and the general effect clear as daylight. But his engineering is faulty, the construction clumsy.¹⁷²

The reviews in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Athenaeum*, and *The Star*, to cite a few examples from many, called the narrative structure 'inartistic', 'reckless', and 'very

¹⁶⁹ Conrad, 'Autocracy and War', pp. 2, 6, 11, 12, 11, 14.

¹⁷⁰ Joseph Conrad, letter to J. B. Pinker, 7 January 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 8.

¹⁷¹ Knapp Hay, 'Under Western Eyes And the Missing Center', p. 130. Knapp Hay's italics.

¹⁷² R. A. Scott-James, 'A Book of the Day: Mr. Conrad Interprets', *Daily News* (13 October 1911), p. 3.

faulty', the latter pointing out that the narrator 'describes incidents which he has not seen and thoughts which he could not possibly divine'.¹⁷³ The unusually negative review in the *New Age* declared that 'Mr. Conrad's old skill has deserted him', and called the use of the translating narrator 'the clumsiest device', 'a preposterous invention'.¹⁷⁴ Almost the only dissenting opinion about this aspect of the novel was Edward Garnett's, in his anonymous review for *The Nation*. As one might expect, Garnett was able to appreciate how deliberate Conrad's structural decisions were.¹⁷⁵ 'The effect of his evasive, artistic method is artful in the extreme', he wrote, 'reminding us of those ingenious puzzles which fall suddenly into place with a click. It is only when we look back that we recognise what a perfect whole has been framed of these imperfect parts... In Parts I. and II. we see him skilfully arranging his chess board, in Part III. the drama of Razumov's "moral revolt" coalesces with a corrosively bitter etching of types of the revolutionary party'.¹⁷⁶

However, Garnett's response to *Under Western Eyes* elicited a notoriously angry letter from Conrad. In the admiring review, Garnett remarked that Conrad painted a 'merciless picture' that indicted both the revolutionaries and the representatives of autocracy, though it was saved from being 'vindictive art' by 'the admirable figure of Sophia Antonovna'.¹⁷⁷ In a letter to Conrad sent just before the review appeared, Garnett appears to have suggested more strongly that the novel was shaped by Conrad's hatred of Russia. Garnett's letter is lost, but its main points are clear from Conrad's reply. Conrad wrote,

There's just as much or as little *hatred* in this book as in the Outcast of the Island for instance. Subjects lay about for anybody to pick-up. I have picked up this one. And that's all there is to it. I don't expect you will believe me. You are so russianised my dear that you don't know the truth when you see it—unless it smells of cabbage-soup when it at once secures your profoundest respect. I suppose one must make allowances for your position of Russian Ambassador to the Republic of Letters. Official pronouncements ought to be taken with a grain of salt and that is how I shall take your article in the Nation which I hope to see to morrow evening when the carrier comes back from Ashford. But it is hard after lavishing a 'wealth of tenderness' on Tekla and Sophia, to be charged with the rather low trick of putting one's hate into a novel. If You seriously think that I have done that then my dear fellow let me tell you that you don't know

¹⁷³ 'Recent Fiction: Betrayal', *Pall Mall Gazette* (11 October 1911), p. 5, 'New Novels: *Under Western Eyes*', *The Athenaeum*, 4382 (21 October 1911), 483–4 (p. 484), Douglas, 'Books and Bookmen: "Under Western Eyes"', p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ 'Reviews: *Under Western Eyes*', *New Age*, 9.26 (26 October 1911), p. 615.

¹⁷⁵ Though in 1911 Conrad claimed that 'since *Lord Jim* (pub. in 1900) EG has not seen a single line of my work before publication. *Not a line! Not a scrap*', in July 1908, he had written to Pinker that Garnett was 'coming over this evening to have a look at the MS of Raz as the subject interests him greatly': see Joseph Conrad, letters to J. B. Pinker, 9 August 1911 and 28 July 1908 [?], in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 470, 97. Even if Garnett did not read the novel in manuscript, the editors of the Cambridge edition are surely right to say that he is likely to have discussed the novel with Conrad in the course of their several meetings during the period of its composition.

¹⁷⁶ [Edward Garnett], 'Mr. Conrad's New Novel', *The Nation* (21 October 1911), 140–2 (p. 142). See also David Leon Higdon, 'Edward Garnett's Copy of "Under Western Eyes"', *The Conradian*, 10.2 (1985), 139–43 for discussion of Garnett's annotations to his copy of the novel, several of which measure its success in relation to how authentically scenes and characters are 'Russian'.

¹⁷⁷ [E. Garnett], 'Mr. Conrad's New Novel', p. 142.

what the accent of hate is. Is it possible that You haven't seen that in this book I am concerned with nothing but ideas, to the exclusion of everything else, with no *arrière pensée* of any kind. Or are you like the Italians (and most women) incapable of conceiving that anybody ever should speak with perfect detachment, without some subtle hidden purpose, for the sake of what is said, with no desire of gratifying some personal spite—or vanity.

This section of the letter has often been discussed. Less often quoted is the next paragraph, in which Conrad repeats the point he had made in 'Autocracy and War':

As to discussing Russia it's the most chimeric of enterprises since it is there for anyone to look at. "La Russie c'est le néant" Prince Bismarck said in 1864—and forthwith proceeded to prove it by 20 years of the most contemptuous policy towards that "Great Power". C'est le néant. Anybody with eyes can see it.¹⁷⁸

Conrad's argument that his book is not an invective against Russia, because Russia is a nonentity, hardly rebuts Garnett's reading.

Conrad's anger was surely a response not only to Garnett's review, but to the many reviews that profoundly misread *Under Western Eyes*. Apart from criticizing the structure, almost all reviews were uniformly positive: they praised in particular the novel's characterization ('varied and masterly', 'people...palpitating with life'), and psychological insight ('painfully fascinating and exceptionally well recorded').¹⁷⁹ A few agreed with Conrad's own assessment of the novel's quality of detachment and cited the influence of Henry James, but most saw it as a profoundly Russian novel, 'a narrative of Russian life and the Russian point of view', 'most astonishingly Russian not only in its understanding but its outlook'.¹⁸⁰ Far from reading Part First as a parody of Dostoevsky, several reviewers found it the most affecting section of the book. *The Sketch* remarked that 'Part II., though perfectly sustained in interest, can scarcely be of the same dramatic quality' as the first part, and the *Saturday Review* suggested that, if the novel 'could have been completed on the plane of its remarkable first part, Mr. Conrad might have challenged comparison on their own soil with almost any of its writers. But when he leaves that soil, when he goes from St. Petersburg to Geneva, the poignancy and imagination of the earlier scenes lose much of their distinction'.¹⁸¹ Unsurprisingly, then, many reviewers praised the novel not for its critique of the Russian novel, but its participation in the Russian realist tradition. *The Athenaeum* thought it showed 'definite affinities with the great Russian novels', and the *Sunday Times* admired its resemblance to 'a

¹⁷⁸ Joseph Conrad, letter to Edward Garnett, 20 October 1911, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, iv: 488–9. Conrad's probable source, Julian Klaczko's *Deux Chanceliers: Le Prince Gortchakof et le Prince de Bismarck* (Paris: E. Plon, 1876), p. 137, gives the date of Bismarck's comment as 1862.

¹⁷⁹ 'Recent Fiction: Betrayal', p. 5, Scott-James, 'A Book of the Day: Mr. Conrad Interprets', p. 3, 'New Fiction: *Under Western Eyes*', *The Scotsman* (16 October 2011), p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Curle, 'New Novels: Mr. Conrad's New Novel', p. 5, 'Mr. Conrad Ashore', *Evening Standard and St. James's Gazette* (12 October 1911), p. 5; Scott-James, 'A Book of the Day: Mr. Conrad Interprets', p. 3; 'Reviews: *Under Western Eyes*', *Saturday Review* (14 October 1911), p. 495; 'Books for Bed and Fireside: A Russian Book', *T. P.'s Weekly*, 18.469 (3 November 1911), p. 566; 'Some Novels of the Season: *Under Western Eyes*', *The Outlook* (21 October 2011), p. 546.

¹⁸¹ 'Reviews: *Under Western Eyes*', *Saturday Review*, p. 495; 'Joseph Conrad's New Novel', *The Sketch* (25 October 1911), p. f.

Dostoevski romance—"Crime and Punishment," for instance—and the writer has the tendency that great author shows towards melodrama and also the bias which favours a study of the welter of emotions and thoughts of a criminal as contrasted with the mask of his external aspect'.¹⁸² The *Times Literary Supplement* reviewer was one of several who expected that, 'after reading this book, one will go back with the hope of a far more sensitive understanding and a deeper interest to Tolstoy or Turgenev or Dostoevsky'.¹⁸³ The most positive reviews, in fact, provided the most profound misreadings. In *The Star*, James Douglas compared *Under Western Eyes* 'with the great masterpieces of moral imagination, with "Hamlet," with "Macbeth," with Ibsen's plays, with the titanic novels of Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Dostoevsky', and gave his reasons in Russophile terms with which Conrad could hardly have agreed:

[Razumov's] tortured mind hovers on the confines of madness until it seems to be a microcosm of Russia herself and her inscrutable sorrow. It is the Russian temper that we see in the troubled sky of his conscience, and somehow it implies a contempt for our occidental gentility and self-satisfaction. It shatters the sense of moral superiority with which we are wont to look down on the Russian people. It makes us feel suddenly as if our catchwords were empty and our ideals stale. It fills us with the fear that we are not so intensely alive in the spiritual deeps of our nature as these Russians whom we despise. In a word it makes us doubt our Western civilisation and all its grandiose boasts, its material bravadoes, its tinsel self-conceits. It compels us to ask loudly the question which often haunts us—Is it possible that, after all, Western Europe is gaining the whole world and losing its own soul?'¹⁸⁴

Where Conrad wished to expose Russia's national and spiritual vacuity, Douglas finds instead an affirmation of the Russian soul and an exposure of the emptiness of the West.

In many cases, Conrad's nationality was cited as giving a particular authenticity to his portrayal of his Russian subject matter. Writing in *The Bookman*, Conrad's close friend Perceval Gibbon commented on Conrad's 'intense, penetrating, Slavonic imagination', and R. A. Scott James remarked that 'all admirers of Mr. Conrad know not only that he is a Pole by origin, but that all he has written is rather Slavonic than English. Many English writers have thought to gather the fruits of Russian literature, and incarnate a new thing in English dress. But Mr. Conrad, though he writes in English, has the blood of Eastern Europe in him... He is peculiarly fitted for the rôle of mediator between the Russian and the English minds, minds which seem to him very far apart'.¹⁸⁵ Edward Garnett had popularized the idea of Conrad as a Slavonic novelist in almost all his reviews of Conrad's work

¹⁸² 'New Novels: *Under Western Eyes*', p. 484; Bettany, 'The World of Books: "Under Western Eyes"', p. 7.

¹⁸³ [Harold Hannington Child], 'Fiction: *Under Western Eyes*', *Times Literary Supplement* (12 October 1911), p. 385. See also 'New Novels: "Under Western Eyes"', *Westminster Gazette* (14 October 1911), p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ Douglas, 'Books and Bookmen: "Under Western Eyes"', p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Perceval Gibbon, 'Two Masters', *The Bookman*, 41.242 (1911), 94–5 (p. 94); Scott-James, 'A Book of the Day: Mr. Conrad Interprets', p. 3.

since 1898, as Christopher GoGwilt and Helen Smith have discussed. In his first review of Conrad's work, Garnett had described Conrad's 'art' as seeming 'to spring naturally from the country that mingles some Eastern blood in the Slav's veins—the Ukraine', and in his review of *The Secret Agent* (1907) he had characterized Conrad as 'a willing hostage we have taken from the Slav lands', who 'by his astonishing mastery of our tongue... makes clear to his English audience those secrets of Slav thought and feeling which seem so strange and inaccessible in their native language'.¹⁸⁶ A few days after that review was published, Conrad wrote to him 'You remember always that I am a Slav (it's your *idée fixe*) but you seem to forget that I am a Pole'. In his review of *Under Western Eyes*, Garnett contented himself with noting that Conrad 'bears affinities and owes a debt' to Turgenev and Dostoevsky.¹⁸⁷

GoGwilt has pointed out that it was during the period of writing *Under Western Eyes* that Conrad increasingly insisted on distinguishing his Polish nationality from the Slavonic identity that was imputed to him. He had not made such a distinction earlier in his career: he told his cousin in January 1898 that he wanted a 'purely Slavonic name' for his first son, and in December 1899 remarked that he could not change his 'ultra-Slav nature'.¹⁸⁸ But the convergence of a combination of factors—personal, professional, and political—led him to strongly reject the idea that he was a Slavonic novelist. For example, in August 1908, Robert Lynd's notorious review of *A Set of Six* appeared in the *Daily News*, describing Conrad as 'a Pole, who writes English by choice, as it were, rather than by nature', which Lynd found 'a very regrettable thing, even from the point of view of English literature' because 'a writer who ceases to see the world coloured by his own language—for language gives colour to thoughts and things in a way that few people understand—is apt to lose the concentration and intensity of vision without which the greatest literature cannot be made'. Conrad, he concluded, was 'without either country or language'.¹⁸⁹ This arch-romantic conception of the relationship between nation and language elicited furious letters from Conrad to Galsworthy and Garnett, and Carabine and Najder suggest that this informed Conrad's resolution to 'make Polish life enter English literature' through 'Some Reminiscences'.¹⁹⁰ A further factor in Conrad's rejection of the 'Slavonic' label was the fact that his immersion in the Russophobic 'Polish life' of the reminiscences took place against the backdrop of growing British Russophilia, both political (in the form of the Anglo-Russian Convention), and literary (in the increasingly mainstream interest in Russian literature).

¹⁸⁶ Christopher GoGwilt, *The Invention of the West: Joseph Conrad and the Double-Mapping of Europe and Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 26–7; Smith, *The Uncommon Reader*, pp. 110–1, 213–16; see also Helen Smith, 'Opposing Orbits: Ford, Edward Garnett and the Battle for Conrad', in Skinner, ed., *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts*, pp. 79–93; [Edward Garnett], 'Reviews: The Novel of the Week', *The Nation*, 1.31 (28 September 1907), 1096.

¹⁸⁷ Joseph Conrad, letter to Edward Garnett, 8 October 1907, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, III: 492; [E. Garnett], 'Mr. Conrad's New Novel', p. 142.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Conrad, letters to Aniela Zagórska, 21 January 1898, 25 December 1899, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, II: 24, 230.

¹⁸⁹ Robert Lynd, 'A Book of the Day: Mr. Conrad', *Daily News* (10 August 1908), p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Carabine, *The Life and the Art*, pp. 33–5, Najder, 'A Personal Record', in *Conrad in Perspective*, pp. 102–3; Joseph Conrad, letter to J. B. Pinker, 7 October 1908, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, IV: 138.

Even while Conrad repudiated Russian culture and the Russian novel, he found British readers using his nationality to include his writing in a Russian tradition under the umbrella term 'Slavonic'. In his 'Author's Note' to the 1916 republication of 'Some Reminiscences' as *A Personal Record*, he wrote that 'Nothing is more foreign than what in the literary world is called Slavonism, to the Polish temperament with its tradition of self-government, its chivalrous view of moral restraints and an exaggerated respect for individual rights, not to mention the important fact that the whole Polish mentality, Western in complexion, had received its training from Italy and France and, historically, had always remained, even in religious matters, in sympathy with the most liberal currents of European thought'.¹⁹¹ Yet the same year Hugh Walpole, in his short critical study *Joseph Conrad* (1916), wrote that 'the great thing that Conrad has done for the English novel' is that 'he has brought the zest of creation back into it' through his knowledge of Russian literature. While Conrad had 'found in English fiction little that could assist him in this development; the Russian novelists were to supply him with his clue', wrote Walpole. 'The French novelists used life to perfect their art—the Russian novelists used art to liberate their passion for life', and the fact that Conrad had 'been influenced by Turgéniev a little and by Dostoievsky very considerably' meant that now 'we, in England, know once more what it is to feel in the novel, the power behind the novelist, to be ourselves in the grip of a force that is not afraid of romance nor ashamed of realism that cares for life as life and not as a means of proving the necessity for form, the danger of too many adjectives, the virtues of the divorce laws or the paradise of free love'.¹⁹² According to Walpole, Conrad not only writes in the tradition of the Russian realist novel, he has acted as a conduit for that tradition's influence on the British novel.

Walpole completed *Joseph Conrad* not 'in England' but in Russia, where he was working for the Red Cross and subsequently the British propaganda bureau, as discussed in chapter four. It was not until June 1918 that Conrad read it, by which time the two men had become friends (Walpole had returned in November 1917 and first met Conrad on 23 January 1918). In his comments to Walpole about the book, Conrad wrote that 'the only thing that grieves me and makes me dance with rage' is the 'absurd legend' that at the beginning of his career, he had had to decide whether to write in French or in English, and though he corrects Walpole on which of Flaubert's works had influenced him most profoundly, he is notably silent on the subject of Russian literature.¹⁹³ However, in 1924 Conrad wrote to Charles Chassé, who had published an article entitled 'L'aristocratie slave de Conrad' ('Conrad's Slavic aristocracy') in *Le Figaro's* literary supplement:

The critics detected in me a new note and as, just when I began to write, they had discovered the existence of Russian authors, they stuck that label on me under the name of Slavonism. What I venture to say is that it would have been more just to

¹⁹¹ Joseph Conrad, 'Author's Note', in *A Personal Record* (London: Dent, 1919), pp. v–xx (pp. xii–xiii). He made a very similar statement the same year in 'A Note on the Polish Problem', in *Notes on Life & Letters*, p. 181.

¹⁹² Hugh Walpole, *Joseph Conrad* (London: Nisbet, 1916), pp. 115, 112.

¹⁹³ Joseph Conrad, letter to J. B. Pinker, 20 January 1918, letter to Hugh Walpole, 7 June 1918, *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, vi: 174, 227–8.

charge me at most with 'Polonism'. Polish temperament, at any rate, is far removed from Byzantine and Asiatic associations. Poland has absorbed Western ideas, adopted Western culture, sympathized with Western ideals and tendencies as much as it was possible, across the great distances and in the special conditions of its national and political life, whose main task was the struggle for life against Asiatic despotism at its door.

So much for my heredity. As to formulative influences [*sic*], I must point out that I do not know the Russian language, that I know next to nothing of Russian imaginative literature, except the little I have been able to read in translations; that the formative forces acting on me, at the most plastic and impressionable age, were purely Western: that is French and English: and that, as far as I can remember, those forces found in me no resistance, no vague, deep-seated antagonism, either racial or temperamental.¹⁹⁴

Given Conrad's insistence on knowing 'next to nothing of Russian imaginative literature' and, he told Olive Garnett, 'extremely little of Russians', it is interesting that he justified his novel's 'truth' and his own 'detachment' in the 1920 'Author's Note' by reference to the Russian reception of *Under Western Eyes*. There, he remarked that the novel had been 'a failure with the public' in Britain 'perhaps because of' his 'detachment'. But, as we saw earlier, he continued by saying, 'I obtained my reward some six years later when I first heard that the book had found universal recognition in Russia and had been re-published there in many editions'.¹⁹⁵ Conrad overstates the facts. By 1920, one edition of *Under Western Eyes* had been published, in a translation by the journalist and writer Emiliya Pimenova, in 1912.¹⁹⁶ Though the reviews were not uncritical, they were generally positive, and the one Conrad is most likely to have seen, by Zinaida Vengerova, Constance Garnett's former host in St Petersburg, who had translated *The Secret Agent* in 1908, praised Conrad for writing 'the first serious novel on Russian revolutionary life in Western literature', and for providing analysis rather than judgement. Though Russian critics, like their British counterparts, commented on the influence of Dostoevsky, they read the novel as an emphatically Western response to the Russian political situation: whether they saw it as accurate or not, Conrad could at least have been satisfied that in Russia he was not regarded as a Russian writer.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Joseph Conrad, letter to Charles Chassé, 31 January 1924, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, VIII: 1923–1924, ed. by Laurence Davies and Gene M. Moore (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 290–1; C. C., 'L'aristocratie slave de Conrad', *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire* (29 December 1923), p. 3.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph Conrad, letter to Olivia Rayne Garnett, 20 October 1911, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, IV: 490; Conrad, 'Author's Note', in *Under Western Eyes* (1921), p. xi.

¹⁹⁶ Dżozef Konrad, *Na wzgłęd Zapada*, trans. by E. Pimenova (Moscow: Pol'za, 1912); Wiktor Borysow, *Joseph Conrad w Rosji: Recepcja twórczości Conrada w krytyce rosyjskiej*, trans. by Wiera Bienkowska (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1987), pp. 16, 17, 203 n. 29; E. E. Solov'eva, *Dżozef Konrad i Rosja* (Cherepovets: Izdatel'stvo ChGU, 2012), pp. 142, 219.

¹⁹⁷ Zin. Vengerova, 'Na wzgłęd Zapada' (review), *Rech*, 49 (20 February 1912), p. 2; see also 'Na wzgłęd Zapada: Angliiskii roman uz russkoi zhizni', *Byulleteni literatury i zhizni*, 13 (15 March 1912), 522–4; 'Novyya Knigi: Dżozef Konrad, *Na wzgłęd Zapada*' (review), *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 9 (1912), 211; L. N. Voitlovsky, 'Letuchie nabroski: Na wzgłęd Zapada, roman Dżozefa Konrada' (review), *Kievskaya mysl* (13 July 1912); Joseph Conrad, *Tainyi agent: Roman*, trans. by Z. V. [Zinaida Vengerova], *Vestnik Evropy*, 2–3 (April, May, June 1908), 716–53, 304–52, 704–72; Borysow, *Joseph Conrad w Rosji*, pp. 16–21; Ludmilla Voitkovska, 'A View from the East: The Russian Reception of

In *Under Western Eyes* we see the culmination of a series of contests over the development of the British modernist novel. Conrad conceived the novel as an inoculation against the influence of Russian literature on British literary culture, the popular interest in Slavophile ideas represented by Dostoevsky, and official political rapprochement with tsarist autocracy. At the same time, the resulting text was a manifesto for an alternative model for the British novel: the model of impressionism. The fact that the novel's arguments were so profoundly misinterpreted by friendly reviewers is testimony to the development Conrad had sought to forestall: the growing popularity of Russian literature and the dissemination of the values associated with it. During the next few years those values—in Walpole's terms, a view of art as a means to liberate a 'passion for life', as opposed to life as a means to 'perfect' the novelist's 'art'—continued to be debated by writers and critics theorizing the future of British fiction. Indeed, these values attained the peak of their popularity, as indeed Russian literature did too, during the most important political event for modernism's formation: the First World War.

Under Western Eyes, in Allan H. Simmons, J. H. Stape and Jeremy Hawthorn, eds, *Under Western Eyes: Centennial Essays* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), pp. 141–56 (pp. 140–1); D. M. Urnov, *Dzhozef Konrad* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), p. 81. Voitkovska notes, however, that when extracts from *Under Western Eyes* were published in *Literaturnaya Rossiya* in 1991—the first time the novel had been published in Russia since 1925—the anonymous introduction claimed Conrad as a Russian writer (p. 145).

Interchapter 2

‘The New Spirit’ in Theatre

In March 1913 Harold Hannyngton Child, drama critic of the *Observer* and ‘lieutenant... in dramatic criticism’ in the *Times Literary Supplement*, reviewed two new books about the theatre: Edward Gordon Craig’s *Towards a New Theatre*, and Huntly Carter’s *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*. He concluded by reflecting on the current hegemony of naturalism and realism in the British theatre, and the claims of the art theatre movement, of which Craig was a leading exponent:

In the modern ‘realistic’ theatre everything presses to a finish. Acts are built up to hasten to a ‘curtain,’ and plays to a climax. There is nothing worth lingering for by the way; because from the modern ‘realistic’ theatre the imagination has been banished. It belittles life, making it not more beautiful but less beautiful than it is; where the theatre of the future is to draw out by colour and line and movement and sound the beauty and the mystery of the greater life which gives significance to the little life that can be recounted in words.¹

With these words Child articulates the widespread sense that British theatre was undergoing a period of transition in the second decade of the twentieth century.² By 1913 the independent theatre movement’s challenge to the conservatism produced by the economics of the commercial theatre and the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain could lay claim to a number of achievements. New theatre societies had been established, the actor-manager system had competition from directors and ensemble acting, ‘advanced’ playwrights such as Ibsen, Strindberg, and Shaw had gained an audience, and the stage had contributed to political debate, especially about the role of women. But the movement had been less successful in stimulating home-grown innovation in the style of plays and their production. Indeed, as Mick Wallis writes, ‘at the heart of the “new” drama movement was in fact an anti-theatrical animus... The job of the stage was to deliver the dramatic text’.³

¹ [Harold Hannyngton Child], ‘The Needs of the Theatre’, review of Edward Gordon Craig, *Towards a New Theatre* and Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, *Times Literary Supplement* (20 March 1913), p. 120.

² S. C. Roberts, ‘Memoir’, in Harold Child, *Essays and Reflections*, ed. by S. C. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), pp. vii–xii (p. viii).

³ Dennis Kennedy, ‘British Theatre, 1894–1946: Art Entertainment, Audiences: An Introduction’, and Mick Wallis, ‘Social Commitment and Aesthetic Experiment, 1894–1946’, in Baz Kershaw, ed., *The Cambridge History of the British Theatre*, 111: *Since 1895* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–33, 167–91 (pp. 3–6, 12–16, 168–71, 174–6, 169). See also Ben Levitas, ‘The Theatre of Modernity’, in Vincent Sherry, ed., *The Cambridge History of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge

The remedy prescribed by both Craig's and Carter's books was foreign inspiration. In the first chapter of *Towards a New Theatre*, Craig wrote that 'one of the first things the English have to do is to get out of their heads a belief that the theatre exists in England only, and to remember that there is a theatre in France, a theatre in Germany, theatres in Russia, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and even in Switzerland and Finland'. Carter made the same point in the preface to *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*: 'we are faced by the fact that England can no longer be regarded as insular in the matter of ideas. Ideas know no boundaries, and those of the reform of the European theatre and drama are at our doors. This involves us in the necessity of opening our stage to what may be called European influences: influences which we have to employ for our own purposes in the erection of a truly national theatre'.⁴ This is not to say that British theatres had been immune to the influence of foreign ideas during the nineteenth century and indeed before, but the early twentieth-century interest in a much wider national range was unprecedented. As evidence of this interest, Allardyce Nicoll cites the 'Modern Plays' series issued by Duckworth from 1898, which included works by German, Norwegian, Belgian, Russian, and Swedish playwrights; the interest in Japanese Noh drama during the second decade of the century; and the critic E. F. Spence's comment in 1910 that the last few years had seen plays in 'Russian, Japanese, Bavarian *patois*, Dutch, German, French and Italian, to say nothing of East End performances in Hebrew and Yiddish'.⁵

The story of the impact of Russian theatre in Britain belongs primarily to later decades than are discussed in this book. Both Jonathan Pitches' and Claire Warden's recent studies of British engagement with Russian theatre demonstrate that it is only from the mid 1920s that British theatre practitioners—and audiences—became educated in the techniques of acting, design, and direction that had been developing in Russia since the beginning of the twentieth century. Figures such as Basil Dean, Cicely Hamilton, Herbert Marshall, André van Gyseghem, and Tom Thomas began visiting the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and 1930s.⁶ The director Fedor Komissarzhevsky (Theodore Komisarjevsky) arrived in Britain in 1919 and his productions of Gogol's *Revizor* (1836) (*The Government Inspector*) and Chekhov's *Dyadya Vanya* (1897) (*Uncle Vanya*) in 1920 and 1921, respectively, were well received, but it is his series of Chekhov productions at the Barnes Theatre in 1925 and 1926 that is usually cited as marking Chekhov's assimilation into

University Press, 2017), pp. 350–70 (pp. 350–2), and John Stokes, *Resistible Theatres: Enterprise and Experiment in the Late Nineteenth Century* (London: Paul Elek, 1972), pp. 115–80.

⁴ Edward Gordon Craig, *Towards a New Theatre: Forty Designs for Stage Scenes with Critical Notes by the Inventor* (London: J. M. Dent, 1913), p. 3; Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art* (London: Frank Palmer, 1912), p. v.

⁵ Allardyce Nicoll, *English Drama, 1900–1930: The Beginnings of the Modern Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 112–13, 117; E. F. S. [Edward Fordham Spence], *Our Stage and its Critics* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 1. See also Gunilla Anderman, *Europe on Stage* (London: Oberon Books, 2005), pp. 13–20, and James Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition, 1881–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 181–9 for a list of the Stage Society productions between 1899 and 1914, which included plays by many foreign playwrights.

⁶ Claire Warden, *Migrating Modernist Performance: British Theatrical Travels Through Russia* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

British culture.⁷ Knowledge of the Stanislavskian system of acting was disseminated in Konstantin Stanislavsky's autobiography, *My Life in Art*, published in 1924 (*Moya zhizn' v iskusstve*, 1926), and much more fully in the first of his three books on the subject, *An Actor Prepares* (*Raboty aktera nad soboi*, 1938), published in 1936. That year—the year Pitches highlights as a particularly 'busy year for the incorporation of Russian ideas into the British theatre tradition'—Mikhael (Michael) Chekhov, former member of the Moscow Art Theatre (*Moskovskii Khudozhestvennyi teatr*/MKhAT) and the late Anton's nephew, established his actor-training centre at Dartington Hall in Devon for two years (1936–38), and Joan Littlewood and Ewan MacColl formed Theatre Union, the precursor to their Theatre Workshop, based on their research into Russian theatre practice. The émigré Prague Group of the Moscow Art Theatre came to London in 1928 and 1931; it was not until 1958 that the main Moscow Art Theatre visited for the first time.⁸

Nevertheless, interest in Russian theatre developed earlier. Plays by Russian authors and adaptations of Russian novels began appearing on the British stage at the turn of the century. Their performance was pioneered by the independent theatre societies: as Stuart Young has shown, the Incorporated Stage Society, founded in 1899, staged more playwrights from Russia than from any other foreign country in its first decade. By 1913, it had put on works and adaptations of works by Chekhov, Dostoevsky, Gogol', Gor'ky, Tolstoy, and Turgenev. The Mermaid Society, the Adelphi Play Society, and the Literary Theatre Society also put on productions of works by Gor'ky, Chekhov, and Tolstoy during this period.⁹ But though these productions stimulated some imitations of Russian plays and themes, they did not import the innovations in acting and staging that had been taking place over the last fifteen years in Russia at the Moscow Art Theatre,

⁷ Stephen Le Fleming, 'Coping with the outlandish: the English response to Chekhov's plays, 1911–1926', and Robert Tracy, 'Komisarjevsky's 1926 *Three Sisters*', in Patrick Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 54–64, 65–77; Patrick Miles, *Chekhov on the British Stage, 1909–1987: An Essay in Cultural Exchange* (Cambridge: Sam & Sam, 1987), pp. 10–20. Komissarzhevsky's prompt book for *Three Sisters* in the Houghton Library at Harvard demonstrates the extent of Komissarzhevsky's revision of the text for his British audience, as Tracy discusses: see *Three Sisters* by Anton Chekhov, 1926: prompt book for the production at Barnes Theatre, London, item 254, Theodore Komisarjevsky Papers, 1912–1970: MS Thr 490, Houghton.

⁸ Jonathan Pitches, 'Introduction: The Mechanics of Tradition Making', in Jonathan Pitches, ed., *Russians in Britain: British Theatre and the Russian Tradition of Actor Training* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1–11 (p. 1). See particularly the chapters by Pitches (on Komissarzhevsky), Shirley (on Stanislavsky), Daboo (on Chekhov), and Skinner (on Meierkhol'd); Constantin Stanislavsky, *My Life in Art*, trans. by J. J. Robbins (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1924), Constantin Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, trans. by Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1936).

⁹ Young, 'Non-Chekhov Russian and Soviet Drama on the British Stage', pp. 89–91, 107–8. The Stage Society put on *The Lower Depths* (*Na dne*) by Gor'ky in 1903, *The Power of Darkness* (*Vlast' t'my*, written 1886) by Tolstoy in 1904, *The Inspector-General* (*Revizor*) by Gogol' in 1906, *The Bread of Others* (*Nakhlébnik*, written 1848, usually translated as *The Hanger-On*) by Turgenev in 1909, *The Cherry Orchard* (*Vishnevyy sad*, written 1904) by Chekhov in 1911, and Jacques Copeau's and Jean Croué's adaptation of Dostoevsky's novel *The Brothers Karamazov* (*Brat'ya Karamazovy*, 1880) in 1913. The Mermaid Society put on Gor'ky's *The Bezmenovs* (*Meshchane*, written 1901, usually translated as *The Philistines*) in 1906, the Adelphi Play Society put on Chekhov's *The Seagull* (*Chaika*) and Tolstoy's *The Cause of it All* (*Ot nei vse kachestva*, written 1910) in 1912, and also in 1912 the Literary Theatre Society put on Tolstoy's *The Man who was Dead* (*Zhivoi trup*, written 1900, usually translated as *The Living Corpse*).

and more recently at the theatres with which Vsevolod Meierkhol'd (Meyerhold) had collaborated.¹⁰

The history of Chekhov's reception demonstrates the resistance to new forms of acting and direction in Britain. Jan McDonald makes the point that a major reason for the delay in performing Chekhov's plays was that the independent theatre societies were closely linked to radical politics and social reform, and favoured plays with clearer social messages than they found in Chekhov. In 1908, a year before the first performance of a Chekhov play, and three years before Chekhov was first performed in London, the Russophile Maurice Baring underlined the difficulty of bringing Chekhov to the British stage, because 'what the English public has specially delighted in during the last fifteen years has been a sermon on the stage, with a dash of impropriety to it'. The plays by Ibsen and Shaw that had been central to the theatre societies' repertoires were all, he wrote, 'reacting or fighting against something... the stage was to them a kind of pulpit'—a point that could also be made about the choice of works by Gor'ky and Tolstoy. Therefore, with the notable exception of George Bernard Shaw, most of the individuals who had been at the forefront of theatrical innovation since the 1890s were uninterested in Chekhov's work and, apart from the first production of Chekhov in Britain—George Calderon's production of *The Seagull* (*Chaika*, written 1896) at the Glasgow Repertory Theatre in 1909—early performances of Chekhov's works suffered from their cast's training in the repertoire of naturalism.¹¹ They also suffered from the practical pressures under which theatre societies worked: actors drawn from other companies as available, few rehearsals, and usually only one or two performances. Calderon, whose production had benefited from his knowledge of the play in Russian and his research into its Russian performance, criticised the 'queer performance of *The Cherry Orchard*... given before the Stage Society' in 1911, and remarked that the 'The English method of acting is evidently ill-suited to Tchekhof's work'. Among British actors, 'a sportsmanlike code has been established to give everyone a fair chance', he wrote, so that 'as each actor open his mouth to speak, the rest fall petrified into an uncanny stillness'. But Chekhov's 'disjunctive manner is defeated of its purpose unless the whole company keep continuously alive; and each line is so unmistakably coloured with the characters of its speaker that there is no need for the rest to hold their breath and "point" that we

¹⁰ Laurence Senelick draws attention to Maurice Baring's *The Grey Stocking* (1911), influenced by *Dyadya Vanya* (1897) (*Uncle Vanya*), and his melodramatic *The Double Game* (1912): see Senelick, "For God, for Czar, for Fatherland": Russians on the British Stage from Napoleon to the Great War', pp. 33–4.

¹¹ Jan McDonald, 'Chekhov, naturalism and the drama of dissent: productions of Chekhov's plays in Britain before 1914', in Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, pp. 29–42 (pp. 29, 34); Maurice Baring, 'The Plays of Anton Tchekov', *New Quarterly*, 1.3 (October 1908), 405–29 (p. 408), rpt in Maurice Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 267; Patrick Miles, *George Calderon: Edwardian Genius* (Cambridge: Sam & Sam, 2018), pp. 295–301. For a recent reappraisal of the relationship between Chekhov's early British reception and naturalism, see Philip Ross Bullock, 'An antidote to Ibsen? British responses to Chekhov and the legacy of naturalism', in Geraldine Brodie and Emma Cole, eds, *Adapting Translation for the Stage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 56–68.

may know who utters it'.¹² The reviews of the Adelphi Play Society's production of *The Seagull* in April 1912 bear out his criticism. In the *Saturday Review*, John Palmer wrote that neither Gertrude Kingston, as Arkadina, nor Lidiya Yavorskaya, as Nina, 'seemed to realize that her individual part was important only in correlation with the rest. It is not possible to be angry with Miss Kingston, for the whole tradition of British acting, which she so admirably adorns, was against her in this particular venture. But there was no sort of excuse for Princess Bariatinsky [Yavorskaya] ... they succeeded in completely upsetting the balance and rhythm of the play'.¹³

Yavorskaya (also known as Yavorska) was a successful Russian actress who had brought her St Petersburg-based company to Britain in 1909, performing (in Russian) Alexandre Dumas *fil's* *La Dame aux Camélias* (1852) (*Camille*), Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* (1891), and the fifth act of Aleksandr Ostrovsky's *Vasilisa Melent'eva* (1867) at His Majesty's Theatre. She settled in London, produced the first Chekhov play on a London stage, *The Bear* (*Medved'*, 1888), in May 1911, and acted (in English) in a number of productions, including Gor'ky's *Lower Depths* (*Nadne*) at the Kingsway Theatre in 1911 and the adaptation of *Anna Karenina* at the Ambassadors Theatre in 1914.¹⁴ Her acting divided reviewers: *The Academy* and the *English Illustrated Magazine* generally admired her 'spirited' acting, 'provocative, tantalising, suddenly grave, suddenly laughing, always charming and skilful to seize to the full every opportunity', whereas *The Athenaeum* tended to be more critical, describing her Hedda Gabler as 'a tragedy queen ... who overemphasizes every second word, and tries to atone for slowness of delivery by violence of gesture and extravagances of emotion'.¹⁵ As Palmer's review of *The Seagull* notes, her flamboyant style of acting was particularly inappropriate for Chekhov's plays, and even *The Academy* reviewer noted that her 'awkward gesture and ruinous pronunciation' made the difficult task of portraying Nina worse.¹⁶

There were several attempts to bring the Moscow Art Theatre to London before the First World War, notably a five-year campaign by Herbert Beerbohm Tree between 1908 and 1913.¹⁷ Their failure meant that experience of Russian productions and techniques was restricted in Britain to reading about accounts produced by those who had seen them in Russia, or on tours to other European cities—but

¹² Calderon, 'Tchekhof', pp. 8, 10.

¹³ McDonald, 'Chekhov, naturalism and the drama of dissent', pp. 35–6; John Palmer, 'Tchekoff in London', *Saturday Review*, 114.2946 (13 April 1912), 453–4 (p. 454).

¹⁴ Young, 'Non-Chekhov Russian and Soviet Drama on the British Stage', pp. 93–5; Aleksey Bartoshevich, 'The "inevitability" of Chekhov: Anglo-Russian theatrical contacts in the 1910s', in Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, pp. 20–8 (p. 25), Edward Morgan, 'Lydia Yavorska', *Theatrephile*, 3.9 (1990), 3–7; Kate Sealey Rahman, *The British Reception of Russian Playwright Aleksandr Nikolaevich Ostrovsky (1823–1886): Russian Drama on the British Stage* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), pp. 90–8; Catherine A. Schuler, *Women in Russian Theatre: The Actress in the Silver Age* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 137–54.

¹⁵ Oscar Parker, 'The London Stage', *English Illustrated Magazine*, 99 (June 1911), 227–34 (p. 227); 'The Theatre: The Great Young Man at the Kingsway', *The Academy*, 2062 (11 November 1911), 606–7, 'The Week: Kingsway—Madame Yavorska in Hedda Gabler', *The Athenaeum*, 4362 (3 June 1911), 639.

¹⁶ 'The Adelphi Play Society', *The Academy and Literature*, 2084 (13 April 1912), 471.

¹⁷ Bartoshevich, 'The "inevitability" of Chekhov', in Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, pp. 22–4.

these were few. By 1914, one visitor wrote, 'the number of Englishmen who have entered the portals of the Art Theatre could be numbered on the two hands'.¹⁸ Baring had written about performances he attended at the Moscow Art Theatre while he was correspondent for the *Morning Post* in 1904 and 1906 to 1907, and these informed his discussion of Chekhov in his 1908 essay for the *New Quarterly*, cited above, which was reprinted in his influential *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (1910).¹⁹ Carter discussed his visits to the Art Theatre in 1911 in his *New Age* column and *The New Spirit in Drama and Art*.²⁰ An article giving 'historical facts connected with the birth and life of our enterprise' and 'a rough outline of the artistic principles' by the Art Theatre's secretary, Mikhail Lykiardopulo (Michael Lykiardopulos), appeared in the *New Statesman's* supplement on modern theatre in June 1914.²¹ Though Calderon did not have first-hand experience of the Moscow Art Theatre (he lived in Russia from 1895 to 1897; the Art Theatre was founded in 1898), he was able to draw on his knowledge of Russian sources about it in the introduction to his translation and publication of *The Seagull* and *The Cherry Orchard*—the first of Chekhov's plays published in English—in 1912.²² The message that was tirelessly communicated to British readers was that the Moscow Art Theatre's productions of Chekhov focused on the creation of a distinctive atmosphere or mood. Baring remarks that Chekhov 'has managed to send over the footlights certain feelings, moods, and sensations, which we experience constantly, and out of which our life is built'.²³ Calderon comments that 'many things are said and done which have no bearing on the action, but are directed only to creating the atmosphere'.²⁴ When Kropotkin reviewed Calderon's translations in *The Athenaeum* in 1912, he noted that the success of Chekhov's plays required that 'the staging and the method of acting must be quite different from what they usually are', and summarized the Art Theatre's 'main idea' as 'to draw the audience into "the atmosphere of the play"—to make it enter into the surroundings of the poor "seagull's" drama, to make it feel the author's mood—Tchekhof's *Stimmung*—while he wrote the play'.²⁵ A more substantial account of the Moscow Art Theatre was published in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1914. Writing under the pseudonym

¹⁸ Jean d'Auvergne [Robert Bruce Lockhart], 'The Moscow Art Theatre', *Fortnightly Review*, 95.569 (1914), 794–803 (p. 803).

¹⁹ Maurice Baring, *A Year in Russia* (London: Methuen, 1907), pp. 29–30; Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature*, p. 272. See also Maurice Baring, *The Puppet Show of Memory* (London: Heinemann, 1922), pp. 265–8, 323–4; Ethel Smyth, *Maurice Baring* (London: Heinemann, 1938), pp. 25–37; Emma Letley, *Maurice Baring: A Citizen of Europe* (London: Constable, 1991), pp. 90–1, 106.

²⁰ Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: The Moscow Experimental Theatre', *New Age*, ns 9.24 (12 October 1911), 570–2; Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, pp. 197–208.

²¹ M. Lykiardopulos, 'The Moscow Art Theatre', Special Supplement on the Modern Theatre, *New Statesman*, 3.64 (27 June 1914), 9–11 (p. 9).

²² Miles, *George Calderon*, pp. 95, 297, 300; George Calderon, 'Tchekhof', in *Two Plays by Tchekhof: The Seagull and The Cherry Orchard*, trans. by George Calderon (London: Grant Richards, 1912), pp. 7–22 (pp. 10–11). See also Calderon's important survey of Russian playwrights: George Calderon, 'The Russian Stage', *Quarterly Review*, 217.432 (July 1912), 21–42.

²³ Baring, 'The Plays of Anton Tchekov', p. 411, rpt in Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature*, p. 272.

²⁴ Calderon, 'Tchekhof', in *Two Plays by Tchekhof*, p. 9.

²⁵ P. Kropotkin, 'Drama: *Two Plays by Tchekhof: The Seagull; The Cherry Orchard*' (review), *Athenaeum*, 4400 (24 February 1912), 234–5.

'Jean d'Auvergne', the British Vice-Consul in Moscow, Robert Bruce Lockhart, lamented the fact that, despite Britain's contemporary interest in Russian art and literature, almost nothing was known about the Russian theatre. In an interesting parallel with the debates about the novel discussed in chapter two, Lockhart emphasized that 'the modern Russian theatre has not been in any way influenced or enslaved by the French traditions which reign over the stage of Western Europe', and that 'the Moscow school of acting is diametrically opposed to all the French ideas of dramatic art'—Baring had drawn the same comparison. Lockhart's article described the Art Theatre's history, the reception of its repertoire ('a first-night at the Art Theatre is to the people of Moscow at least as important an event as the Derby or a Test-match is to English people'), and outlined how its financial organization could be imitated in Britain. Little knowing that the outbreak of war would make travel to Russia impossible in just two months' time, he encouraged Britain's theatre practitioners to visit: 'The journey to Moscow is no longer, if indeed it ever was, attended by the risks and dangers which the popular novelist has tried to ascribe to it. Mr. Lykiardopulos, the Secretary of the Theatre, speaks English so well as to be almost indistinguishable from an Englishman, and the management is hospitality itself'.²⁶ As Lockhart noted, one director who had made the journey was Harley Granville Barker, who had visited Moscow in February 1914. He had seen *Vishnevyi sad* (*The Cherry Orchard*), Turgenev's *Provintsialka* (*A Provincial Lady*, written 1850), and Dostoevsky's *Brat'ya Karamazovy* (*The Brothers Karamazov*) at the Art Theatre, and discussed producing the latter in London—with Vasily Luzhsky, a member of the Art Theatre company, staging the crowd scenes. He commissioned copies of the models and sketches of the sets, props, and costumes, and the theatre provided him with a text of novel's adaptation and the mise-en-scène. But the war prevented the collaboration.²⁷

The theatre practitioner who would seem to have been best placed to discuss the innovations of Russian theatre was Edward Gordon Craig. The only British director to collaborate with a Russian theatre in this period, Craig worked with the Moscow Art Theatre on their 1912 production of *Hamlet*, as Laurence Senelick has discussed. Craig's former lover, Isadora Duncan, had recommended Craig to Stanislavsky, one of the theatre's two directors, during her 1908 Russian tour.²⁸ He was initially invited to work with the Art Theatre on an annual basis, advising on two productions during his first season with them, and *Hamlet* was suggested by Craig at an early stage of the correspondence, though a number of other plays were proposed. He arrived in Moscow for his first visit on 26 October 1908, and was to visit four more times in the next four years, working there with the Art Theatre for a total of five months. The idea of a second production was soon dropped, Craig's

²⁶ d'Auvergne [Lockhart], 'The Moscow Art Theatre', pp. 793, 801, 803.

²⁷ Bartoshevich, 'The "inevitability" of Chekhov', in Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, p. 24.

²⁸ Stanislavsky, *My Life in Art*, p. 507; Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), pp. 166–9, Peter Kurth, *Isadora: A Sensational Life* (New York: Little, Brown, 2002), pp. 222, 231. Craig had accompanied Duncan on her 1905 Russian tour, but she did not meet Stanislavsky until 1908 (see Kurth, pp. 173–6): Stanislavsky and Duncan conflate aspects of the two tours in their biographies.

status changed from advisor to producer, and *Hamlet* was finally presented on 5 January 1912, with Craig and Stanislavsky credited jointly as producers, and Craig and Nikolay Sapunov credited as the designers.²⁹ The production remained in the theatre's repertory for three seasons, with the final of its forty-five performances given on 11 March 1914. In Britain, knowledge of the collaboration was conveyed through Craig's own updates in his journal *The Mask*, and a handful of reviews and comments in the national press. Craig also organized what *The Times* praised as an 'exhilarating exhibition' of his designs and models that included some of his work for *Hamlet* at the Leicester Galleries in September 1912, which subsequently travelled to Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin, and Leeds (Fig. 8).³⁰

Craig's collaboration with the Moscow Art Theatre had the potential to be a conduit for Russian influence on the British stage. However, it failed to have such an effect, for several reasons. First, it was far from a triumph. Though the Art Theatre liked many of Craig's ideas, he was slow to provide sketches, some plans were impractical, and the lack of detail in the designs, particularly for the costumes, necessitated hiring additional designers. The movable screens he created—the major innovation of the scenery—famously collapsed and had to be patched up and weighted in place an hour before the performance.³¹ The Russian reception was mixed at best, ranging from ridicule of Craig's designs and the protracted time the theatre spent on the project to qualified admiration for the imagination of the production and Vasily Kachalov's interpretation of the role of Hamlet. Nevertheless, Craig's reputation benefited from the collaboration: 'the production consolidated Craig's reputation, disseminated his ideas, and revolutionized the staging of Shakespeare in this century', Senelick writes. In Russia, the St Petersburg journal *Teatr i iskusstvo* (*Theatre and Art*) printed several articles about *Hamlet*, and published a translation of Craig's 'The Actor and the Über-marionette', accompanied by his drawings. A production of *Faust* at Teatr Nezlobina (Nezlobin's Theatre) in Moscow 'had several sets that reflected a Craigan influence', and Meierkhol'd adapted Craig's approach for the design of Arthur Wing Pinero's *Mid-Channel* at the Aleksandrinsky Teatr (Alexandrinsky Theatre). Because the production itself

²⁹ Craig's day-books 1–3 in his archive at the Harry Ransom Center contain substantial material on the Moscow *Hamlet*: thoughts, clippings, drawings, and quotations: see containers 2.1–2.3, Edward Gordon Craig Collection, HRC.

³⁰ Laurence Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet: A Reconstruction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), pp. 12–15, 18, 154, 182, 184; [Edward Gordon Craig], 'Florence', *The Mask*, 1.6 (August 1908), 127; [Edward Gordon Craig], 'Moscow', *The Mask*, 1.10 (December 1908), 202; [Edward Gordon Craig], 'Florence', *The Mask*, 1.11 (January 1909), 222–3; John Semar [Edward Gordon Craig], 'The Return of Gordon Craig to England', *The Mask*, 4.2 (October 1911), 81–96; 'Hamlet' in Moscow: Mr. Gordon Craig's New Production', *The Observer* (31 December 1911), 12; 'Mr. Craig's "Hamlet": Success of the Moscow Production', *The Observer* (14 January 1912), 6; 'Mr Craig's Designs for "Hamlet": Exhibition at the Leicester Galleries', *The Times* (10 September 1912), 56; *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings and Models for "Hamlet" and Other Plays by Edward Gordon Craig* (London: Ernest Brown & Phillips, 1912). Craig had also held an exhibition at the Leicester Galleries the previous September, but it did not include his designs for *Hamlet*: see *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Some Drawings and Models for "Macbeth" and Other Plays* (London: Ernest Brown & Phillips, 1911) and 'Mr. Gordon Craig's Designs: Art in Stage Scenery', *The Times* (7 September 1911), 7.

³¹ Christopher Innes, *Edward Gordon Craig* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 165–72.

PLAYS that MAKE YOU LAUGH and THINK

MR. GORDON CRAIG'S IDEAS ABOUT "HAMLET"



MISS YVONNE ARNAUD
who has played in "The Girl
in the Taxi" at the Lyric.

Of the six plays produced last week the biggest popular success has been secured by "The Girl in the Taxi," at the Lyric. Adapted from a German work by Mr. Frederick Fenn and Mr. Arthur Wimperis, it tells the old story familiar to us in many plays, like "The Magistrate" and "A Night Out," of the respectable people who go out to a fastish restaurant and encounter one another; but it tells it in a very tuneful musical setting by Jean Gilbert, with waltzes and catches that are already all over the town. And then the acting! Nothing funnier has been seen for years than Mr. Arthur Playfair's Baron Daumray, the lively father of a milkshop son (very cleverly played by Mr. Robert Averil), and nobody could equal Mr. Volpe as the head waiter of the restaurant (with a Napoleon curl), who becomes butler to the very people who have been gambling at his table! A delightful surprise is afforded by a young French girl, Miss Yvonne Arnaud; as a flirt.

Next door, at the Apollo, "The Grass Widows" serves to introduce the composer of "The Belle of New York" again to us. The scene of it is a Russian ballet school, and the chief fun is supplied by Mr. Alfred Lester and Miss Dorothy Minto, as Margate-Cockney sweethearts. At present the most taking feature of it is the singing of Miss Constance Dwyer, as one of the grass widows. Her song, "My Man," given with immense gusto, captured Saturday's audience.

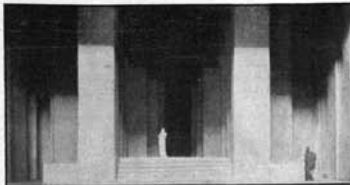
Miss Marie Tempest has also scored a hit, for it is she far more than Mr. Chaplin's play, "Art and Opportunity," that will draw London to the Prince of Wales's. Once again we see her as a young widow, tricky, timid, tearful, an adventuress with a tender heart; wooed by a rich peer's son, but wooing a penniless young man who starts out by disliking and checking her. Nobody can play this sort of part like Miss Tempest, with her shrugs, and nods, her little black eyes sparkling perpetual challenge.

In this round of entertainment there is enough and to spare to make one laugh. But only one of the new ventures will make you think deeply: that is "The Voyage Inheritance," as revived at the Kingsway. If Mr. Granville Barker had done nothing but write this wonderful study he would have made his mark. J. M. B.

What is the object of stage scenery? To that question the collection of drawings, designs and cardboard models of the stage scenes in "Hamlet," as Mr. Gordon Craig produced the play in Moscow, supplies a partial answer. The whole collection is now on view at the Leicester Galleries, and even when Mr. Gordon Craig is not there to explain it, he is represented by a catalogue which, in the whimsicality and point of its comments, reminds one of the efforts of an earlier Butterfly—the painter who devised the Gentle Art of Making Enemies. Besides, there are the models and the drawings, which speak for themselves. Let us

They will serve equally well for the battlements of a castle or the portico of a cathedral; they can be reduced so as to convey the impression of a corridor in a castle, or the Queen's bedchamber; or thence again enlarged into the Banqueting Hall or the pillared crypt. They can be made to convey gloom or mystery, or height, or the sense of space. It is all a matter of arrangement and of lighting; and the variety of light and of shade to be obtained is very great. Probably brains are required to obtain it, in spite of the apparent simplicity. Then we come to the drawings. Some of these show the evident experiments by which the designer sought to attain some of the effects of his lighting—brains again—brains and imagination. Others show the grouping of the figures against that simple background of lighted cubes and prisms which we have already described. We need not insist on need of constructive imagination for the attainment of impressive effects here. We need do so the less because the last section of drawings which we need mention completely discover the deceptiveness of Mr. Gordon Craig's hypothetical simplicity. These drawings consist of heads and figures of some of the characters in "Hamlet"—Hamlet himself, the King, the Ghost.

Mr. Craig exhibits these heads as masks. The truth is, says he, that "Hamlet" is an ideal play. The object of any stage scenery, or stage accessories, the object even of having actors, in a play such as "Hamlet," is to place as little obstacle as possible in the realisation by the audience of Shakespeare's meaning. The scenery by its extreme simplicity contributes to this end, because there is no foolish archaeological realism to distract the thoughts. The stereotyped appearance or personalities of the actors has a like effect. If, however, you find that Mr. Craig's scenes for "Hamlet," or the make-up of his characters for "Hamlet," are not at all like the place or the people you think that Shakespeare imagined, or not at all like the things you yourself imagined, you must not mind. Only one person can tell us what they were really like, and that is the creator, Shakespeare, of this literary drama. So that whether Mr. Craig's interpretation evokes satisfaction or provokes fury in the onlooker, really does not matter in the least. Progress is being made in the right direction. E. S. G.



ONE OF MR. GORDON CRAIG'S DESIGNS FOR "HAMLET"



"ART AND OPPORTUNITY" AT THE PRINCE OF WALES'S THEATRE
Mrs. Cheverelle (Miss Marie Tempest), led by the Earl of Worthington (Mr. C. V. France, on the right) to visit his family, as she has promised to carry his son (Mr. Brown, on the left), completely fascinates his lordship.

consider the models first. They are reproductions on a small scale, perhaps two feet square, of the actual scenes employed in the production at Moscow; and they are built up in the simplest way, in cubes and rectangles and prisms, with an occasional cylinder of cardboard which serves as a pillar. These tall cubes and prisms set on end and appropriately arranged can be made to represent the broken line of a street of houses, sometimes curved, sometimes fading away into the distance.



"ART AND OPPORTUNITY" AT THE PRINCE OF WALES'S: MISS MARIE TEMPEST'S FASCINATION
The first picture shows Miss Tempest contemplating the noble family—the Duke (Mr. Graham Brown) and his aunt (Miss Seaton, seated) after she has refused the Earl Cheving first been engaged to his son. The second picture shows her fascinating the Duke's secretary (Mr. Trevor), who has appeared her in her supposed designs.

Fig. 8. E.S.G., 'Plays that Make You Laugh and Think: Mr. Gordon Craig's Ideas about "Hamlet"', *The Graphic*, 86 (14 September 1912), p. 376. Shelfmark NEWS8081 © The British Library Board.

was seen by very few reviewers for British papers, Craig's own reports and the widespread admiration for his Leicester Galleries exhibition gave the impression that the production was a great success.³² But since Craig felt that he had been treated badly by the Moscow Art Theatre, and indeed the personal relationships between all those involved had deteriorated so badly over the four years, the project was in no way a spur to further collaborations—and Craig, in any case, did not direct any further productions in Britain.³³

Neither did Craig send back much information about performance and practice in Russian theatres. He appears to have been interested only in realizing his own vision, taking no opportunity to learn from the Moscow Art Theatre, let alone the other theatres in Moscow and St Petersburg. He seems to have worked almost secretly in the workshop provided for him, admitting only Stanislavsky, Stanislavsky's assistant Leopold Sulerzhitsky, Likiardopulo, who acted as translator, and the students assigned to create models from Craig's sketches. Although Craig saw a good number of the Art Theatre's productions, he commented on them only briefly and in the most general terms in his publications, and he did not write about other directors and theatres.³⁴ Rather than acting as an informed promoter of Russian theatrical innovation to British colleagues, Craig's comments on Russian theatre were invariably deployed to boost his own reputation as the major innovator in European theatre. Though he routinely praised the Moscow Art Theatre as the best theatre in Europe, he presented it as the best of a poor lot, doomed to compromise and failure. In a note added to the second edition of *On the Art of the Theatre*, for example, Craig wrote that though the Art Theatre had done 'very, very well' in producing his *Hamlet*, if it had been true to 'the principles which govern our Art... it would have closed its doors three years ago, when I told its directors that this was the only right course open to it. Still it remains the first theatre in Europe—it reigns in Hell'.³⁵ Even in his positive review of Stanislavsky's autobiography, *My Life in Art*, he denied the director any credit for originality. Actors and stage managers who read the book would 'see their calling in a fresh and finer light', he wrote, but he could not resist adding, 'fresh, that is, unless they have been steadily reading the eleven volumes of "The Mask" all these years'.³⁶

³² Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, pp. 95–6, 152, 175–83, xiv, 185. Many critics, including Innes and Senelick, cite and quote a positive review by a Moscow correspondent in *The Times* on 9 January 1912, but I have not been able to locate the source in the newspaper itself, only in Craig's own extensive quotation in 'Screens. The Thousand Scenes in One Scene', *The Mask*, 7.2 (May 1915), 142–58 (pp. 157–8).

³³ See Edward Gordon Craig, letter to Dorothy Nevile Lees, 1911, item 346, I-A Correspondence between Edward Gordon Craig and Dorothy Nevile Lees, Dorothy Nevile Lees: Papers relating to Edward Gordon Craig and *The Mask*; MS Thr 423, Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton.

³⁴ Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, pp. 99–101, 19–24. Craig's section on theatre in Russia in *On the Art of the Theatre* simply reprinted a short article written in 1908 on the Moscow Art Theatre and the productions he saw on his first visit, which he had first published in *The Mask*: see Gordon Craig, 'In Germany, Holland, Russia & England: A Series of Letters from Gordon Craig', *The Mask*, 1.11 (January 1909), 221–2. The text is almost identical, but it is noticeable that where the 1909 text praised both the Art Theatre's directors, the 1911 text praised only Stanislavsky. Craig had fallen out with Nemirovich-Danchenko at an early stage of the collaboration.

³⁵ Edward Gordon Craig, *On the Art of the Theatre*, 2nd edn (London: Heinemann, 1912), p. 285.

³⁶ [Edward Gordon Craig], 'My Life in Art by Constantin Stanislavsky' (review), *The Mask*, 12.1 (January 1926), 41. Craig had previously published a review of the 1924 American edition, which was

To a certain extent, Craig was right that his essays and designs had influenced his European colleagues' work. In Russia, though Stanislavsky did not know Craig's work before Duncan showed him the German translation of *The Art of the Theatre* (1905) and the first issue of *The Mask* in 1908, some of the younger playwrights and directors who were associated with the symbolist movement were familiar with Craig's ideas.³⁷ Craig's 1905 manifesto, 'The Art of the Theatre', was circulating in Russia from 1906, when it had been published in a pirated edition by the publisher and theatre impresario Aleksey Suvorin.³⁸ In 1909, Meierkhol'd published translations of two essays by Craig and a short article, in which he wrote that he had first encountered Craig's ideas in a German magazine. Though he remarked that he had not known of Craig's work at the time of his own experiments in stylized theatre, he noted their kinship: 'It is remarkable that in the very first year of the new century E. G. Craig challenged the naturalistic theatre', he wrote, 'this young Englishman is the first to put down the sign of the first milestone on the new path of the Theatre'.³⁹ In 1909 Nikolay Evreinov praised Craig in his *Vvedenie v monodramu* (1909) (*Introduction to Monodrama*): 'Gordon Craig comes close to my way of thinking', he remarked, and he 'applaud[ed] ... wholeheartedly' Craig's disregard for modern playwrights.⁴⁰ Craig does not appear to have known of the symbolists' interest in his work, though he did include Meierkhol'd in his list of the 'the best' theatrical practitioners in his 1911 preface to *On the Art of the Theatre*.⁴¹ It was only in 1930, when he reviewed René Fülöp-Miller's and Joseph Gregor's influential study, *The Russian Theatre for The Observer*, that he realized 'to how great an extent [Aleksandr Tairov] and others—M. Evreinov, for example—were in agreement with me'. The phrasing characteristically asserts Craig's priority: he is

again apparently positive while essentially arguing that Stanislavsky's career was characterized by a series of practical failures that proved Craig's theoretical approach to theatre the only possible one: 'Dear Stanislavsky ... you have gone far; not utterly useless has been your quest: for you have proved it impossible that flesh and blood shall be a *practical spirit*': see G. C. [Edward Gordon Craig], 'My Life in Art by Constantin Stanislavsky' (review), *The Mask*, 10.4 (October 1924), 188.

³⁷ Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, pp. 12–13; E. Gordon Craig, *Die Kunst des Theaters*, trans. by Maurice Magnus (Berlin and Leipzig: Seemann, 1905).

³⁸ See Ifan Kyrle Fletcher and Arnold Rood, *Edward Gordon Craig: A Bibliography* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1967), p. 15.

³⁹ V. E. Meierkhol'd, 'Edward Gordon Craig', in *Stat'i, pis'ma, rechi, besedy: 1891–1917*, ed. by A. V. Fevral'sky (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Iskusstvo', 1968), pp. 167–9 (p. 167), first published in *Zhurnal teatra Literaturno-khudozhestvennogo obshchestva*, 3 (1909–10), 14–16, Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, p. 72, Edward Braun, 'Doctor Dapertutto (1908–1917: Introduction', in *Meyerhold on Theatre*, ed. and trans. by Edward Braun (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 111–18 (pp. 111–12). The source Meierkhol'd cited for his knowledge of Craig was 'Etwas über den Regisseur und die Bühnen-Ausstattung' in *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 16.10 (July 1905), 596–604. He translated Craig's 'Über Bühnenausstattung', which had appeared in *Kunst und Künstler*, 3 (1905), 80–5, and 'Etwas über den Regisseur und die Bühnen-Ausstattung' as E. G. Kreg, 'K stenicheskoi obstanovke', and E. G. Kreg, 'Neskol'ko slov o rezhissere i stenicheskikh postanovkakh', *Zhurnal teatra Literaturno-khudozhestvennogo obshchestva*, 3, 9 (1909–1910), 16–18, 27–8.

⁴⁰ N. Evreinov, *Vvedenie v monodramu* (St Petersburg: Butkovskoi, 1909), p. 9; Nikolay Evreinov, 'Introduction to Monodrama', in Laurence Senelick, ed. and trans. *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 183–99 (p. 188). The pamphlet was derived from a lecture Evreinov first delivered on 29 December 1908 ns (16 December 1908 os).

⁴¹ Craig, *On the Art of the Theatre*, p. viii. The other Russians listed were Stanislavsky, Sulzerzhitsky, and the actors Vasily Kachalov and Ivan Moskvín.

also careful to note—erroneously—that ‘These Russians, Tairov and Evreinov, Mardschanov [Kote Marjanishvili] and others, published their theories in 1912, soon after my last visit—by which time Moscow was beginning to feel that naturalism had degraded the stage’, and he concluded by stating his satisfaction that the book showed how much the Russian theatre had been influenced by theatrical traditions and innovations deriving from other countries, including his own:

London may expect to be told through the Press how all theatre ideas come streaming from Russia, and that Moscow is the very cradle of ideas. Believe me, London need not bother to believe this, for it is nothing of the kind. The talent of the Russian is great, but it is the talent for annexation of ideas, which first surprise him, then delight him, and to which he then applies his technique. Technically, the Russian is a very clever fellow, and makes a lot out of a silk purse—but it becomes something else when finished.

It will come as a shock to a number of critics to find that in praising Moscow’s latest theatres they have been praising the ideas of Craig, when all they wanted to do was to put up the Russians as an argument against him... but this book seems to show that, anyhow, Craig is not such a fool as these critics try to make out. This rather comforts me.

And we can congratulate all actors and artists of Russia on having advanced to at any rate a point to which our theatre has not advanced, thanks to my detractors. If the faults of the Russian stage are what I have said they are, it has, anyhow, the great virtue of daring to experiment—and Russia, the virtue of backing up its own men.⁴²

Craig overstates his influence on Russian theatre in this passage. His name appears only twice in Fülöp-Miller’s and Gregor’s book: once as ‘another great reformer of the stage’ with whom Stanislavsky collaborated, and once as a proponent of marionette theatre, which the authors see as an example of art theatre’s sterility.⁴³ His implication that it was his contribution to *Hamlet* that prompted a general rejection of naturalism in the Russian theatre is also incorrect. By 1908, when Craig first visited Moscow, the main symbolist critiques of theatrical naturalism had already been published. Valery Bryusov’s ‘Nenuzhnaya pravda’ (‘Unnecessary Truth’), for example, had appeared in 1902, Vyacheslav Ivanov’s ‘Predchuvstviya i predvestiya’ (‘Premonitions and Portents’) in 1906, and Meierkhol’d’s ‘Teatr: K istorii i tekhnike’ (‘Theatre: Towards a History and a Technique’) and Fedor Sologub’s ‘Teatr odnoi voli’ (‘The Theatre of the Single Will’) had both been published in 1908 in a collection of essays by the symbolists who gathered at Ivanov’s St. Petersburg salon, entitled *Teatr: Kniga o novom teatre* (*Theatre: A Book about the*

⁴² Senelick, *Gordon Craig’s Hamlet*, p. 31; Gordon Craig, ‘The Theatre in Russia’, review of René Fülöp-Miller and Joseph Gregor, *The Russian Theatre*, *The Observer* (6 April 1930), 7. Craig derives the 1912 date from a slight misreading, or over-literal reading, of Fülöp-Miller and Gregor: see René Fülöp-Miller and Joseph Gregor, *The Russian Theatre: Its Character and History with Especial Reference to the Revolutionary Period*, trans. by Paul England (London: Harrap, 1930), p. 54. Craig visited the Soviet Union in 1935, after meeting Tairov and the Georgian director Sergey Amaglobeli at the Convegno Volta, a conference of theatre directors organized by the Reale Accademia d’Italia (the Royal Academy of Italy): he writes very positively about the visit in Gordon Craig, ‘The Russian Theatre To-day’, *London Mercury*, 32.192 (October 1935), 529–38.

⁴³ Fülöp-Miller and Gregor, *The Russian Theatre*, pp. 54, 104.

New Theatre).⁴⁴ Meierkhol'd had directed several symbolist plays during his tenure at the Komissarzhevskaya Theatre in St Petersburg from 1906 to 1907, including Aleksandr Blok's *Balaganchik* (1906) (*The Puppet Show*), Leonid Andreev's *Zhizn' cheloveka* (written 1906) (*Life of Man*), and Sologub's *Pobeda Smerti* (1907) (*Triumph of Death*). Even at the Moscow Art Theatre, so strongly associated with naturalism, symbolist works had been included in the repertory since 1904.⁴⁵ In fact, by 1912 Andreev was announcing the end of symbolism in the theatre and the return of realism.⁴⁶ In sum, then, though Craig's ideas were of interest to the Russian symbolists, they were not the source of their experiments in theatre. The similarities between Craig's and the symbolists' theories were primarily the result of a web of shared influences that were generating theatrical experiment across Europe, drawing on the ideas of Maeterlinck, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Wagner, amongst others.⁴⁷

Though Craig did not bring Russian symbolism to the British stage, another member of his family did. In 1915 and 1916, Craig's sister Edith Craig directed two plays by Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul* (*V kulisakh dushi*, 1912) and *A Merry Death* (*Veselaya smert'*, 1909), and one by Andreev, *The Dear Departing* (*Lyubov' k blizhnemu*, written 1908, usually translated as *Love Thy Neighbour*) for the theatre society she had founded in 1911, the Pioneer Players. Katharine Cockin has argued that these plays redefined the society's agenda, and that, with the first production of *The Theatre of the Soul* at the Little Theatre on 7 March 1915, Craig moved the Pioneer Players away from the suffrage and naturalist plays with which they been associated, and aligned them with international art theatre.⁴⁸ There is no evidence of a direct connection between either of the Craig siblings and Evreinov; in her introduction to the English translation (published by Frank Henderson), Craig's partner, the playwright Christopher St. John (Christabel Marshall), wrote that it was she who had 'in the spring' of 1915 'brought the English version which I had made with the assistance of Madame Marie Potapenko to the notice of the Pioneer

⁴⁴ V. Bryusov, 'Nenuzhnaya pravda', *Mir iskusstva*, 7.4 (1902), 67–74; Vyacheslav Ivanov, 'Predchuvstviya i predvestiya: Novaya organicheskaya epokha i teatr budushchego', *Zolotoe runo*, 4 (April 1906), 68–73, 6 (June 1906), 53–63; Vs. Meierkhol'd, 'Teatr: K istorii i tekhnike', and Fedor Sologub, 'Teatr odnoi voli', in *Teatr: Kniga o novom teatre* (St Petersburg: Shipovnik, 1908), pp. 123–76, 177–98. See Michael Green, 'Introduction', in Michael Green, ed., *The Russian Symbolist Theatre: An Anthology of Plays and Critical Texts* (New York: Ardis, 1986), pp. 9–21 (pp. 12–15), and Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism*, pp. 298–301.

⁴⁵ Meyerhold on Theatre, pp. 20–2; Nick Worrall, *The Moscow Art Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 165–77.

⁴⁶ L. N. Andreev, *Pis'ma o teatre* (Letchworth: Prideaux Press, 1974), pp. 5–18, first published in *Maski*, 3 (1912); Leonid Andreev, 'Letters on the Theater', in Senelick, ed. and trans., *Russian Dramatic Theory*, pp. 223–34.

⁴⁷ See Taxisou, *The Mask*, pp. 23–41; L. M. Newman, 'Gordon Craig in Germany', *German Life and Letters*, 40.1 (October 1986), 11–33 (pp. 24–7); Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, p. 4. For a view more sympathetic to Craig, see T. I. Bashelis, *Shekspir i Kreg* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1983), pp. 305–6.

⁴⁸ Katharine Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 123–5; Katharine Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage: The Pioneer Players, 1911–1925* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 166.

Players', but though she would like to provide an account of Evreinov she knew 'too little of him and his work, to do him justice'.⁴⁹

Evreinov's play was well chosen for a society that wanted to state its commitment to theatrical experiment, and the programme for the second, charity matinée of the play in December 1915 emphasized that rationale:

in their choice of plays the Society have always tried to avoid limiting their field of action to any particular school, and have refrained from proclaiming that revolutionary aesthetic formulæ, as such, have any value. What they ask of any play which they produce is some dramatic quality, and they attempt to give it a *mise-en-scène* which shall create a dramatic atmosphere by means of colour, form and lighting.⁵⁰

In her introduction to the translation, St. John repeated the distinction between the revolutionary formulæ of certain schools and plays with a genuinely dramatic quality. She did so by alluding to Evreinov's 1912 production of two scenes of Gogol's *Revizor* (*The Government Inspector*), in which he parodied five theatrical approaches, one of which was Gordon Craig's. In that production Evreinov was, St. John wrote, 'hitting out at the cranks who want to reform the theatre or make a new thing which shall be more artistic than the theatre. For Evreinov holds that the theatre exists, and cannot be altered, although it can be used as a means of expression. He thinks that the word "theatrical" ought not to be a term of reproach'.⁵¹ This distinction, between something 'more artistic than the theatre' and the 'theatrical' seems to be an effort to distinguish Evreinov's philosophy from Gordon Craig's, even though, or perhaps precisely because, their philosophies were strikingly similar: Gordon Craig would have agreed that 'theatrical' should not be a term of reproach.⁵² But if Edith Craig was to use Russian plays to herald her society's turn towards theatrical experiment, distance needed to be put between her theatrical project and her brother's.

Reviews of the symbolist plays presented by the Pioneer Players were generally negative. *The Academy* and *The Times* found the psychology of *The Theatre of the Soul* 'not well conceived' and 'extraordinarily crude', and the following year *The Times* called the philosophizing in *A Merry Death* 'characteristic of this self-conscious and rather tiresome author'; *The Observer* found *The Dear Departing* 'tedious'.⁵³ The staging and acting, though, were viewed more positively. There are no extant photographs of the production, but St. John described the staging of *The Theatre of the Soul* as strikingly anti-naturalist: 'little was seen of the three entities of the soul

⁴⁹ Christopher St. John, 'Foreword', in N. Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul: A Monodrama in One Act*, trans. by Marie Potapenko and Christopher St. John (London: Henderson's, 1915), pp. 7–11 (p. 7).

⁵⁰ Quoted in Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, p. 179.

⁵¹ St. John, 'Foreword', in N. Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul*, p. 8.

⁵² [Edward Gordon Craig], 'Complicated Russia', review of Alexander Bakshy, *The Path of the Modern Russian Stage, The Mask*, 8.2 (April 1918), 6–7: 'We counsel all the younger workers in the English theatre, those interested in seeing a good theatre develop there, not to be frightened of the *Theatrical*' (p. 7).

⁵³ Egan Mew, 'The Pioneer Players', *The Academy*, 2238 (27 March 1915), 204; 'Plays of Four Nations', *The Times* (9 March 1915), 11; 'A Russian Harlequinade: Pioneer Players at the Savoy', *The Times* (3 April 1916), 11; 'The Pioneer Players', *The Observer* (13 February 1916), 7.

beyond their faces appearing at different levels out of intense darkness. The heart was represented by a glowing red space which appeared to pulsate owing to an effect of light. The concepts of the women were seen in the foreground and were brilliantly lighted. The whole effect was thrilling and beautiful, and helped enormously to create a dramatic atmosphere', she wrote, and *The Observer's* reviewer agreed, writing that 'if there had been half so much sense in the plot as there was ingenuity in the presentation, the play would have been deeply interesting'. *The Athenaeum* commented similarly on *The Dear Departing*: 'in no case did the subject-matter really justify such a large amount of care and good acting as was shown'.⁵⁴

We might hypothesize that Craig's productions brought audiences closer to contemporary experiments in Russian theatre than any other British productions of this period. They were more avant-garde than the productions in the commercial theatres, and more elaborate than those of other stage societies. Although they were not informed by knowledge of the plays' performances in Russia, they drew on the shared innovations of European theatrical symbolism, from which Craig's Russian contemporaries also drew. For instance, Craig may not have known Evreinov's *Vvedenie v monodramu* (*Introduction to Monodrama*), but she did know Maeterlinck's *L'Oiseau bleu* (*The Blue Bird*), which Evreinov had cited there as one of the plays he thought had 'the greatest similarity to monodrama as I interpret it'.⁵⁵ She could have read Vyacheslav Ivanov's arch-symbolist 'Predchuvstviya i predvestiya' ('Premonitions and Portents'), translated by Stephen Graham for the *English Review* in 1912, which anticipated Evreinov's account of the relationship between the audience and the stage, and made clear the western European sources of its ideas through discussion of Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (*The Birth of Tragedy*), Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, and works by Ibsen and Maeterlinck.⁵⁶ Finally, despite the distinction St. John drew between the theatrical approaches of Evreinov and Gordon Craig, the Moscow Art Theatre *Hamlet* had also been conceived explicitly as a monodrama, in terms very similar to those Evreinov set out.⁵⁷ In November 1916, some months after the first performances of the Pioneer

⁵⁴ Cockin, *Women and Theatre in the Age of Suffrage*, p. 180; St. John, 'Foreword', in N. Evreinov, *The Theatre of the Soul*, p. 11; 'The Pioneer Players', *The Observer* (14 March 1915), 7; 'Drama: The Theatres', *The Athenaeum*, 4602 (February 1916), 96.

⁵⁵ Evreinov, *Vvedenie v monodramu*, p. 13, Evreinov, 'Introduction to Monodrama', in Senelick, ed. *Russian Dramatic Theory*, p. 190. As Cockin notes, Margaret Morris, who had played Water in *The Blue Bird*, played First Concept of the Dancer in the first performance of *The Theatre of the Soul*: see Katharine Cockin, 'The Pioneer Players: Plays of/ with Identity', in Gabriele Griffin, ed., *Difference in View: Women and Modernism* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), pp. 121–31 (p. 126).

⁵⁶ Ivanov, 'Predchuvstviya i predvestiya [II]', pp. 56–7; Vyacheslav Ivanov, 'The Theatre of the Future', trans. by Stephen Graham, *English Review*, 10 (March 1912), 634–50 (pp. 643–4).

⁵⁷ Compare the notes taken by the Art Theatre's directorial assistant of Gordon Craig's discussion with Stanislavsky during their meeting on 29 April 1909, in Senelick, *Gordon Craig's Hamlet*, p. 64 with Evreinov, N. Evreinov, *Vvedenie v monodramu*, pp. 15–16; Evreinov, 'Introduction to Monodrama', in Senelick, ed. and trans. *Russian Dramatic Theory*, p. 191. See also Laurence Senelick, 'Moscow and Monodrama: The Meaning of the Craig-Stanislavsky Hamlet', *Theatre Research International*, 6.2 (1981), 109–24, and Barbara Henry, 'Theatricality, anti-theatricality and cabaret in Russian Modernism', in Catriona Kelly and Stephen Lovell, eds, *Russian Literature, Modernism and the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 149–71.

Players' three symbolist productions, Aleksandr Bakshy published *The Path of the Russian Stage*, which gave the fullest account of theatrical symbolism (including Evreinov's theory of monodrama) that had so far appeared in English. Its inclusion of 'A Note on Mr. Gordon Craig's Theories' underlined the continuity between Craig and Russian symbolism.⁵⁸

As Alexandra Smith notes, in the staging of Evreinov's plays, Edith Craig could also draw on knowledge of Sergey Dyagilev's Ballets Russes, whose ballets were products of the Russian symbolist movement.⁵⁹ Two years before her first symbolist production, Craig had asked St. John to ghostwrite *The Russian Ballet* for her mother, the renowned actress Ellen Terry.⁶⁰ Dyagilev brought his company to London for six seasons between 1911 and 1914, presenting over thirty ballets and operas, most of them with costumes and sets designed by the artists who had contributed to Dyagilev's periodical *Mir iskusstva* (*World of Art*) (1898–1904), one of the outlets for the Russian symbolist aesthetic.⁶¹ To take just the first season as an example, British audiences saw scenery and costumes by the *Mir iskusstva* contributors Leon Bakst (*Cléopâtre* and *Schéhérazade*), Aleksandr Benua (Benois) (*Le Pavillon d'Armide*), and Nikolay Roerich (Roerich) (*Scenes and Polovtsienne Dances from Prince Igor*).⁶² St. John's essay on the Ballets Russes portrays their performances as syntheses of the arts (as Ivanov anticipated in his symbolist theatre of the future), in which 'musicians, artists, dancers and ballet masters' transport the spectator into a 'kingdom of dreams', a world of 'invention' and 'imagination', rather than 'reality'.⁶³ For a theatre society moving away from naturalism towards the theatricality of Russian symbolism, the Ballets Russes were a compelling model. Two years before, Gilbert Cannan's anti-naturalist polemic *The Joy of Theatre* (1913), had made the point that *Petrouchka*, which the company brought to London in 1913, choreographed by Mikhail Fokin and designed by Benua, 'shows, better than any other piece of work of the last ten years, the capacity of the theatre as an instrument of art, and, also, in its almost perfection, how near we are to reaping the fruits of the efforts of those who have devoted their energies to the theatre's redemption... The Russian Ballet, passing from capital to capital, has given the workers in the theatre the inspiration and the revelation they needed to lift them beyond their experiments in realism and analysis'.⁶⁴ This view of the Ballets Russes as an instructive model not only for British ballet but for British theatre was shared

⁵⁸ Alexander Bakshy, *The Path of the Modern Russian Stage and Other Essays* (London: Cecil Palmer & Hayward, 1916). On Bakshy, see James Milton Highsmith, 'Alexander Bakshy: Pioneering Critic of Drama and Motion Picture', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 29.2 (1970), 195–202.

⁵⁹ Alexandra Smith, 'Nikolai Evreinov and Edith Craig as Mediums of Modernist Sensibility', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 26.3 (2010), 203–16 (pp. 211–12).

⁶⁰ Cockin, *Edith Craig and the Theatres of Art*, pp. 146, 126.

⁶¹ John E. Bowl, 'Synthesism and Symbolism: the Russian World of Art Movement', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 9 (1973), 35–48. The Ballets Russes did not return to London until September 1918.

⁶² Gareth Thomas, 'Modernism, Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes in London, 1911–29', in Matthew Riley, ed., *British Music and Modernism, 1895–1960* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), pp. 67–92 (pp. 67–9).

⁶³ Ellen Terry, *The Russian Ballet* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1913), p. 15.

⁶⁴ Gilbert Cannan, *The Joy of the Theatre* (London: Batsford, 1913), pp. 48–9.

by many commentators, not least by Huntly Carter in *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, the book reviewed alongside Craig's by Harold Hannington Child. Carter was an early and enthusiastic promoter of the Ballets Russes, and his book repeated the judgement he had made after their first London performances in the pages of the *New Age*. In their synthesis of colour, sound, and movement, the Ballets Russes have, he wrote, 'justified their claim to be considered the most important contribution to the artistic movement in the theatre of to-day'.⁶⁵

In 1913, when their books were being reviewed together, it was Craig who seemed likely to foster Russian theatre's influence in Britain. But it is Carter's career that one should study to witness the most committed, thoroughgoing attempt to educate British readers and audiences about the innovations of the Russian stage, and to connect its ideas to British modernism. Frequently dismissed in criticism when remembered at all, Carter was in fact a prescient commentator on the European avant-garde across all the arts, as we began to see in chapter two. By far his greatest contribution was in gathering a wealth of information about Russian and Soviet theatre and, later, cinema, which, through a combination of financial need and sheer persistence, appeared in a wealth of diverse publications.⁶⁶

Who was Huntly Carter? Carter claimed to have no records of his birthplace or date of birth, and on his applications to the Royal Literary Fund gave a variety of dates between 1868 and 1875.⁶⁷ He was a former actor who turned to journalism around 1909, and by the end of the war was suffering from increasingly debilitating deafness. He appears to have suffered from serious nervous breakdowns and been socially isolated; when he died on 29 March 1942, the *Manchester Guardian*

⁶⁵ Susan Jones, *Literature, Modernism, and Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 99, 104–6; Warden, *Migrating Modernist Performance*, pp. 31–42; Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, pp. 19–20; Huntly Carter, 'The Russian Ballets in Paris and London', *New Age*, NS 9.9 (29 June 1911), 209–11 (p. 209).

⁶⁶ In 1928 he judged that he had written 'over 170 articles on all sides of USSR, principally culture': see Huntly Carter, letter to Varvara Polovtseva, 30 March 1928, folder 73, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁶⁷ Huntly Carter, application forms (21 May 1914, 30 May 1915, 23 June 1926, 20 August 1930, 19 April 1932, 21 May 1938), Loan 96 RLF 1/2927: Huntly Carter, Western Manuscripts, BL. However, in a 1937 letter to one of his Soviet contacts, Carter wrote, 'I was born in Scotland where all barbarians live'. To Charles Cochran, he wrote that 'Before I went on the stage I trained as an elocutionist and singer at the Guildhall school of music under one of the ablest teachers', though he makes no mention of this in his applications to the Royal Literary Fund. See Huntly Carter, letter to I. D. Pliner, 19 February 1937, letter to Charles Cochran, 28 February 1933, folders 83, 108, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame. There is little published information on Carter's early years, but he provides some at the beginning of the chapter entitled 'The Personal Equation' in *The New Spirit in the Cinema* (London: Harold Shaylor, 1930), pp. 33–9. In articles in *The Egoist*, he further states that his parents were artists who died when he was twelve, after which he travelled to the Pacific islands with a 'celebrated anthropologist' for two years, then from the age of fourteen to seventeen worked for an art dealer, after which he 'wasted some precious months' sheep-farming in the Falkland Islands, then travelling through South and North America and India. Aged twenty-one, he changed his name and began his career as an actor: see 'The Public Ownership of the Artist', *The Egoist*, 1.2 (15 January 1914), 32–4; 'Art-Passion, Patronage & Pay', *The Egoist*, 1.3 (2 February 1914), 58–9; 'Towards a Human Aesthetic', *The Egoist*, 1.10 (15 May 1914), 197–99. The earliest article of Carter's I have found is 'Book of the Week', review of Holden E. Sampson, *Progressive Creation*, *New Age*, NS 5.4 (20 May 1909), 80.

described him as 'something of a mystery to his acquaintances'.⁶⁸ *The New Spirit in Drama & Art* records the very beginning of his interest in Russian theatre, with one chapter on Moscow (primarily on the Art Theatre) included among its thirteen chapters on the European cities he visited in 1911. But over the next twenty-five years, he became Britain's most zealous commentator on Russian and Soviet theatre. Though his method was documentary to a fault, he was not an impartial observer: from 1922, he developed an unshakeable faith in the Soviet project, which even the Moscow Trials of 1936 to 1938 appear not to have disturbed.⁶⁹ From the early 1920s he was financially supported by the Labour Member of Parliament Joseph King—who appeared in chapter one as co-founder of the Peasant Arts Society with his brother-in-law, Godfrey Blount, and was also curator of the Peasant Handicraft Museum in Haslemere. Funded by King—and carrying letters of introduction to Georgy Chicherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and his deputy Maksim Litvinov, who King had known in London—Carter visited Soviet Russia at least seven times to research his books and attend the annual theatre festivals (Fig. 9).⁷⁰

Carter's archive at the University of Notre Dame contains correspondence with leading figures in Soviet theatre, including Meierkhol'd, Aleksandr Tairov and his colleagues at the Kamernyi Theatre, Aleksey Granovsky (Alexis Granowsky), the founder of the Jewish Theatre, Genrietta (Henrietta) Pascal, the founder of the Children's Theatre in Moscow, and Boris Yuzhanin, the founder of *Sinyaya bluza* (the Blue Blouse) agit-prop group.⁷¹ Carter successfully solicited information and photographs from many other theatres, including the Moscow Art Theatre and the

⁶⁸ Newspaper reviews indicate that Carter was acting with Emilie Grattan's theatre company in 1897, and Emma Hutchinson's in 1899: see 'The London Theatres: Theatre Metropole', *The Era* (27 March 1897), 10 (Carter played Mr Bulger in A. W. Pinero's *Sweet Lavender*), and 'Provincial Theatricals: Bournemouth', *The Era* (26 August 1899), 22 (Carter played the waiter in Henry Arthur Jones's *The Liars*); on his health, see Huntly Carter, letters to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 19 May 1914, 7 August 1930, Loan 96 RLF 1/2927: Huntly Carter, Western Manuscripts, BL; 'Our London Correspondence: Huntly Carter's Death', *Manchester Guardian* (1 April 1942), 4.

⁶⁹ Carter was writing against Bolshevism in late 1921—see Huntly Carter, 'The New Russia', *New Age*, ns 30.3 (17 November 1921), 27–8—but thereafter is consistent in his support of the Soviet Union. For his defence of the Moscow Trials and his lack of awareness of their impact on his friends and contacts, see Huntly Carter, letter to Joseph King, 11 March 1938, and letter to I. D. Pliner, 7 July 1936, folders 13, 82, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁷⁰ Robert C. Williams, 'Theosophy and Revolution: Huntly Carter and the "New Spirit" in Early Soviet Theater', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 63 (1977), 397–404 (p. 403); Joseph King, letter to Huntly Carter, 19 May 1921, folder 1, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame; Joseph King, letter to the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, 23 June 1926. It is difficult to ascertain the dates of Carter's trips, not least because his books conceal which plays he saw first hand and which were described by his correspondents. But, on the basis of his correspondence he appears to have visited (after his first visit in 1911) in 1920, 1922 (Huntley [sic] Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* [London: Chapman & Dodd, 1924], p. 43: letter to Mr Swartz (passport officer with the Russian Trade Delegation), 18 April 1922, folder 21), 1923 (Huntly Carter, letter to 'German doctor', 18 December 1923, folder 35), 1926 (Ivan Maisky, letter to Huntly Carter, 10 April 1926, folder 23), and attended the theatre festivals in 1934, 1935, and 1936 (Huntly Carter, letter to I. D. Pliner, 14 October 1934, Huntly Carter, letter to Sergey Dinamov, 17 August 1935, Sergey Dinamov, letter to Huntly Carter, 8 September 1935, S. Stoller, letter to Huntly Carter, 11 August 1936, folders 80, 31, 25, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame).

⁷¹ Huntly Carter, letter to Natalya Gilyarovskaya, 17 February 1927, correspondence with Vsevolod Meierkhol'd (1924–1936), folders 64, 68, 70 Huntly Carter, correspondence with the Moscow Kamernyi Theatre (1923–34), folders 49, 49A–J, correspondence with Aleksey Granovsky (1924–27),



Fig. 9. Huntly Carter, July 1923. Verso reads: 'On board a Soviet tramp steamer in the Black Sea. July 1923. [signed] Huntly Carter'. Reproduced from the original held by the Department of Special Collections of the Hesburgh Libraries at the University of Notre Dame. Huntly Carter Papers, folder 349, MSE/MN 5000.

Malyi Theatre, and from Sovkino, the centralized body for film production, though he was frustrated in his requests for direct correspondence with some of the personalities of most interest to British audiences, such as Sergey Eizenshtein (Eisenstein) and Stanislavsky (though he did meet Eizenshtein).⁷² The extensive correspondence with the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (*Vsesoyuznoe obshchestvo kul' turnoï svyazi s zagranitseil* VOKS), the International Union of Revolutionary Writers (*Mezhdunarodnoe ob' edinenie revolyutsionnykh pisatelei* MORP), and other Soviet institutions records Carter's assiduous gathering of information about Soviet culture, and his provision of

folder 60, correspondence with Genrietta Pascal (1923–24?), folder 61, correspondence with Boris Yuzhanin (1925), folder 26, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁷² Huntly Carter, correspondence with the Moscow Art Theatre (1927–28, 1933), folders 46, 67, 68, correspondence with Malyi Theatre (1934), folders 54–57, correspondence with Sovkino (1926), folder 58; Huntly Carter, letters to Sergey Eizenshtein, 25 January 1927, 12 January 1929, folder 41, correspondence with Ripsime Tamantseva, Stanislavsky's secretary (1927–28), folders 46, 67, letters to Konstantin Stanislavsky, 1925–27 [?], 24 November 1933, folder 68.

information, documentation, and opinion about British, principally socialist, culture in return.⁷³ He published a number of articles about British theatre in the Soviet journal *Zhizn' iskusstva* (*Life of Art*) during the 1920s, which carried the strapline 'ot nashego londonskogo korrespondenta' ('from our London correspondent').⁷⁴ Much of the material he gathered about Russian theatre was published in his books *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* (1924), *The New Spirit in European Theatre* (1925), *The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre* (1929), and *The New Spirit in the Cinema* (1930), and articles in such expected venues as the *English Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *New Age*, and also specialist journals including *The Builder*, *Drawing and Design*, and the *Kinematograph Weekly*. Until Fülöp-Miller's and Gregor's *The Russian Theatre* and Léon Moussinac's *The New Movement in Theatre* were published in 1930 and 1931 respectively, Carter's books were standard works on Russian and Soviet theatre and film.⁷⁵

Carter was not the only commentator on Russian theatre in the 1920s, but he is the most important for British modernist studies. In the preface to *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*, he claimed there was no other book 'which fully deals with this theatre, explains what it is, its actuality and possibility... Existing books on the Russian theatre stop with the winter of 1917–18, at a period when the Revolution had made no perceptible difference in the organisation and work of the established theatres'. His last comment refers to a book by the American critic, Oliver Sayler, *The Russian Theatre Under the Revolution*, published in 1920. Although it was republished with four new chapters as *The Russian Theatre* in 1922, Sayler had not revisited Russia and the new material was based entirely on correspondence. Carter also dismissed the scattering of journal and newspaper articles by recent British visitors to Soviet Russia: H. G. Wells 'paid one flying visit of a fortnight',

⁷³ For example, in 1926 Carter was asked by the head of the theatre department at the State Institute of History of Arts in Leningrad if he could send him Sean O'Casey's plays *Juno and the Paycock* and *The Plough and the Stars*, which Carter obtained directly from O'Casey, and sent together with O'Casey's 'sincere hopes for the progress of the U.S.S.R.' (Huntly Carter, letter to A. A. Gvosdev, 8 June 1926, folder 66); in 1932 Sergey Dinamov, editor of the journal *Literatura mirovoi revolyutsii* (*Literature of the World Revolution*), the organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, wrote to say that 'I am rather interested at present in the work of James Hanley', and asked to be sent his *Ebb and Flood* and *Boy* (Sergey Dinamov, letter to Huntly Carter, 13 October 1932, folder 26). In 1935, Dinamov asks Carter for his opinion of the *Left Review*, to which Carter responds 'I do not think much of it... It is written entirely by the intelligentsia and the political and economic side is almost entirely sacrificed to its literary side... They do not know what Socialism means' (Huntly Carter, letter to Sergey Dinamov, 14 January 1935, folder 29, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame).

⁷⁴ Khamtli Karter, 'Ekonomicheskie formy sovremennogo angliiskogo teatra', *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1059.32 (11 August 1925), 13–14; Khamtli Karter, 'Russkie emigranty v angliiskom teatre', *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1074.47 (24 November 1925), 3–4; Khamtli Karter, 'Angliiskoe obozrenie kak vid iskusstva', *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1083.4 (26 January 1926), 10–11; Khamtli Karter, 'Russkii balet za granitse', *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1086.7 (16 February 1926), 9–10; Khamtli Karter, 'Sovremennyi angliiskii teatr', *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1089.10 (9 March 1926), 7–8.

⁷⁵ Léon Moussinac, *The New Movement in the Theatre: A Survey of Recent Developments in Europe and America* (London: Batsford, 1931). This book is primarily made up of high-quality colour and black and white plates, including twenty-nine pages showing Soviet productions and designs for the productions. Gordon Craig contributed the Foreword. See Robert Leach, "'Who is Skivvy?': The Russian Influence on Theatre Workshop", in Pitches, ed. *Russians in Britain*, pp. 110–38 for a fascinating account of its impact on Joan Littlewood and Ewan MacColl.

the Liberal Member of Parliament Joseph Kenworthy (no relation to the Tolstoyan John Kenworthy) visited for two months, but Carter calls him 'myopic', H. N. Brailsford, the editor of the Independent Labour Party newspaper, is unable to understand experimental Soviet art and theatre, and even Arthur Ransome, correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, who lived in the Soviet Union and was close to the political and cultural *intelligentsiya*, 'has never', according to Carter, 'discovered an appreciation of the New Theatre'.⁷⁶ He was generally correct. Though Carter knew only a little Russian and communicated with his contacts almost entirely in English, with substantial help from translators and interpreters, he was right that no other early commentator combined his knowledge of European theatre with recent, direct knowledge of Soviet Russian culture.⁷⁷

Carter's importance for my argument lies in the fact that he was not only a prolific writer about Russian theatre but that he had also been an active participant in the pre-war debates about the future of the arts in the *New Age* and *The Freewoman*/*New Freewoman*/*Egoist*. As well as writing about theatre, he had been a vocal advocate of contemporary art: he reproduced Pablo Picasso's *La Mandoline et le Pernod* (1911) in the *New Age* when examples of cubism had barely been seen in England, igniting the 'Picarterbin' controversy (Pic[asso] + Carter + [Her]bin), that filled the letters pages with conservative critics ridiculing Picasso's and Auguste Herbin's work and expressing their despair about the course of modern painting.⁷⁸ But his philosophy was quite distinct from that of some of his proto-modernist co-contributors: his was a vitalist philosophy, indebted to the writings of Henri Bergson, Rudolf Eucken, and Nietzsche, and he ridiculed imagists such as Ezra Pound, whom he characterized as spending 'laborious days in the British Museum practising "style" as a muddled Oaf practises football'. Amongst those committed to developing new forms of art, he distinguished between those interested only in 'artistic results', by which he meant 'attaining artistic simplification, unity and suggestion . . . order and beauty', and his own search for fully holistic 'rhythmic results': 'the attempt to seize the great rhythm of life and to set the theatre and drama in motion with it'.⁷⁹ Carter's romantic mysticism might seem an unlikely hinterland for a promoter of Soviet theatre, but as Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal has shown, this was also the hinterland not only of the Russian symbolists working in the theatres, but also figures such as Aleksandr Bogdanov, Gor'ky, and Anatoly Lunacharsky

⁷⁶ Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*, pp. v–vi, vii–ix; Oliver M. Sayler, *The Russian Theatre* (London: Brentano's, 1922), pp. 263–4; H. G. Wells went to Russia for 'a fortnight and a day' at the end of September 1920, and published articles about his trip—including brief comment on the theatre—in the *Sunday Express*, collected as *Russia in the Shadows* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1920), pp. 9, 35–8.

⁷⁷ Huntly Carter, letter to Sergey Bogomazov, 12 August 1936, folder 25, Correspondence between Huntly Carter and Russian translators, folder 35–40, Huntly Carter, letter to I. D. Pliner, 4 October 1934, folder 80, Notes by Huntly Carter on the Russian language, folder 216. Theatres produced standard statements of their work and summaries of their productions in English, which were sent to Carter, and delegates at the theatre festivals received a pack of English-language brochures on the theatres and plays they saw: folder 166CC, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁷⁸ Huntly Carter, 'The Plato-Picasso Idea', *New Age*, NS 10.4 (23 November 1911), 88.

⁷⁹ Huntly Carter, 'My Hypothesis', *New Freewoman*, 1.13 (15 December 1913), 255–6 (p. 255); Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, p. vi.

who played a major part in post-revolution arts policies.⁸⁰ Carter had long believed that the role of the arts, especially the theatre, was to bring about social and psychological transformation through formal experiment rather than argument and explanation. Those he met in Russia and the Soviet Union, unlike the majority of his British colleagues, appeared to share that view.

Carter's role in early modernism is my justification for stretching slightly beyond this book's chronology in the final part of this chapter, in order to indicate the influence of the Russophile modernism he promoted for the theatre. In Carter's endeavour to combine formal experiment with performance practice in Britain, we glimpse an instructive instance of the frequently remarked failure to create a British avant-garde theatre—and the role Russian theatre played in the attempt. I have in mind here the frequently rehearsed argument most forcefully expressed, in terms highly relevant for this book, by Terry Eagleton, almost forty years ago. In 1981 Eagleton wrote,

While Vsevolod Meyerhold and Erwin Piscator were transforming the face of Russian and German theatre, the English drama continued to be dominated by that grand-daddy of all naturalists, George Bernard Shaw. Dadaism, Futurism, Expressionism, surrealism: there are no substantial English equivalents of these cultural trends... there is no Brecht.⁸¹

This was the argument of Carter's articles and books too. In *The New Spirit in Drama and Art* (1912), he deplored the dominance of Shavian realism, which he traced to the misinterpretation of Ibsen promoted by Shaw, 'who is neither an artist nor a poet' and who had 'butchered' Ibsen to make a 'Fabian holiday'.⁸² The London chapter briefly praised Gordon Craig and William Poel, but otherwise found the 'new spirit' only in the performances brought to London by foreign directors and companies—Max Reinhardt, the Ballets Russes, and the Moscow Art Theatre, the latter insofar as its 'highly diluted' influence on Herbert Trench's production of *The Blue Bird* could be detected.⁸³

Carter endeavoured to use his knowledge of avant-garde performance to transform British theatre. Though *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia* proposed to 'analyse and synthesise the theatre which has been established in Soviet Russia since the Russian Revolution of 1917', Carter also presented it as an anthology of examples to inspire a new theatre in Britain. Meierhold'd is the hero of the book ('most of the new influences operating on the new theatre proceed from Meierhold'), and Carter describes his conception of the theatre as 'an expression of an evolutionary creative power which urges the possessor to reject old forms in

⁸⁰ Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World: From Nietzsche to Stalinism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 1–24.

⁸¹ Terry Eagleton, 'Recent Poetry', *Stand*, 22.2 (1981), 73–7 (p. 73). See also Claire Warden, *British Avant-Garde Theatre* (London: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 1–21.

⁸² This criticism has been repeated recently by Toril Moi: see Moi, *Henrik Ibsen and the Birth of Modernism: Art, Theater, Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 92–5.

⁸³ Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, pp. 36–7, 25. On the connection between Trench's and the Moscow Art Theatre's productions, see Bartoshevich, 'The "inevitability" of Chekhov', in Miles, ed., *Chekhov on the British Stage*, pp. 23–4.

order that he may attain the essential'—the correspondence to Carter's own conception is striking. In contrast, he presents Stanislavsky and the Moscow Art Theatre as tethered to the past by their naturalist heritage. 'The simple fact of the matter is that the principles of subtle realism and the verbal analysis of nineteenth century psychological states to which the M. A. T. had obstinately pledged itself, were of no practical value to people seeking a way out of the confusion caused by the Revolution and anxious to learn the truth of the new social life which they felt quickening in their soul, and demanding to be expressed by every means in their power', Carter wrote. 'Who among a present-day Russian audience has the patience to sit and watch a little Tchekovian group hard at work producing an atmosphere by difference of tone and gesture, and speaking to an atmosphere they have produced, which is rather an atmosphere of moonshine than sunrise, a moonlit seagull haunted space, and not the vigorous dawn of a new life?'.⁸⁴

Between 15 March 1925 and 15 August 1926 Carter wrote a column in the *Sunday Worker*, which was the first sustained discussion of the British workers' theatre movement in a national newspaper. The movement was officially founded in July 1926, in the wake of the General Strike.⁸⁵ Its modernism has been somewhat obscured by the fact that historians of the movement have tended to focus on its later stages, its re-founding in 1928 by Tom Thomas and his Hackney People's Players, and the related Popular Front movements of the 1930s, notably Unity Theatre. The first stage, from 1925 to 1928, has been of less interest, in part due to its relative lack of coherence, both chronologically and ideologically: it had its origins in a number of projects to foster workers', socialist and popular theatre in the immediate post-war period by groups associated with the co-operative movement, the ILP, the Labour Party, and the Clarion League.⁸⁶

Although in theory Carter recognized that a British workers' theatre movement needed to develop from the experiences of British workers, his frame of reference turns continually to Soviet Russia. 'I do not say that a Labour theatre can be organised and worked on Russian lines altogether', he writes in his first column, 'What I do say is that the theatre in Russia under the Workers has attained a very high level of expression. That the work of the theatre since 1917 has been far more important than that of the theatre outside Russia... Above all it has shown the truth of the fact that any fool can run a theatre with lots of money and make it financially profitable, but it requires the collective skill of the whole people to run a theatre on next to nothing and make it nationally effective'. Accordingly, he proposes that Labour organizations organize theatre conferences on the model of Workers' and Peasants' Theatre Conferences in Russia, discusses how workers'

⁸⁴ Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*, pp. v, xii, 67, 52, 201–2.

⁸⁵ Ian Saville, 'Ideas, Forms and Developments in the British Workers' Theatre, 1925–1935', PhD thesis, City University, 1990, pp. 14–15, 18; Raphael Samuel, Ewan MacColl, and Stuart Cosgrove, *Theatres of the Left, 1880–1935: Workers' Theatre Movements in Britain and America* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 37. Carter continued to submit occasional articles after his column had come to an end.

⁸⁶ Morag Shiach, *Discourse on Popular Culture: Class, Gender and History in Cultural Analysis, 1730 to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), pp. 157, 159; Saville, 'Ideas, Forms and Developments in the British Workers' Theatre, 1925–1935', pp. 11–13.

plays must be 'spun out of' the workers themselves as they are in Russia, and as a model for workers' acting presents the post-Revolution ballet, with its dances 'like acrobatic exercises, which are so bracing that they make you want to go to the seaside'.⁸⁷ Carter was not the only source of knowledge about Russian theatre contributing to the workers' theatre movement. Ian Saville notes that the first secretary of the movement, Christina Walshe (who we encountered as Sonia Cohen's friend in interchapter two), had got to know 'a group of Russian émigrés intent on experimenting with a new system of stage lighting' during a period in Paris in 1921, when she was 'studying Cubism and other kinds of shapemaking'. The movement's first committee also included Aleksandr Bakshy, Edith Craig, and the translators Eden Paul and Cedar Paul, who had published a book on proletarian culture, *Proletcult* (1921).⁸⁸

Unlike the primarily educational theatre groups associated with the Labour movement, the Communist-sympathizing workers' theatre movement aimed to use experimental drama as an agitational tool. Carter's archive contains several drafts of the lectures he gave to workers' groups describing the propaganda value of Russian theatre, which he accompanied with lantern slides. In one, undated, he describes biomechanics:

It is part of a system of acting which is peculiarly suited to the requirements of the worker actors. It is a system which has not the slightest resemblance to any traditional form of acting. You will not find a trace of it in British theatre, not even in those little theatres like the Gate theatre which aim to produce the extreme current plays of other countries. It is peculiar to the new Russian theatre and the Worker actor. This system requires that the actor talks not only with his voice, and not much of that, but with his whole body, arms, hands, legs and feet as boxers and footballers do, and he talks with the aid of trapeze like scenery as acrobats do in the circus[.] This is a kind of performance quite outside the range of our fashionable actors who doing nothing but talk through his nose and makes funny noises in his throat[.]

The object of technique in Russia is to produce the revolutionary atmosphere of the Soviet State in a propaganda way. Everything on the stage must serve to reflect the political and economic world, the build of the New Republic and of the new worker citizen. Everything is given a propaganda meaning in order that the mass shall be converted to a belief in the new ideas.⁸⁹

Similarly, in an early column, Carter recommends the direct action play as the starting point for workers' theatres, and describes 'the Russian method' of employing 'the forms, motor and other, and sounds and movements that you find in a city to-day', sending the workers away 'with an intention to do things'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Huntly Carter, 'Workers and the Theatre', *Sunday Worker*, 1 (15 March 1925), 6; Huntly Carter, 'Workers and the Theatre', *Sunday Worker*, 12 (31 May 1925), 10; Huntly Carter, 'Workers and the Theatre: Plot Me No Plots', *Sunday Worker*, 15 (21 June 1925), 10.

⁸⁸ Saville, 'Ideas, Forms and Developments in the British Workers' Theatre, 1925–1935', pp. 23, 51; Hurd, *Rutland Boughton and the Glastonbury Festivals*, p. 133; Eden & Cedar Paul, *Proletcult (Proletarian Culture)* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1921).

⁸⁹ Huntly Carter, ts. on agit-prop theatre, folder 148, p. 3, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁹⁰ Huntly Carter, 'Workers and the Theatre: Direct Action Plays', *Sunday Worker*, 18 (12 July 1925), 9.

We might view Carter's column in the *Sunday Worker* as one of the broadest transmissions of avant-garde art in the period. With its circulation figures of around 85,000 in 1926, the *Sunday Worker* had over twenty-one times the normal readership of the *New Age*, and eighty-five times that of the *English Review*.⁹¹ But Carter's column had its critics. After six months Walshe called for more practical work ('begin from the bottom, Comrade Huntly Carter, and start a theatre of the unemployed'), and a correspondent calling himself 'Clydebank Riveter' questioned the newspaper's discussion of workers' art in general, and theatre in particular:

The magazine page, to me, at any rate, always seems to be engaged in the task of glorifying and idealizing machinery and machine labour, a pleasant intellectual pastime for anyone removed from the clanging, banging, hammering arena, but impossible for the Worker. As an ordinary boilermaker, I'm damned if I can see any poetry in knocking your soul case out on the shell of a liner.

Possibly Huntly Carter can, or Comrade Walshe, or Rutland Boughton, or guys like these, but not me, nor any of my mates that I've ever spoken to about it.

Every week there's a chunk in this page about Workers' Theatres, written by nice people, who deplore the fact that the ordinary Worker at any rate prefers to see Celtic and Rangers and Elky Clark to prancing across some imaginary stage yodeling Bread, BREAD, BREAD, &c., &c., ad. lib (see recipe for Workers' Theatres, SUNDAY WORKER magazine page).

Does anybody in the SUNDAY WORKER imagine that this dope is taken seriously by anybody except a few cranks who are endeavouring to act their way into Socialism. It gives me a pain to read it.⁹²

Although the leaders of the later stages of the movement shared Carter's opposition to naturalism and retained the Russian and avant-garde-influenced agit-prop, Carter himself was soon sidelined, dismissed as an obtuse propagandist by others in the labour movement.⁹³ His knowledge of European, especially Russian, theatre

⁹¹ Saville, 'Ideas, Forms and Developments in the British Workers' Theatre, 1925–1935', p. 29, L. J. Macfarlane, *The British Communist Party: Its Origin and Development until 1929* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966), p. 143. See Ann L. Ardis, 'Democracy and Modernism: *The New Age* under A. R. Orage (1907–22)', in Brooker and Thacker, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Modernist Magazines*, 1: 204–25 (p. 205, note 6): '*The New Age*'s circulation peaked at 22,000 in 1908, thanks mainly to the debates about socialism Orage staged in early volumes. More typically, its circulation hovered between 3,000 and 4,000', and, in the same volume, Wulfman, 'Ford Madox Ford and *The English Review* (1908–37)', p. 235: 'despite the high acclaim accorded *The English Review*, its circulation never rose above 1,000 copies a month—far lower than the 5,000 copies anticipated in the first print run'.

⁹² Christina Walshe, 'The Workers' Theatre' (letter), *Sunday Worker*, 29 (27 September 1925), 8; 'Is Working-Class Art Mere "Bunk"? Two Views', *Sunday Worker*, 81 (26 September 1926), 6. Elky Clark (1898–1956) was a Glaswegian professional boxer.

⁹³ Leach, "'Who is Skivvy?"; in Pitches, ed. *Russians in Britain*, pp. 112, 119–20; Warden, *Migrating Modernist Performance*, pp. 10–11, 77–86; Saville, 'Ideas, Forms and Developments in the British Workers' Theatre, 1925–1935', pp. 36–44, 49–50; Richard Stourac and Kathleen McCreery, *Theatre as a Weapon: Workers' Theatre in the Soviet Union, Germany and Britain, 1917–1934* (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 221–43; M. E. [Monica Ewer?], 'A Study of Dramatic Art in the Workers Republic', review of Huntly Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*, *Labour Monthly*, 7.4 (April 1925), 249–50; F. & I. C., 'Between the Mill-Stones' review of Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the European Theatre*, *Labour Monthly*, 8.3 (March 1926), 188–90. However, see also R. P. D. [R. Palme Dutt], 'The Workers' Theatre', review of Huntly Carter, *The New Spirit in the European Theatre and Adult Education Committee*, *The Drama in Adult Education*, *Labour Monthly*, 8.8 (August 1926),

was recognized as valuable, but he was ultimately unable, or unwilling, to translate it into the practical construction of a British workers' theatre movement. One of Carter's lectures begins by commenting on his own decision to distance himself from the workers' theatre movement, because it 'had too much to do with the Ready-made theatres and its friends'.⁹⁴ By 1934 the impact of socialist realism had reversed the movement's commitment to modernism, and by 1936, under pressure from the Popular Front, the movement had largely dissolved.⁹⁵

The lack of a British avant-garde, or at least a sustained avant-garde theatre movement, has had two main explanations, one derived from British political history, and one from theatre history. The first, from which Eagleton's argument derives, is the 'Nairn-Anderson thesis' of British decline that found British culture lacking a revolutionary tradition and the conceptual tools to create one.⁹⁶ Mick Wallis sums up the second when he writes that the innovations of European theatre barely touched Britain due to 'the absence of state subsidy for the arts, the strength of the commercial theatre and the relative lack of an earlier leftist theatrical tradition'.⁹⁷ There is also a third reason, indigenous to British modernism. Modernist scholars and theatre historians alike are familiar with the fact that British and North American modernist studies has systematically excluded theatre from its interests, in its focus on the products of individual authors rather than collaborations, its bias towards British and North American works, and its inheritance of the New Critical emphasis on textuality.⁹⁸ Martin Puchner's work on modernist anti-theatricality, though it does not address British conditions specifically, is helpful in drawing attention to the way 'theatricality' and 'anti-theatricality' became critical values at the turn of the century that were used to define forms of literary experiment, whilst becoming disassociated from theatre itself. For Puchner, modernism is 'anti-theatrical' in its reaction against the public sphere and the masses, in contrast with the 'theatricality' embraced by the Italian Futurists, the dadaists, and the mass politics of fascism and the Soviet Union. He argues, therefore, that 'the polarization between anti-theatricalism and theatricalism corresponds to some extent to the distinction made by a number of theorists between high modernism and avant-garde. We may thus speak of a modernist anti-theatricalism and an avant-garde theatricalism'.⁹⁹

503–10, which defends his work against the earlier reviews, arguing that, despite 'old confusions . . . that weaken the strength of his critical case', 'his exhaustive and documented exposure of the actual workings of the trust theatre during and after the war constitute a strong piece of revolutionary propaganda' (p. 508).

⁹⁴ Huntly Carter, 'Introductory notes for Lantern Lecture', folder 152, Huntly Carter Papers, MSE/MN 5000, Notre Dame.

⁹⁵ Stourac and McCreery, *Theatre as a Weapon*, pp. 237–56; Samuel, MacColl, and Cosgrove, *Theatres of the Left*, pp. 58–64.

⁹⁶ Perry Anderson, 'Components of the National Culture', *New Left Review*, 50 (1968), 3–57 (pp. 56–7).

⁹⁷ Wallis, 'Social Commitment and Aesthetic Experiment', in Kershaw, ed., *The Cambridge History of the British Theatre*, p. 167.

⁹⁸ Kirsten Shepherd-Barr, 'Modernism and Theatrical Performance', *Modernist Cultures*, 1 (2005), 59–68 (p. 60).

⁹⁹ Martin Puchner, *Stage Fright: Modernism, Anti-Theatricality, and Drama* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p. 7.

It is true that British modernism as institutionalized in the 1920s has distinct affinities with the anti-theatricality value that Puchner describes. Its genealogy is to be found in the version of early modernism that defined new forms of literature by their stylistic experiments (the early modernism limited to 'artistic results', in Carter's phrase), rather than the version that defined new forms of literature through their expression of new freedoms in life (the early modernism searching for 'rhythmic results').¹⁰⁰ Theatre is particularly threatening to this version of modernism. Where the Italian, German, and Russian avant-gardes (futurism, expressionism, and constructivism) search for 'rhythmic results' by cultivating the live, performing body and a mass audience to collaborate with the art work in the public sphere of the theatre, the strand of British modernism that was searching for 'artistic results' cultivates style and the single reader absorbing the literary work in the private study or salon. One might recall here Linda Dowling's description of Pater's programme of 'stylistic Euphism' that fed into Francophile modernism, as 'nothing other than the urging of written language—that is, language frozen in writing and divorced from living speech in the philological sense—as a literary medium'.¹⁰¹ Anti-theatricality prioritizes cultivated literary style over the immediacy of 'life'.

Russophile British modernism, by contrast, has affinities with theatricality. British writers turned to Russian literature as a repository of values at risk of being discarded from 'modern', that is Francophile, British literature: life, freedom, speech, action. But these values were associated not with the Russian theatre, but with the Russian novel, as we have seen in chapters one and two. If we are to look for those values in theatre in Britain, we would find them most closely associated with Ibsen and Shaw, and this is clearly a problematic association since productions of Ibsen's and Shaw's plays were hardly 'theatrical', in Puchner's sense. Though their arguments were in favour of new freedoms and decisive action, they were precisely the playwrights against whom Craig and Carter, advocating the theatrical, avant-garde theatre, reacted. This apparent contradiction is, as Puchner and Alan Ackerman note, due to the fact that the values of theatricality and anti-theatricality emerge 'from a critique of a historically specific theatre, from which a general understanding of theatre is then distilled', 'each anti-theatricalism tends to construct its own horror fantasy of the theatre, its own version of the inherent limits of theatrical representation', so that schools or styles are not necessarily inherently theatrical or anti-theatrical, but are perceived as such, in reaction. Puchner and Ackerman give the example of naturalism's anti-theatricality being defined against the theatricality of the melodrama that preceded it, but naturalism in turn becoming representative of theatricality for its successor, symbolism.¹⁰² In Britain, where Russian theatre was introduced out of chronology, filtered through textual accounts and other directors' interpretations, the relation between theatre styles was blurred. Russian theatrical naturalism (as associated with the Moscow Art Theatre) and

¹⁰⁰ Carter, *The New Spirit in Drama & Art*, p. vi.

¹⁰¹ Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle*, p. 125.

¹⁰² Alan Ackerman and Martin Puchner, 'Introduction', in *Against Theatre: Creative Destructions on the Modernist Stage* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 1–17 (p. 13).

symbolism (such as the plays of Evreinov and Andreev) were both invoked to re-theatricalize the British theatre, in reaction against Ibsen and Shaw, whose naturalism had become familiar during the previous two decades. Carter failed in his attempt to develop a political theatre in Britain out of these pre-war theatrical experiments, as the continental, and especially Russian, avant-gardes were able to do, and the versions of Russian theatre glimpsed in Britain were arrested in versions that in hindsight have more in common with Francophile aestheticism than with the progressive Russophilia generated by the novel.

Russian theatre became far better known in Britain, and far more influential, in the 1920s. But its most notable success, the popularity of Chekhov, should not be read as a triumph of theatricality. On the contrary, it constitutes an exemplary instance of modernist anti-theatricality, because it was in large degree textual. Chekhov's plays succeeded on the stage only after Garnett's translations of his work had been published, or to recast in Puchner's terms, Chekhov's plays could only be positively collectively received in the public sphere of the stage, after they had been individually absorbed in private communion with the text. This is consistent with Puchner's distinction between modernist anti-theatricalism and avant-garde theatricalism: the Chekhov cult is the high modernist stage of the British fascination with Russia that began in the 1890s, and it stands in contrast to the early modernist stage, discussed in this chapter, which we might more easily align to avant-garde theatricalism. But the realignment of the modernist interest in Russia towards Chekhov after the war and revolutions is not only a turn from theatrical representations to anti-theatrical representations of Russia, it is also a surrogate for engagement with the new, Soviet, Russia, and an effective inoculation against the (theatrical) values of the contemporary Soviet theatre promoted by Carter and the workers' theatre movement.

3

War Work

Propaganda, Translation, Civilization

3.1 PROPAGANDA: WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND THE RUSSIAN ALLY

'You can't really make war on a people whose literature has profoundly and illuminatedly rendered for you its aspirations and achievements', wrote Ford Madox Ford in 1938. Ford was commenting on one of his favourite anecdotes about Flaubert, his reputed remark that the Franco-Prussian war could have been avoided if the French had understood his *L'Éducation sentimentale*. But it was not the novel's depiction of the February Revolution of 1848 that Ford considered prophylactic, it was Flaubert's artistry: 'If Flaubert had lived until the Great War, he continued, 'he might have boasted with a truth that was absolutely incontestable that *Madame Bovary* and *Salammbô* and the *Trois Contes* saved France for the world', because 'it is impossible to consider that such a world would regard with equanimity the disappearance of a civilization that had produced that frame of mind and those works of Art'.¹

Ford's argument is almost contradictory: literature preserves peace by explaining cultures to each other, but literature also brings nations into war to preserve cultures they esteem. This tension had been present since Ford's earliest reference to Flaubert's remark, in the first of the 'Critical Attitude' editorials for his journal, *The English Review*, in 1909. There he had advocated the critical attitude fostered by imaginative literature as a corrective to the Prime Minister's, Herbert Asquith's, 'government by panic', which appeared to be moving Britain towards war with Germany, but he had also used it to affirm the need for an army, 'not only to maintain ourselves but to maintain the integrity of the nations most allied to us in the love for peace and civilisation'.² This tension is not peculiar to Ford, however; it is endemic to early twentieth-century arguments about literature's role in international relations and, in particular, in war. Ford's argument is driven by his specific conception of the critical attitude engendered by Flaubertian impressionism, in 'turning out its extraordinarily vivid renderings of places and frames of mind',

¹ Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, pp. 279–80; Maxime du Camp, *Souvenirs Littéraires*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1882–83), II: 474.

² F. [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: Blue Water and the Thin Red Line', *English Review*, 2.5 (April 1909), 135–44 (pp. 139, 144).

but his characterization of literature's mediating role was common during the First World War.³ Rebecca West was making the same general point as Ford when in 1915 she remarked that it was 'plainly due' to *The Brothers Karamazov* 'that the Germans are floundering in the mud of Flanders instead of stealing our spoons in the interests of the Pan-Germanic ideal. That England, with her habit of judging other nations by their political institutions, should be the ally of Russia is almost a miracle. It is only to be explained by the fact that wherever people who write and think gather together, Russian literature is loved and praised'.⁴ Indeed, the role of Russian literature in war propaganda is particularly interesting and complex: it was central to efforts to construct a more favourable perception of Britain's new ally, tsarist Russia, but this entailed a rearrangement of the interpretations of Russian literature with which British readers were familiar, since this had been achieved, as we saw in chapter one, through a careful ideological separation of the Russian people from the Russian State by liberal and revolutionary critics.

In the introduction to their collection of essays, *European Culture in the Great War*, Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites succinctly outline the established arguments about the relationship between the First World War and modernism. According to Paul Fussell (and Bernard Bergonzi before him) the experience of the war exposed the limitations of conventional literary expression, generating first a mimetic then an ironic mode characteristic of modernism. Vincent Sherry extended aspects of that argument, to argue that modernist literature was a product of scepticism specifically about the use of language, its truth value compromised by First World War propaganda: the language of modernist literature, in Sherry's analysis, strove to be the obverse of the language of propaganda. A different view was put by Modris Eksteins, who represented modernism as a pre-war neo-romantic response to the materialism of industrial modernity, reinforced and spread by the war. More recently, critics have argued that both these positions overstate the cultural impact of the war in establishing modernism, and have demonstrated how middlebrow and patriotic most culture remained: Jay Winter, notably, has explored how 'soldier-writers and artists retained the use of sacred forms and images as they attended to the universal tasks of bereavement. The elegiac and the lyrical were there too, and harked back to an older set of languages—the romantic, the classical, the religious—through which grief was expressed and in which mourning was lived and (for most people) transcended'. But as Roshwald and Stites have observed, these arguments are not necessarily in conflict, rather they 'reflect disagreement about what type of source material and which social classes are most representative of a given period'.⁵

³ Ford, *Mightier than the Sword*, p. 279.

⁴ West, 'The Barbarians', p. 20.

⁵ Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, 'Introduction', and Jay Winter, 'Popular Culture in Wartime Britain', in Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, eds, *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–18* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 1–7 (pp. 1, 2), 330–48 (p. 345). See Bernard Bergonzi, *Heroes' Twilight: A Study of the Literature of the Great War* (London: Constable, 1965), pp. 198–9, Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 174, 310–15; Vincent Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 11–14; Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (London: Bantam, 1989), pp. 76–82.

What might be contributed to this discussion by looking at the reception of Russian literature and culture in Britain during the war years? Despite Winter's argument for the continuity of pre-war forms in popular culture, Fussell's and Sherry's literary and linguistic arguments provide a plausible explanation for the evolution of one strand of modernism (Sherry's key modernists are Eliot, Pound, Ford, and Woolf). But Winter's and Eksteins' formulations bring another strand of British modernism to the fore. Stites and Roshwald point out that 'Eksteins clearly encounters difficulties when he tries to find a way of incorporating Britain and France into a thesis that is largely informed by the study of German cultural history'.⁶ While Sherry's Francophile Anglo-American modernism seems quite distinct from the German neo-romantic modernism of Eksteins' study and the popular turn to the spiritual of Winter's research, a Russophile British modernism suggests there were more continuities with both.

This chapter aims to provide a fine-grained account of the way Russian literature's popularity during the war informed the emergence of British modernism. Although modernism—or at least 'high modernism'—is often described as a war product, neither the Francophile nor Russophile strands of early twentieth-century literature changed their aesthetic values as a result of the war, rather they invested those values with new moralities and politics. So the commitment to technique and style we saw James, Ford, and Conrad promoting (under the sign of Flaubert) in previous chapters becomes portrayed during the war as patriotically anti-German, and, after the war, anti-propagandist.⁷ But the rival conception of literature as an expression of 'life' promoted by Edward Garnett, Dorothy Richardson, George Bernard Shaw, and H. G. Wells (under the sign of Tolstoy) was also portrayed as anti-German and subsequently anti-propagandist. Both strands, of course, had already put arguments in place that established their aesthetic as having unique access to truth and accuracy: during the war these were put under pressure by writers' involvement in both propaganda (state-sponsored and more informal), and translation projects. The war provided propitious conditions for a great increase in translations from Russian literature, as British readers sought to understand their new ally and the State sought to increase sympathy for it. But translation also presented a conceptual problem for an aesthetics committed to truth and accuracy: the translator's words are both conduit and barrier to the primary

⁶ Roshwald and Stites, 'Introduction', p. 2.

⁷ See Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford], *When Blood is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), pp. xiii, xiv, xiv, xviii–xix, 295–6 and, especially, the chapter on 'Language' in Ford Madox Hueffer [Ford], *Between St. Dennis and St. George: A Sketch of Three Civilisations* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915): 'By the madness of phrase-making, by the madness of the inexact and aspiring phrase-makings of the industrial system, of materialism, of false Napoleonism and the rest of the paraphernalia of life as we live it to-day, Europe, if it be lost, will have been lost. And it will have been lost very largely on account of German inexactitude. The worst that is to be alleged against this country is a certain clumsiness of language, a certain clinging to obsolescences of phrase and a certain resultant stupidity and want of imagination. The English are generally pretty right, though they blunder into rightness even more often than they achieve it by any self-consciousness of aim. But France is always exactly right according to her aspirations as she is true in her phraseology. It is always only Germany that is absolutely wrong; it is always only Germany that accepts with inevitable voracity every phrase that is bombastic and imbecile' (pp. 68–9).

source. Like propaganda, translation requires the reader to trust an intermediary correspondent.

Military alliance with Russia presented a particularly difficult propaganda challenge for the British government. In the days leading up to Britain's entry into the war on 4 August 1914, numerous articles and letters were published in the press arguing that to support Russia against Germany was to support a barbarous nation against its own subjects, and to risk tipping the much-cited 'balance of power' in Europe away from democracy. On 3 August, the eve of the outbreak of war, the *Manchester Guardian*, which led the campaign for British neutrality, urged its readers, 'We must not forget the brutalities practised in Finland, the wholesale baitings of Jews, the detestable barbarity and injustice with which every effort of the Russian people to gain a tolerable government has been suppressed'.⁸ Letters to the editor in the same issue repeated the point: James A. Mackereth, under the heading 'Despotic Russia', described Russia as 'a country just emerging from barbarism, with barbarous instincts untamed and unruly by autocrats without understanding and without shame', and William E. Wilson wrote that 'To support Russia—the incarnation of reaction—can scarcely in the end be to fight in the cause of freedom and justice'.⁹ Indeed, to some, it was far from obvious that France and Russia were the preferred allies to Germany, a nation 'highly civilised, with a culture that has contributed enormously in the past to Western civilisation'. 'We regard Germany as a nation leading the way in the arts and science, and we have all learnt and are learning from German scholars', wrote a group of academics. 'War upon her in the interest of Servia and Russia will be a sin against civilisation'.¹⁰

Perhaps the best-known instance of Russian literature's entry into the war is the open letter 'To Our Colleagues in Russia', which was published in the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* on 23 December 1914. It was one of several manifestos drafted by the group of writers who formed the War Propaganda Bureau established by the writer and Liberal Cabinet member, C. F. G. Masterman, at the beginning of September.¹¹ The letter was proposed by H. G. Wells, who had made his first visit to Russia the previous January, and drafted by Gilbert Murray; it was sent to potential signatories at the end of October (Fig. 10).¹² The signatories con-

⁸ 'A Shameless Argument', *Manchester Guardian* (3 August 1914), 6.

⁹ James A. Mackereth, 'Despotic Russia' (letter), *Manchester Guardian* (3 August 1914), 9; William E. Wilson, 'The Old Illusion' (letter), *Manchester Guardian* (3 August 1914), 9. See also Donald Mackenzie Wallace, *Our Russian Ally* (London: Macmillan, 1914), p. 2: 'If we were to question a dozen fairly intelligent, educated Englishmen why Russia has usually been regarded as a hereditary enemy and an impossible ally, they would probably give two main reasons: firstly, that she is the modern stronghold of barbarism, ignorance and tyrannical government, and secondly, that she threatens our interests in South-Eastern Europe and Central Asia'.

¹⁰ 'England's Duty. Neutrality the One Policy. War Arguments Refuted', *Manchester Guardian* (3 August 1914), 10; E. G. Browne, et al, 'An Appeal to Scholars' (letter), *Manchester Guardian* (1 August 1914), 9.

¹¹ Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914–33* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. 12–20.

¹² Anthony Hope wrote to Murray, 'I had heard of Wells' idea, but heard no more, till Galsworthy, calling on me at Wellington House two or three days ago showed me your draft', Anthony Hope, letter to Gilbert Murray, 23 October 1914, p. 98, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian.

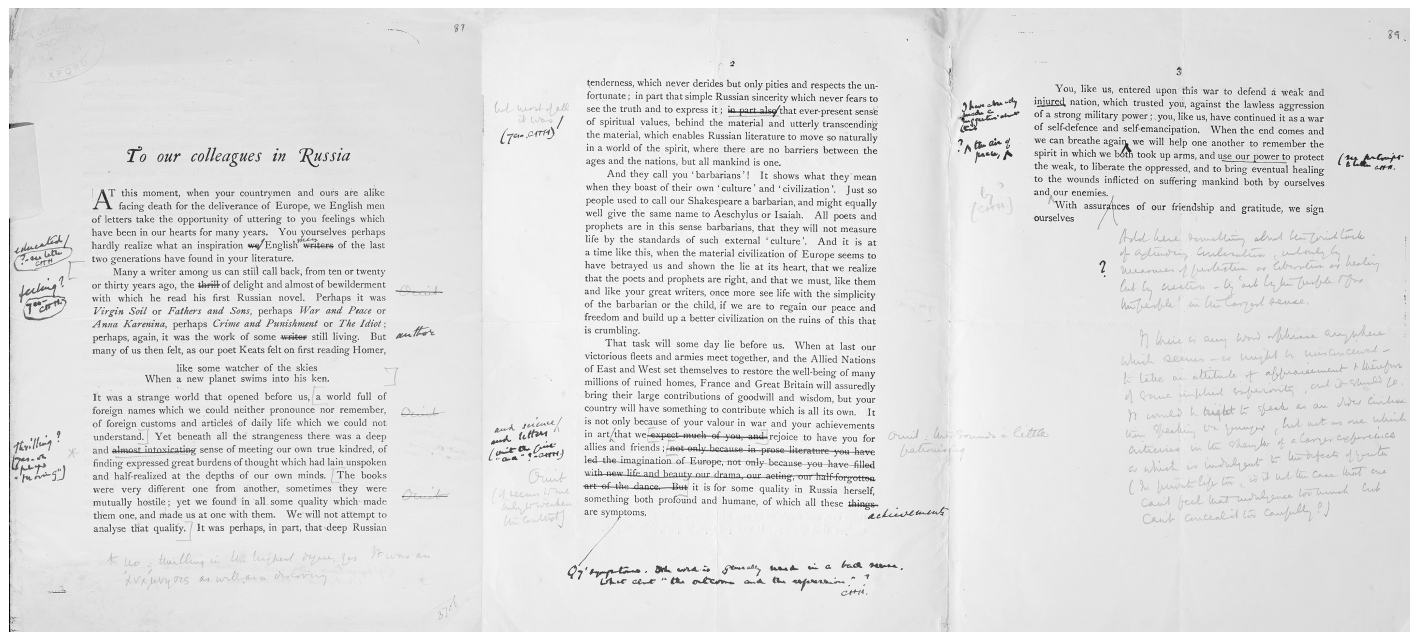


Fig. 10. Gilbert Murray, draft version of 'To Our Colleagues in Russia', with annotations by Anthony Hope [?] and Owen Seaman [?], pp. 87, 89, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Reproduced courtesy of Alexander Murray.

sisted of twenty-three of the more internationally-renowned writers who had signed the 'Declaration by British Authors' that Murray, Anthony Hope, and Owen Seaman had written for the bureau in September, including J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, Robert Bridges, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle ('all the world knows Sherlock Holmes', wrote Hope to Murray), John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, Jane Harrison, and May Sinclair.¹³ To these were added eight Russophiles—Maurice Baring, Nevill Forbes, Constance Garnett, Edward Garnett, A. P. Goudy, Aylmer Maude, Donald Mackenzie Wallace, and Charles Hagberg Wright—and, also Henry James (who had been invited to Masterman's original meeting, but whose nationality prevented him signing the 'Declaration by British Authors'), Alice Meynell ('hurt, I believe, by not being asked to sign our manifesto.... We must remember the women in these days!', wrote Hope), and Ernest de Selincourt, then Professor of English at the University of Birmingham...¹⁴ 'Many a writer among us', the letter read:

can still call back, from ten, or 20, or 30 years ago, the feeling of delight, and almost of bewilderment, with which he read his first Russian novel. Perhaps it was 'Virgin Soil' or 'Fathers and Sons,' perhaps 'War and Peace' or 'Anna Karenina,' perhaps 'Crime and Punishment' or 'The Idiot'; perhaps, again, it was the work of some author still living. But many of us then felt, as our poet Keats felt on first reading Homer,

Like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken.

It was a strange world that opened before us, a world full of foreign names which we could neither pronounce nor remember, of foreign customs and articles of daily life which we could not understand. Yet beneath all the strangeness there was a deep sense of having discovered a new home, a meeting our unknown kindred, of finding expressed great burdens of thought which had lain unspoken and half-realized at the depths of our own minds.¹⁵

¹³ 'The War: Declaration by British Authors', p. 1, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, published as 'Britain's Destiny and Duty: Declaration by Authors', *The Times* (18 September 1914), 2, and reprinted as 'Famous British Authors Defend England's War', *New York Times* (18 October 1914), 5; 'Minutes of a Conference with Eminent Literary Men and Women summoned by the Right Honourable C. F. G. Masterman, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, held at Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, SW, on Wednesday, 2 September 1914', pp. 11–13, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25; Anthony Hope, letter to Gilbert Murray, 23 October 1914, p. 98, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian.

¹⁴ Hope, letter to Gilbert Murray, 23 October 1914, p. 98, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian. The full list of signatories was: William Archer, Maurice Baring, J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, A.C. Bradley, Robert Bridges, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, Nevill Forbes, John Galsworthy, Constance Garnett, Edward Garnett, A. P. Goudy, Thomas Hardy, Jane Harrison, Anthony Hope, Henry James, J. W. Mackail, John Masfield, A. E. W. Mason, Aylmer Maude, Alice Meynell, Gilbert Murray, Henry Newbolt, Gilbert Parker, Ernest de Selincourt, May Sinclair, D. Mackenzie Wallace, Mary A. Ward, William Watson, H. G. Wells, Margaret L. Woods, and C. Hagberg Wright. Granville Barker, Raymond Beazley, Rudyard Kipling, Walter Raleigh, and George Bernard Shaw were invited to sign but declined; Jerome K. Jerome was invited but appears to have not responded.

¹⁵ 'To Russian Men of Letters: A Greeting from their English Brethren', *Manchester Guardian* (23 December 1914), 4; 'Russia in Literature: Tribute by British Men of Letters', *The Times* (23 December 1914), 10.

This passage is a compelling reminder that Russian literature was perceived as the discovery of a single generation, and that readers who were middle-aged in 1914 saw themselves as the pioneers of this 'strange world'. The characterizations of Russian literature here are recognizable descendants of those used to describe that first encounter: the distinctive foreignness of Russian culture, the psychological acuity, the portraits of daily life. But the last phrase in the quotation above is new: readers of the 1880s and 1890s did not describe 'a deep sense of having discovered a new home', of 'finding expressed great burdens of thought ... half-realized at the depths of our own minds', they described a sense of difference. The argument of a shared nature is new, and designed to consolidate support for Britain's Russian ally.

Having praised the 'deep Russian tenderness, which never derides but only pities and respects the unfortunate', 'that simple Russian sincerity which never fears to see the truth and express it', and 'most of all that ever-present sense of spiritual values, behind the material and utterly transcending the material', the letter continues,

And they call you 'barbarians'! The fact should make us ask again what we mean by the words 'culture' and 'civilization.' Critics used once to call our Shakespeare a barbarian, and might equally well give the same name to Aeschylus or Isaiah. All poets and prophets are in this sense barbarians, that they will not measure life by the standards of external 'culture.' And it is at a time like this, when the material civilization of Europe seems to have betrayed us and shown the lie at its heart, that we realize that the poets and prophets are right, and that we must, like them and like your great writers, once more see life with the simplicity of the barbarian or the child, if we are to regain our peace and freedom and build up a better civilization on the ruins of this that is crumbling.¹⁶

Though the 'they' calling Russians 'barbarians' could refer to British antagonists of the Anglo-Russian alliance, the manifesto's context suggests that the primary target here is German anti-Russian propaganda. On 14 September Pavel Vinogradov (Paul Vinogradoff), Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, had written to *The Times* to 'contribute some observations on German and Russian conceptions in matters of culture', and specifically to address 'the insistence with which the Germans represent their cause in this worldwide struggle as the cause of civilization as opposed to Muscovite barbarism'.¹⁷ His readers could have read some examples in the same newspaper: on 23 August *The Times* had reported that a German pamphlet produced for American readers described the Allies as 'a flagging civilization in alliance with Muscovite retrogression', and two days later quoted from a statement in the *Vossische Zeitung* by the Jena professors Ernst Häckel and Rudolf Eucken that claimed 'England fights to please a half-Asiatic Power against Germanism. She fights not only on the side of barbarism, but also

¹⁶ 'To Russian Men of Letters', p. 4.

¹⁷ Paul Vinogradoff, 'Russia and the War: The Psychology of a Nation', *The Times* (14 September 1914), 10. Vinogradov's letter may have been written at Murray's suggestion: on 29 October Henry Newbolt wrote to Murry, 'Your letter to our Colleagues in Russia, and Vinogradoff's letter to the *Times*, are to me the most interesting & sympathetic utterances which have appeared. I believe that we owe them both to you, and I am grateful' (pp. 124–5, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian).

of moral injustice'.¹⁸ But the most influential instance of German propaganda to marshal German culture against Russian barbarism was the appeal made in October 1914 'An die Kulturwelt!', or 'To the Civilized World', as its English version was entitled, a declaration signed by ninety-three scholars, scientists, and artists, which was translated into fourteen languages, and included the statement that,

It is not true that our warfare pays no respect to international laws. It knows no disciplined cruelty. But in the east the earth is saturated with the blood of women and children unmercifully butchered by the wild Russian troops, and in the west Dum-Dum-bullets mutilate the breasts of our soldiers. Those who have allied themselves with Russians and Servians, and present such a shameful scene to the world as that of inciting Mongolians and Negroes against the white race, have no right whatever to call themselves upholders of civilization.¹⁹

As Wolfgang Mommsen has discussed, in Germany the controversies of October 1914 'became a launching-pad for a campaign that set out to prove that the war was in effect a cultural war', that pitted German 'culture' against materialist European 'civilization' and Russian barbarism.²⁰ The remark in the open letter 'To Our Colleagues in Russia', that 'All poets and prophets are in this sense barbarians, that they will not measure life by the standards of external "culture"', is then an astute reappropriation of the charge of barbarism. It positions it as antithetical to German *Kultur*, yet compatible with 'a better civilization', and it does so by drawing on familiar early modernist rhetoric—the simplicity of the barbarian or the child'.²¹

The portrayal of Russia as unlike Germany in its simplicity and childlike faith had, however, to be accommodated to a portrayal of Russia as like Britain and France in its progress towards Western ideals of civilization. Vinogradov's letter achieved this by arguing that though 'the orientation of the so-called "intelligent" class in Russia' was 'Western' insofar as 'it is imbued with current European ideas as to politics economics and law', 'the keynote of popular ideals has been faithfully preserved'. His evidence was Russia's literary products. In Russia, unlike Germany, 'no writer of any standing would dream of building up a theory of violence in vindication of a claim to culture', he wrote,

¹⁸ "A Demigod of Lies", *The Times* (23 August 1914), 2.

¹⁹ Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg and Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Aufruf 'An die Kulturwelt!': Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), pp. 162, 145. The appeal, though not the section quoted above, was extracted in *The Times*; it was provided more fully in the *Manchester Guardian*, leaving out the last sentence quoted above. See "Through German Eyes", *The Times* (8 October 1914), 6, 'What Germans Believe: A Protest to "The World of Culture"', *Manchester Guardian* (7 October 1914), 6.

²⁰ Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 'German Intellectuals and the Meaning of War', in John Horne, ed., *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 21–38 (p. 29). For a succinct summary of the Kultur/Zivilization opposition, see Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 58–9.

²¹ 'To Russian Men of Letters', p. 4.

It may be said, in fact, that the leaders of Russian public opinion are pacific, cosmopolitan, and humanitarian to a fault. The mystic philosopher Vladimir Solovieff used to dream of the union of the churches with the Pope as the spiritual head, and democracy in the Russian sense as the broad basis of the rejuvenated Christendom. Dostoyevsky, a writer most sensitive to the claims of nationality in Russia, defined the ideal of the Russians in a celebrated speech as the embodiment of a universally humanitarian type. These are extremes, but characteristic extremes pointing to the trend of national thought. Russia is so huge and so strong that material power has ceased to be attractive to her thinkers.²²

Inspired by Vinogradov's effort to explain—or construct—"The Psychology of a Nation", as his letter was subtitled, a 'Conference of Persons interested in Russia' was convened at Wellington House on 11 November on behalf of the War Propaganda Bureau, for the purpose of producing a pamphlet 'setting out briefly and clearly the achievements of Russia in literature, music, science, art, law and history'. Murray's Oxford colleague, the classicist J. W. Mackail, took the Chair, and explained that the aim of the pamphlet would be 'to show Russia's place in the higher civilisation of the world and to dispel the idea that Russia had not yet emerged from barbarism'. Its target audience was three-fold:

- (1) The British public generally, who have the idea that nothing of any importance has happened in Russia for the last sixty years or more.
- (2) The working classes who have a vague but very intense hatred of Russia because they consider its Government as very reactionary...
- (3) The English-speaking world in the Colonies and the United States of America.

The conference's attendees were asked to supply short essays on their areas of expertise to be combined into a single-authored whole, ideally 'with the eloquence of a Ruskin based on large and accurate knowledge'. After considering George Calderon and H. G. Wells as potential lead authors (both were absent) it was decided that Mackail himself would write the main text, despite his misgivings that 'his style of writing would not be sufficiently popular'.²³

The resulting pamphlet, *Russia's Gift to the World*, defined Russia's contribution in terms that demonstrate the ease with which the writings of academics, writers, and artists could be used by politicians in wartime to deflect attention away from the contradictions of the immediate political situation, and towards a set of long-range, intellectual, and human values of far less interest to governments in times of peace. A nation is best defined, Mackail argued, not by the size of its territory, nor

²² Vinogradoff, 'Russia and the War', p. 10.

²³ 'Minutes of a Conference of Persons interested in Russia held at Wellington House', pp. 174–80, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian. On Calderon's knowledge of Russia, see Percy Lubbock, *George Calderon: A Sketch from Memory* (London: Grant Richards, 1921), pp. 39–42, and Miles, *George Calderon*, pp. 61–161. Invitations to the conference were sent to Harley Granville Barker, Murray's close friend the historian Herbert Fisher, the physiologists Walter Morley Fletcher and Ernest Starling, Nevill Forbes, Anthony Hope, J. W. Mackail, Gilbert Murray, Rosa Newmarch, Ralph Vaughan Williams, H. G. Wells, Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hagberg Wright. All but Vaughan Williams and Wells attended.

by its achievements in industry and commerce, nor yet by its politics and social organization, but rather by what it has done 'in the things of the mind, in letters, in science, and in art'. The pamphlet contained sections on music, art, drama, mathematics, physics, biology, history, and philosophy and sociology, but the longest section by some way was on literature.²⁴

Drafted by Nevill Forbes, Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages at Oxford, and Charles Hagberg Wright, the Librarian of the London Library, the section's account of Russian literary history is largely consistent with pre-war narratives. 'Regular Russian literature, in the modern sense of the term', we are told, 'is hardly more than a century old'. Pushkin is 'the real founder of modern Russian literature', Turgenev 'writes of Russian life from a broad European point of view', and 'is a supreme artist', whereas 'Dostoyevsky rejects art in his consuming passion for humanity', and in Tolstoy's work "art happens," he cannot help being a great artist... it is as though Nature herself took the pen and wrote for him'.²⁵

Nevertheless, certain aspects of the account betray its role as propaganda. Similarities between Russian and British literature are firmly underlined: Pushkin 'corresponds broadly to both Scott and Byron', Turgenev's fame in the 1880s was 'somewhat like Tennyson in England, of unquestioned supremacy', *Crime and Punishment* was as influential as Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*, Gogol 'was the Russian Dickens', and Gor'ky 'the Russian Kipling'. And if this 'modern Russian literature' was only a recent invention, Russia's earlier oral traditions reveal 'a power of imagination and expression not excelled by anything produced in Western Europe' (a curiously negative phrase perhaps also designed to express similarity rather than difference). The potential indicated by these early literary productions was only arrested, the account continues, by an external force: 'the production of this early popular literature received a severe check from the conquest of Southern Russia by the Mongols (a race akin to the Huns) in the 13th century. Ages of devastation followed, during which Russia sank back into something approaching barbarism'. Russia's natural propensity, it is implied, has always been to civilization; if barbarism is to be attributed to Russia, it should be understood that it was

²⁴ J. W. Mackail, *Russia's Gift to the World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), p. 8. According to the conference minutes, the sections were to be drafted by the following experts, all of whom were credited in the pamphlet: literature: Hagberg Wright and Forbes; art, music: Newmarch; theatre ('Drama, Dancing and the Ballet'): Granville Barker; history: Fisher; mathematics and astronomy: Whitehead, who proposed also to consult the astronomer royal Frank Dyson; medical science: Fletcher; science: Starling undertook to obtain drafts from D. H. Scott on botany and Edmund Garwood on geology, Fletcher undertook to obtain a draft from J. J. Thomson on physics; Hagberg Wright undertook to obtain a draft from John F. Baddeley on geography, and provide a special issue of *The Studio* (presumably *Peasant Art in Russia*, autumn 1912) to help Mackail in writing on peasant arts. Also credited, but not mentioned in the minutes, were the plant physiologist Frederick Blackman, the historian of the Byzantine empire J.B. Bury, the mathematician Andrew Forsyth, the embryologist J. P. Hill, and 'T.W. Shklovsky', i.e. the journalist Isaak Vladimirovich Shklovsky, who wrote under the pseudonym 'Dioneo': 'Minutes of a Conference of Persons interested in Russia held at Wellington House', pp. 179–80, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian. On Shklovsky, see A. V. Vaninskaya, 'Russkii vzglyad: rossiiskie inostrannye korrespondenty i Velikobritanii nachala XX veka', in A. V. Kobak and O. L. Kuvaldina, eds, *Rossiia-Velikobritaniya*, pp. 350–8.

²⁵ Mackail, *Russia's Gift to the World*, pp. 11, 12, 13, 15.

induced by an enemy—an enemy comparable, the shrewd use of ‘Hun’ suggests, to that now faced by Britain.²⁶

In his conclusion, Mackail resolves the pamphlet’s claims for cultural similarity with the evident difference between the nations by deploying the trope of the child, ‘Russia is really one of the younger nations’, he writes, ‘She is really more of a child than England or France or Germany. Like a child, she is overflowing with understanding and sympathy, but she is not what grown-up people call practical’.²⁷ The pamphlet’s cover image of a fairy-tale Russian town, supplied by Hagberg Wright, contributed to this presentation of Russian childlikeness (Fig. 11).²⁸ And, although at the initial meeting Murray and Hagberg Wright had made the point that the pamphlet must directly address British concerns about Russia’s internal politics, Mackail responds only obliquely, primarily by representing Russia as at an earlier stage of the same process of development as Britain—a point made, as Mackail may have known, by Russian Marxists and their associates, notably Georgy Plekhanov, and subsequently Aleksandr Chuprov, Petr Struve, and Mikhailo Tugan-Baranovskiy, all briefly mentioned in *Russia’s Gift to the World*:

Both England and Russia are in the throes of a social and industrial revolution. But they are at different stages of it. This is why it is so useful to think of modern Russia by comparison with the England of a hundred years ago; for in both we have a time of deep ferment and discontent throughout the whole nation among those who have lost their old anchorage, both as regards thought and as regards the structure of social life.... We should remember, in our own history, the machinery riots, the Chartist movement, and the disappointment which followed the extravagant hopes raised by the first Reform Act.²⁹

The pamphlet suggests that literature is the advance guard in Russia’s progress towards civilization; a draft of the ‘Declaration by British Authors’ had similarly ended with a paragraph, subsequently deleted, that acknowledged the problem of alliance with a Russia ‘only half emancipated and still struggling to the light’, but represented its ‘literature and art which are the inspiration of Europe’ as indicative of its ‘great advance towards freedom’.³⁰

Wartime publications routinely used Russian literature to defend Britain’s alliance with Russia. In his own pamphlet *Thoughts on the War*, Murray wrote that ‘We are fighting not to defend Russian governors and Russian peasants against

²⁶ Mackail, *Russia’s Gift to the World*, pp. 12, 14, 17, 14–15, 11. For the circumstances under which the Huns became associated with Germany, see Gregory, *The Last Great War*, pp. 51–2.

²⁷ Mackail, *Russia’s Gift to the World*, p. 43.

²⁸ The conference minutes record that Hagberg Wright undertook to select for the cover a design by Ivan Bilibin, renowned for his illustrations of Russian folk tales. Though the cover design strongly evokes Bilibin’s work, a signature identifies the artist as Amédée Forestier (1854–1930), a French-born illustrator who had worked for the *Illustrated London News*, specializing in historical landscapes, and had previously travelled to Russia: ‘Minutes of a Conference of Persons interested in Russia held at Wellington House’, p. 180, Gilbert Murray Papers, Bodleian.

²⁹ ‘Minutes of a Conference of Persons interested in Russia held at Wellington House’, p. 176, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian; Mackail, *Russia’s Gift to the World*, pp. 39, 44.

³⁰ Draft of ‘The War: Declaration by British Authors’, p. 4, Gilbert Murray Papers, MSS 25, Bodleian.

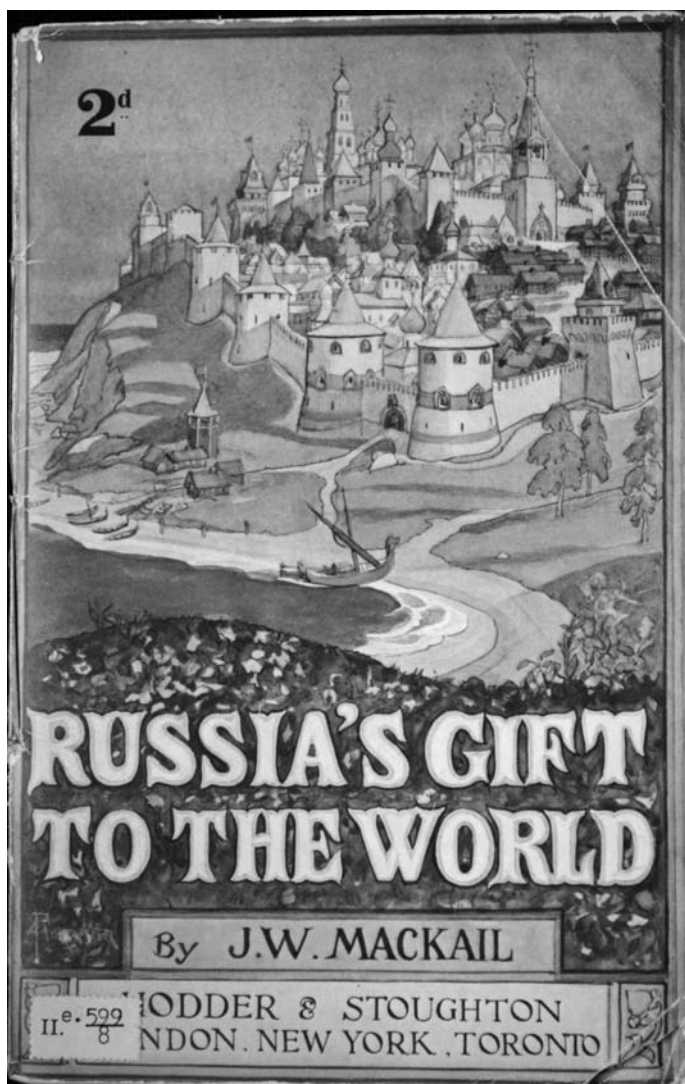


Fig. 11. J. W. Mackail, *Russia's Gift to the World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), cover. Shelfmark II.e.599/8, The Queen's College Library. Reproduced by permission of The Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford.

German invasion, but also, and perhaps more profoundly, to enable the Russia of Turgenieff and Tolstoy, the Russia of many artists and many martyrs, to work out its destiny and its freedom'.³¹ In a substantial section on Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy in *Europe's Debt to Russia*, Charles Sarolea remarked that the three

³¹ Gilbert Murray, *Thoughts on the War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 17–18.

writers 'are all characterized by the same Russian depth, the same love of reality and veracity. They have all the same hatred of cant and convention; they have all the same unconquerable love of freedom; they are all democrats and pacifists. . . . if we may judge the aspirations of the Russian nation from the writings of her greatest sons, we can be left in no doubt as to the ultimate Orientation of the Russian people'.³² John Foster Fraser's *Russia of To-Day* remarked that 'Russian literature is essentially democratic. . . . Most of the characters in Russian novels represent quite common people. Humdrum life is depicted as a protest against the restrictions that produce it'.³³ The anonymous author of *Russia and the Russian People* concluded a chapter on 'Language and Literature' by suggesting that the repressions of autocracy had created a literature which suggested that 'Russia will probably tomorrow become the pioneer of a mental revolt compared with which the French Revolution will be as nothing'.³⁴

The effect of these propagandist works is to argue that, if Russia seems at first sight uncivilized in comparison to Britain and Germany, civilization should be redefined. Civilization is now to be understood not as political, judicial, military, or scientific achievement, the standards of 'material civilisation' or 'external "culture"', as the writers' open letter dismissively described the concepts now devalued through association with Germany. From August 1914, the British public is asked to appreciate a different definition of civilization, at least when thinking about Russia: civilization now consists of simplicity, authenticity, and spiritual freedom—qualities many would read about, with greatly increased interest, in Russian literature.

3.2 THE RUSSIAN SOUL

Not everyone supported the use of literature to foster sympathy with Britain's new ally. A notable number of Russophile modernists were conscientious objectors, including David Garnett, Mark Gertler, Douglas Goldring, John Rodker, and Stephen Winsten. Both Rodker and Winsten were imprisoned. Charles Daniel was prosecuted twice for publishing pacifist works, one of the many Tolstoyans who campaigned against the war, citing the influence of Tolstoy's principle of non-resistance to evil by violence.³⁵ George Bernard Shaw refused to sign Murray's and Wells's open letter: he wrote to Murray on 5 November, 'I will not put my name to any document that deals with Russia unless it expressly and emphatically damns the Tsardom uphill, down dale, and all the way to hell. It is our business, not to help this abomination to hide itself under the mantle of Tolstoy, but to take care that neither at home nor abroad shall the enemies of mankind steal the sacred fire

³² Charles Sarolea, *Europe's Debt to Russia* (London: Heinemann, 1916), pp. 96–7.

³³ John Foster Fraser, *Russia of To-Day* (London: Cassell, 1915), p. 250.

³⁴ *Russia and the Russian People* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1914), p. 55.

³⁵ Gassert, 'C. W. Daniel', pp. 18–30; Alston, *Tolstoy and his Disciples*, pp. 73–80, 209–12.

that will, we hope, destroy Potsdam'.³⁶ In a long letter to Gor'ky on 28 December he explained further. Gor'ky had written to request a contribution to his new internationalist journal *Letopis'*, on 'l'état actuel de l'Angleterre et vos provisions sur ses destinées', but Shaw took the opportunity instead to describe how Britain's role on the international stage as a champion of democracy was compromised by its military alliance with Russia:

Can you wonder then that I and others who understand the gravity of the situation, and the necessity for conciliating American and Swedish opinion, are forced to take every opportunity of declaring that though we are the military allies of the Russian Government, we are not its accomplices in its raids on democracy and liberty? What else can we say? Nothing, except that Russia is the country of Pushkin and Gogol, of Turgeniev and Tolstoy, of Tchekov and Gorky, of Stepniak and Kropotkin, and of the Moscow Art Theater. But what are the relations of these great men to the Russian Government? All the world believes that if the Russian Government had its way all such men would be sent to Siberia, or flogged or shot or hanged.

The distinction Shaw insists on in this letter is precisely that which Murray's and Wells's open letter sought to erase: the distinction between the Russian State and the cultural products of the country's writers. Shaw goes on to insist that he is 'as strongly susceptible as anyone to the fascination of the Russian character', and even condones a view he attributes to Petr Kropotkin's daughter, Sasha Kropotkin, that 'the Russians would give the world back its lost soul'. But such sympathy with the Russian people, he concludes,

does not help me in the matter of the war, because this Russian soul is in passionate protest against the Russian Government: indeed, this strange intensive culture of the Russian soul, which makes all our Western souls seem vulgar in comparison, is produced by cutting the Russians off from every other honest activity of the soul except the activity of art and literature; and even that is stifled by the censorship. All the affinities of the Western democratic soul for the soul of Russia are hostile barriers between the Russian Government and the English and French peoples.³⁷

Here we see Shaw restating the argument his friend Kravchinsky had used in the 1880s and 1890s to harness Russian literature to the revolutionary cause: that Russian literature and its portrayal of Russian character was the record of an oppressed people, and growing knowledge of Russian literature must increase British opposition to the Russian State.

But Shaw's argument that 'the affinities of the Western democratic soul for the soul of Russia are hostile barriers between the Russian Government and the English and French peoples' turned out to be incorrect. In fact the Western affinity with the soul of Russia was not a barrier but a highly effective conduit between the Russian government and the British people and, as Murray's and Wells's open letter

³⁶ George Bernard Shaw, letter to Gilbert Murray, 5 November 1914, in Bernard Shaw, *Collected Letters*, 111: 1911–1925, ed. by Dan. H. Laurence (London: Max Reinhardt, 1985), pp. 260–1 (p. 261).

³⁷ George Bernard Shaw, letter to Maksim Gor'ky, 28 December 1915, *Collected Letters*, 111: 339–46 (pp. 339, 342, 343–4).

indicates, it was deployed in propaganda from the first months of the war. The argument that Russia was more spiritual than its western neighbours had a long history, but while, as we saw in the introduction, Vogüé's *Le Roman russe* marshalled Russia's spirituality against the ostensible materialism of French writing, in 1914 it was set against materialism now attributed to German *Kultur*. Vinogradov's aforementioned letter to *The Times* had presented Russians as 'simple people [who] cling to the belief that there is something else in God's world but toil and greed', and argued that 'Russia is so huge and so strong that material power has ceased to be attractive to her thinkers'. And though Vinogradov, like Mackail, referred to political reform, the 'thinkers' he cited for his final characterizations of Russia were Fedor Dostoevsky and Vladimir Solov'ev, the central figures of the movement known as the Russian religious renaissance.³⁸

The opposition of 'the Russian soul' to German materialism was not without irony since, as several critics have discussed, the concept derived from German romanticism's profound influence on Russian intellectuals in the early nineteenth century, as they sought to define a value and future for their nation.³⁹ But the British fascination with 'the Russian soul' was long established by 1914. Since the late nineteenth century, public knowledge of the Russian Orthodox Church had been increased by W. J. Birkbeck's campaign for its reunion with the Anglican Church, and Tolstoy's writings on Christianity were widely known; literary critics had used the term since the 1880s to present Russian literature as a spiritual corrective to the materialism of the French naturalist and British new realist novels.⁴⁰ In the years immediately preceding the war, the most influential exponent of Russian spirituality was the travel writer Stephen Graham. Graham began learning Russian after reading Frederick Whishaw's translation of *Crime and Punishment*, and first visited Russia for a holiday in 1906. In 1907, having translated half of Dostoevsky's *Unizhennyye i oskorblennyye* (1861) (*Humiliated and Insulted*), he decided to 'give up everything and go to Russia'. After living in Moscow for a year, he set off on the first of his 'tramps' across Russia, conceiving himself a tramp writer in the tradition of W. H. Davies and, of course, Gor'ky, whom he quoted as inspiration in his first book, *A Vagabond in the Caucasus*:

Two thousand miles from London there are new silences, pregnant stillness, on the steppes, in the country places, on the skirts of the old forests. No word of the hubbub of democracy need come through; not a hoarding poster flaunts the eye; no burning question of the hour torments the mind. A man is master of himself and may see or hear or consider just what he chooses. That is, if the man be like me.

'You look up at the sky, as you lie under a bush, and it keeps descending, descending to you, as though it wanted to embrace you... Your soul is warm and quietly joyful, you desire nothing, you envy no one.'

³⁸ Vinogradoff, 'Russia and the War', p. 10.

³⁹ Robert C. Williams, 'The Russian Soul: A Study in European Thought and Non-European Nationalism', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 (1970), 573–88 (p. 573).

⁴⁰ Hughes, 'Searching for the Soul of Russia', pp. 210–11.

'...And so it seems as though on all the earth there were only you and God'...So wrote Gorky, the tramp.⁴¹

Unsurprisingly, *A Vagabond in the Caucasus* was positively reviewed in *The Tramp*, the periodical nexus of simple life and early modernism founded and edited by Douglas Goldring, the former employee not only of Ford at the *English Review*, but Graham's father, P. Anderson Graham, at *Country Life*.⁴² In his articles for *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, and his subsequent books—he published thirteen before the end of the war—Graham remodelled his tramp persona into that of the Christian pilgrim: Graham's biographer, Michael Hughes, writes that even as early as *A Tramp's Sketches*, published in 1912, 'The whole process of tramping was portrayed as a kind of pilgrimage, which allowed the individual to develop new insights into their soul, as well as giving them an opportunity to unravel the meaning of the landscapes through which they passed'.⁴³ The locus of value in Graham's construction of 'Holy Russia' was the Russian peasant, who Graham saw as the repository of an essential spirituality threatened by the materialism of Western civilization: 'The cultivated and educated Russians must not lose their peasant souls', wrote Graham in *Changing Russia*, 'For the peasant is the root, and the root draws up mysteriously from those depths that which is its own, that which God has provided'.⁴⁴

Although Graham's travel writing was ostensibly concerned with Christianity in Russia, it was also indirectly a conduit for certain philosophical and literary ideas, for Graham was introduced to leading figures of the Russian religious renaissance at an early stage of his travels through Russia. In his autobiography Graham represents himself as an intensely literary young man, growing up reading Ruskin, Browning, and Carlyle, and subsequently Ibsen, Chekhov, Gogol' and, especially, Dostoevsky and Nietzsche. The anti-positivism of much of this youthful reading created a fertile ground for the ideas animating Russia's contemporary literary culture, which drew on some of the same sources.⁴⁵ During his tramp through the Caucasus in 1909, Graham met the poet Vera Merkur'eva, who introduced him to the poetry of Konstantin Bal'mont, Aleksandr Blok, and Fedor Sologub—the poets of the Russian symbolist movement with which Merkur'eva herself would later be associated. Merkur'eva also gave Graham an introduction to the painter Vasily Pereplechikov, who took him to the Religious-Philosophical Vladimir Solov'ev Society in Moscow, where idealist philosophers and symbolist writers and artists debated the relationship between Christianity, culture, and contemporary social and political questions, under the influence of Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, and

⁴¹ Michael Hughes, *Beyond Holy Russia: The Life and Times of Stephen Graham* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014), pp. 14–15, 20–2, 25–6, 29, 38, Stephen Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene: An Autobiography* (London: Collins, 1964), pp. 14–15, 17, Stephen Graham, *A Vagabond in the Caucasus With Some Notes of his Experiences Among the Russians* (London: John Lane, 1911), pp. 7–11, 13.

⁴² A. B., 'A Vagabond in the Caucasus, With some Notes of his Experiences among the Russians, by Stephen Graham' (review), *The Tramp*, 2 (January 1911), 388–9.

⁴³ Hughes, *Beyond Holy Russia*, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Stephen Graham, *Changing Russia* (London: John Lane, 1913), p. 210.

⁴⁵ Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, pp. 13–14; Graham, *A Vagabond in the Caucasus*, pp. 4–6, 10.

Dostoevsky's friend, Solov'ev.⁴⁶ These 'Bogoiskateli' ('God-seekers'), as they and their predecessor group in St Petersburg were labelled, rejected the materialism of the radical intelligentsia in favour of Solov'ev's activist Christianity, envisaging a society united in faith and seeking a higher knowledge that would reconcile philosophy, religion, science, and art.⁴⁷

Graham's description of the group makes clear the significance of art and philosophy to their, and his own, spirituality. Referring to his encounters at the Society with the philosophers of the second generation of Russian symbolists, Nikolay Berdyaev, Vyacheslav Ivanov, and Evgeny Trubetskoy, and also the painter Mikhail Nesterov—whose biography he planned to write—Graham remarked, 'Those people and their many associates, including Merezhkovsky and Rozanov, formed the intelligence of the Church. They interpreted Christianity upward, and gave it that extra meaning without which it would be a repository of pious tradition and naïve superstition'.⁴⁸ Though, as Michael Hughes has remarked, some of Graham's comments on the symbolists 'cast doubt on the depth of his understanding of Russian cultural life', his appreciation of their writings nevertheless alerted British readers to the existence of a religious and mystical intelligentsia quite distinct from the more familiar descendants of the *narodniki* (populists), with a very different interpretation of the role of art.⁴⁹ In his most important essay, *O prichinakh upadka i o novykh techeniyakh sovremennoi russkoi literatury* (*On the reasons for the decline and on the new trends in contemporary Russian literature*) (1892), Merezhkovsky wrote that 'no positivist interests, no utilitarian calculation, but only an artistic faith in something infinite and immortal can ignite the soul of man, create heroes, martyrs and prophets'.⁵⁰ Where the populist *chaikovtsy* and their British friends, like Shaw and the Garnetts, interpreted Russian literature as lessons in political history, Graham and the second-generation symbolists read literature as revealing divine truths.

But if Graham's readers wanted to know more about the Russian religious renaissance, they could not easily pursue their interest. Though their names were not unknown, there were few translations of the Russian symbolists and philosophers Graham mentions before the war, and in his biography Graham remembers the difficulty of interesting publishers in Russian literature, especially

⁴⁶ Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, pp. 28–34; Harold D. Baker, 'Vera Merkur'eva', in Christine D. Tomei, ed., *Russian Women Writers*, 2 vols (New York: Garland Press, 1999), II: 729–51.

⁴⁷ Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World*, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, pp. 32–3, 46; Hughes, *Beyond Holy Russia*, pp. 60, 87–9.

⁴⁹ Hughes, *Beyond Holy Russia*, p. 88. Hughes refers specifically to Stephen Graham, 'The Fairy Tales of Remizov', *Times Literary Supplement* (9 April 1914), 176, which concludes: '[Remizov] is a remarkable writer, one of the new Russians who, with Sologub and Brussov and Ivanov and Balmont and Alexander Blok, is leading the intelligentsia back to the truly national, the black earth, the izba, the peasant, and the simple fresh mystical mind of the unspoiled Slav!' See also Stephen Graham, *Undiscovered Russia* (London: John Lane, 1912), pp. 287–90.

⁵⁰ Merezhkovsky, *O prichinakh upadka i o novykh techeniyakh sovremennoi russkoi literatury*, p. 99: 'nikakaya pozitivnaya vygoda, nikakoi utilitarnyi razschet, i tol'ko tvorcheskaya vera vo chto nibud' bezkonechnoe i bezsmertnoe mozhet zazhech' dushu chelovecheskuyu, sozdat' geroev, muchenikov i prorokov'.

contemporary Russian literature, during this period.⁵¹ Ideas and styles associated with somewhat different strains of Russian symbolism were, however, experienced through other cultural forms: painting, design, music, and, as we saw in interchapter two, theatre and the productions of Dyagilev's *Ballets Russes*. But in fact, although the ballets were popular society events, it was the operas of the 1913 summer season—Modest Musorgsky's *Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina*, and Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovityanka* (*The Maid of Pskov*, in London titled *Ivan the Terrible*) starring Fedor Shalyapin (Chaliapin)—that were particularly influential in developing the cult of the Russian soul. The theatre critic of the *English Review* wrote 'Nothing finer than the Choral March in *Ivan*, the acting and singing of the crowd in *Boris*, has been seen. This, and Chaliapine, are unalloyed Russian, pure as the steppes, blasts out of the soul of Russia'.⁵²

As a number of critics have pointed out, it is notable that it was forty-year-old scores by romantic composers that created 'the revolution that so shook London's theatrical world in 1913'.⁵³ The music throughout the pre-war seasons was dominated by the romantic nationalist composers known as *Moguchaya kuchka* (literally 'the Mighty Handful', but more commonly referred to in English as 'the Mighty Five')—only Tsezar' Kyui (César Cui) unrepresented—and their younger followers, including Anton Arensky, Igor' Stravinsky, and Nikolay Cherepnin.⁵⁴ Familiarity played a part in their success: the music of the Mighty Five, particularly of Rimsky-Korsakov and Musorgsky, had been performed in London since the 1890s, promoted by the music critic Rosa Newmarch and the conductor Henry Wood. Newmarch had met the three living members of the Five when she first visited Russia in 1897 and worked closely with Vladimir Stasov, the great champion of Russian nationalism in the arts. As Philip Ross Bullock has discussed, Newmarch's portrayal of Russian music in the British press was deeply indebted to Stasov's Russian nationalism, but it was also shaped by its English reception: for Newmarch, the Mighty Five provided an example for British composers of how a

⁵¹ Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, p. 45. On early discussion of symbolist literature in British periodicals, see Arshinova, 'Serebryanyi vek v "Trudakh Anglo-Russkogo Literaturnogo obshchestva"', pp. 92–5; A. G. Cross, 'Konstantin Bal'mont in Oxford in 1897', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, ns 12 (1979), 104–16; S. Il'ev, 'Valery Bryusov i Uil'yam Morfill', in V. S. Dronov, Z. M. Pozdnyayeva, L. M. Chmykhov, eds, *V. Bryusov i literatura kontsa xix–xx veka* (Stavropol: Stavropol'skii Gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut, 1979), pp. 90–107; Stepan Il'ev, 'Uil'yam Richard Morfill i russkie simvolisty (Bal'mont, Bryusov, "Athenaeum" i "Vesy")', *Studia Rossica Posnaniensia*, 25 (1993), 33–40; and Polonsky, *English Literature and the Russian Aesthetic Renaissance*, pp. 28–33. Brief comment was included in A. Brückner, *A Literary History of Russia*, ed. by Ellis H. Minns, trans. by H. Havelock (London and Leipzig: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), pp. 521–23, but the first sustained (and positive) treatment of symbolism as a movement was Harold Whitmore Williams, *Russia of the Russians* (London: Pitman & Sons, 1914), pp. 198–218, published just before the war.

⁵² S. O. [Harrison], 'The Russians at Drury Lane', p. 64. On the significance of the *Ballets Russes* operas, see Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 307–13.

⁵³ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p. 310. See, for example, Edwin Evans, 'Mussorgsky as a Symbol', *New Weekly* (30 May 1914), 340.

⁵⁴ Israel Nesteev, 'Diaghilev's Musical Education', in Lynn Garafola and Nancy Van Norman Baer, eds, *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 23–42 (p. 39); Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism*, pp. 96–8.

national school of music could be deliberately brought into being.⁵⁵ National essentialism was an important tool in these discussions: nationality in music, Newmarch argued in 1912, has two forms: the '*native idiom*, or folk music, of a nation', generated during the 'aesthetically unsophisticated period of its development', a 'limited expression of the idiosyncrasies and geographical surroundings of a particular country', and the '*national style*', 'more complex, less naïve in its self-revelation, but still presenting a clearly recognisable reflection of the soul of a particular race'.⁵⁶ Although Newmarch's critical language had been generated through an encounter with the arts and critical tradition of the 1860s populists, rather than the more cosmopolitan mixture of aestheticism and mysticism of Bakst's, Benua's, and Dyagilev's *Mir iskusstva* (*World of Art*) movement or the religiosity of the second-generation symbolists, it made available an essentialist, loosely religious, terminology flexible enough to be used for the variety of Russian art works that were appearing, unchronologically, in Britain in the immediate pre-war period.

The same process was at work in the British reception of Russian visual culture. British audiences had some awareness of the Mighty Five's realist, nationalist contemporaries, the Peredvizhniki (the Wanderers). The Doré Gallery had put on an exhibition of their work in the winter of 1910, and the work of their most illustrious member, Il'ya Repin, was familiar.⁵⁷ But in the years immediately preceding the war, it was principally art associated with symbolism, albeit in quite different forms, that British audiences encountered. Louise Hardiman has recently discussed the importance of the Allied Artists' Association exhibitions, which in 1908 exhibited paintings and sculpture by Nikolay Rerikh, Ivan Bilibin, and Konstantin Raush fon Traubenberg alongside a large display of peasant crafts from the artists' colony at Talashkino, the estate of Mariya Tenisheva, a patron of *Mir iskusstva*. The A. A. A. was also first to exhibit the work of the Russian avant-garde: between 1909 and 1913 Vasily Kandinsky, Petr Konchalovsky, and Il'ya Mashkov and showed at the annual exhibitions, but as Hardiman discusses, 'British audiences made little distinction between these competing versions of Russian modernism...invoking stereotyped responses based on their nationality', which revolved around primitivism and orientalism.⁵⁸ The success of Dyagilev's ballets and operas

⁵⁵ Philip Ross Bullock, *Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 38–51. See also Gareth James Thomas, 'The Impact of Russian Music in England, 1893–1929', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005, pp. 2–53, 269–78, and Simon Morrison, *Russian Opera and the Symbolist Movement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

⁵⁶ Rosa Newmarch, 'Chauvinism in Music', *Edinburgh Review*, 216 (July 1912), 95–116 (p. 107). Newmarch's italics.

⁵⁷ *Russian Art Exhibition by One Hundred Leading Artists* (London: Doré Gallery, 1910); 'Tolstoi at Home', *Newcastle Weekly Courant* (24 February 1894), p. 2.

⁵⁸ Louise Hardiman, 'Infantine Smudges of Paint...Infantine Rudeness of Soul': British Reception of Russian Art at the Exhibitions of the Allied Artists' Association, 1908–1911', in Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude*, pp. 133–47 (pp. 134–9, 147); Rutter, *Since I Was Twenty-Five*, p. 182. On Tenisheva, see John E. Bowlt, 'Patronage and the Neo-nationalist Movement: Savva Mamontov and Princess Tenisheva', in Bowlt, *Russian Art, 1875–1975: A Collection of Essays* (New York: MSS Information Corp, 1976), pp. 21–40 (pp. 31–5), and Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p. 14.

enabled Bakst and Vladimir Polunin, Dyagilev's set designer, to hold small solo exhibitions in 1912 and 1913 respectively, and Boris Anrep's paintings, drawings and mosaics were exhibited at the Chenil Gallery in 1913.⁵⁹ Anrep, introduced to the Bloomsbury group by Henry Lamb whom he met while studying in Paris, was responsible for the most concentrated exhibition of contemporary Russian art during this period: the Russian section of Roger Fry's 1912 *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*. About thirty-five works by thirteen artists were exhibited, with only Rerikh's work previously exhibited in Britain. Like Rerikh, the other artists were associated with varieties of symbolism and modernism, both through *Mir iskusstva* and, especially, the more recent *Zolotoe runo* ('Golden Fleece') exhibitions.⁶⁰ Despite the fact that *Zolotoe runo* were deeply interested in French post-impressionism, Anrep's catalogue introduction portrayed contemporary trends in Russian art as anti-realist, anti-Western and nationalist: 'At the present day Western influence is regarded by the nationalists as incompatible with the deepest aspirations of the Russian soul', wrote Anrep. 'Artists filled with admiration before the beauty and expressivity of Russian ancient art aim to continue it, passing by the Western influence, which is considered foreign and noxious to the growth of the Eastern elements of the Russian art'.⁶¹ Reviewers picked up Anrep's hint: Rupert Brooke described the Russian section in the *Cambridge Magazine* as having 'almost no connection with the French, German and English "Post-Impressionists." ... It is heavy with soul, packed with a religious romanticism'.⁶²

As Michael Hughes and Catherine Brown have discussed, the phrase the 'Russian soul' was used with little precision by British commentators, who conflated distinctions between aesthetic, philosophical, and religious usage, and minimized differences between the two generations of Russian symbolism, and indeed pre- and post-symbolist movements.⁶³ (A prime example is Winifred Stephens's propagandist, fundraising collection *The Soul of Russia* (1916), in which writers of quite different views are all presented as a 'glimpse into [Russia's] noble, but some-

⁵⁹ *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings by Leon Bakst* (London: Fine Art Society, [1912]); *Exhibition of Original Etchings and Drawings by Vladimir Polunin* (London: Goupil Gallery, 1913); *Works by Boris Von Anrep* (London: Chenil, [1913]).

⁶⁰ Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii*, pp. 227–8; *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* (catalogue) (London: Goupil Galleries, 1912); Rebecca Beasley, 'Vortorussofilia', in Mark Antliff and Scott Klein, eds, *Vorticism: New Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 33–50 (pp. 39–42); Anna Gruetznier Robins, *Modern Art in Britain, 1910–1914* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1997), pp. 130–24; George Kennaway, 'Lithuanian Art and Music Abroad: English Reception of the Work of M.K. Čiurlionis, 1912–39', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 83 (2005), 234–53 (pp. 235–43); Maclean, *The Vogue for Russia*, pp. 27–45. For a relevant discussion of *Zolotoe runo*, see Jeremy Howard, *The Union of Youth: An Artists' Society of the Russian Avant-Garde* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 33, 40 n.155.

Camilla Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art, 1863–1922*, rev. edn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 77–92.

⁶¹ Boris von Anrep, 'The Russian Group', in *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition* (London: Ballantyne, 1912), pp. 18–21 (p. 21).

⁶² Rupert Brooke, 'The Post-Impressionists—II', *Cambridge Magazine*, 2.7 (30 November 1912), 158–9 (p. 158).

⁶³ Hughes, 'Searching for the Soul of Russia', p. 211; Catherine Brown, 'The Russian Soul Englished', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 36.1 (Fall 2012), 132–49 (p. 138).

times unfathomable soul').⁶⁴ Yet one major element of Russian symbolism's philosophical source material had long been available to British readers: the work of Dostoevsky. Andrzej Walicki notes that 'almost all idealist philosophers and religious thinkers without exception whose ideas were formed at the beginning of the century and who continued their work abroad after the Russian Revolution—men as different as Berdiaev, Bulgakov, Frank, Merezhkovsky, Shestov, Lossky, and Hessen—were fascinated by Dostoevsky at one stage of their lives and absorbed his ideas into their world view'.⁶⁵ Dostoevsky was, moreover, the major popularizer of 'the Russian soul' in Russia in his journalism of the 1870s.⁶⁶ In Britain, although Dostoevsky had been renowned as one of the three major Russian novelists since the 1880s, when his fiction had first been translated, it was Heinemann's edition of seven novels and five volumes of shorter works translated by Constance Garnett between 1912 and 1920 that produced what D. S. Mirsky would influentially term 'the cult of Dostoevsky'.⁶⁷ When Percy Lubbock reviewed the first of Garnett's volumes, *The Brothers Karamazov* (the first English translation of *Brat'ya Karamazovy*) on the front page of the *Times Literary Supplement*, he remarked that though Dostoevsky's novels themselves were not widely known, 'we have at least learned enough to know how greatly a full English version of it is to be desired... We are told that through him alone we can hope to understand the Russian soul, divined and interpreted in his novels as nowhere else'.⁶⁸ The most influential source of this message in Britain was Maurice Baring's *Landmarks in Russian Literature*, which had appeared in 1910, but Baring's own principal source for the concept and, indeed, for many of his views on Dostoevsky, was the symbolist Merezhkovsky, whose famous long essay 'Lev' Tolstoy i Dostoevsky' ('Lev' Tolstoy and Dostoevsky'), serialized in *Mir iskusstva* in 1900, he credited in his Preface.⁶⁹ Merezhkovsky in fact also directly informed Lubbock's reading of *The Brothers Karamazov* in the *TLS*, as the review also discussed a translation of Merezhkovsky's 1890 essay, 'O Prestuplenii i nakazanii Dostoevskogo' ('On Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*'),

⁶⁴ Winifred Stephens, ed., *The Soul of Russia* (London: Macmillan, 1916), pp. v-vi.

⁶⁵ Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought*, p. 348.

⁶⁶ Williams, 'The Russian Soul', pp. 583–5.

⁶⁷ Mirsky, *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain*, p. 107. For discussion of the nineteenth-century publication and reception of Dostoevsky's works, see Muchnic, *Dostoevsky's English Reputation*, pp. 7–30; W. J. Leatherbarrow, 'Introduction: Dostoevskii and Britain', in Leatherbarrow, ed., *Dostoevskii and Britain*, pp. 1–38 (pp. 24–36); and Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism*, pp. 11–16.

⁶⁸ [Percy Lubbock], 'Dostoevsky', review of Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnett, J. A. T. Lloyd, *A Great Russian Realist: Feodor Dostoïevskii*, [Dmitry] Merejkowski, *Dostoevski*, trans. G. A. Mounsey, *Times Literary Supplement* (4 July 1912), 269–70 (p. 269).

⁶⁹ Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature*, p. vii; D. Merezhkovsky, 'Lev' Tolstoy i Dostoevsky', *Mir iskusstva*, 3.1–12 (1900), 1–7, 45–51, 81–6, 125–32, 169–91, 209–41; 4.13–22 (1900), 1–20, 40–57, 71–84, 119–38, 167–95. See Davie, ed., *Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction*, p. 4: it is more accurate to say that Baring popularized the concept of the Russian soul than, as Davie writes, discovered it, as the phrase had appeared in English periodicals during the nineteenth century, notably in [Coleridge], 'Photographs from Russian Life', p. 220, which gave the first translations from Turgenev's work. However, the phrase only began to become more common in English after the publication of an anonymous and abridged translation of Merezhkovsky's essay as Dmitri Merejkowski, *Tolstoi as Man and Artist, with an Essay on Dostoïevski* (London: Constable, 1902).

as well as the first English biography of Dostoevsky, J. A. T. Lloyd's *A Great Russian Realist*, which also credited Merezhkovsky as a source.⁷⁰

The Dostoevsky of Merezhkovsky and Baring provided fertile ground from which to revise the British reception of Russian culture during the war. Of the seven chapters that make up *Landmarks in Russian Literature*, the chapter on Dostoevsky accounts for almost half the volume, and undertakes a significant readjustment of the extant British canon of Russian literature. Baring tells his readers that 'the limited view of the educated intellectual Englishman as to the field of Russian literature as a whole' has led him to 'overrate the genius and position of Tourgeniev in Russian literature'.⁷¹ Following Merezhkovsky's argument that it is not Tolstoy and Turgenev, but Tolstoy and Dostoevsky that 'are the two great columns' of Russian literature, Baring writes that 'the complement of Tolstoy, almost any Russian critic of the present day without hesitation would pronounce to be Dostoevsky; and the foreign critic who is thoroughly acquainted with Dostoevsky's work cannot but agree with him'. Though both Merezhkovsky and Baring insist on Tolstoy's and Dostoevsky's equality, it is clear their main interest lies with Dostoevsky, whose genius, writes Baring, 'soars higher and dives deeper than that of any other novelist, Russian or European'.⁷²

Both Baring and Merezhkovsky present Dostoevsky as having more contemporary relevance than either Turgenev or Tolstoy. In the 1890 essay, which Baring surely knew, Merezhkovsky had remarked that 'Dostoevski is nearer to us... He loves us simply as a friend, and as an equal, not like Turgenev at some poetic distance, nor again, like Leo Tolstoy, from the lofty altitude of a preacher'.⁷³ For Baring, Turgenev is essentially a historical novelist: his achievement is to have 'recorded for all time the atmosphere of a certain epoch'. Tolstoy is distanced from us by his 'indomitable pride, which... causes him to tower like a giant over all his contemporaries'. But Dostoevsky 'realised and perceived certain heights and depths of the human soul which were beyond the range of Tolstoy, and almost beyond that of Shakespeare'.⁷⁴ In the 1880s, Dostoevsky had been read, like Turgenev and Tolstoy, as a social critic, and indeed the most naturalist of the three—'the writer is, without question, a Russian Zola', wrote one reviewer in 1886—Baring, following Merezhkovsky, now presents Dostoevsky as a religious novelist, and does so in terms that would prove highly attractive to British readers during the war.⁷⁵ He ends his chapter with a long quotation from Dostoevsky's famous speech on Pushkin, including the following paragraph:

To the true Russian, Europe and the affairs of the great Aryan race, are as dear as the affairs of Russia herself and of his native country, because our affairs are the affairs of

⁷⁰ J. A. T. Lloyd, *A Great Russian Realist: Feodor Dostoevsky* (London: Stanley Paul, 1912), p. 292.

⁷¹ Baring, *Landmarks*, p. 118.

⁷² Merejkowski, p. 121, Baring, *Landmarks*, pp. 78–9, 261.

⁷³ Dmitry Merejkowski, *Dostoevski*, trans. by G.A. Mounsey (Alexander Moring/The De La More Press, 1912), p. 7; D. Merezhkovsky, 'O "Prestuplenii i nakazanii" Dostoevskogo: Kriticheskii etyud', *Russkoe Obozrenie*, 2 (March 1890), 155–86 (p. 157).

⁷⁴ Baring, *Landmarks*, pp. 122, 113, 260.

⁷⁵ 'Our Library Table', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* (5 May 1886), 3.

the whole world, and they are not to be obtained by the sword, but by the strength of fraternity and by our brotherly effort towards the universal union of mankind... And in the long-run I am convinced that we, that is to say, not we, but the future generations of the Russian people, shall every one of us, from the first to the last, understand that to be a real Russian must signify simply this: to strive towards bringing about a solution and an end to European conflicts; to show to Europe a way of escape from its anguish in the Russian soul, which is universal and all-embracing; to instil into her a brotherly love for all men's brothers, and in the end perhaps to utter the great and final word of universal harmony, the fraternal and lasting concord of all peoples according to the gospel of Christ.

Adapting the final lines of Wordsworth's sonnet to Toussaint L'Ouverture in a way that would seem prophetic four years later, Baring concludes,

Dostoevsky is something more than a Russian writer: he is a brother to all mankind, especially to those who are desolate, afflicted and oppressed. He had "great allies":

"His friends were exaltations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."⁷⁶

Yet Dostoevsky presents particular problems for an emerging British modernism, at just the point when its dominant aesthetic is becoming established. In chapters one and two, we have seen how hostile James, Ford, and Conrad were to Russian novelists, bar Turgenev, and as Dostoevsky's popularity grew from 1912, his work in particular became the site around which competing modernist aesthetics were formed. When Edward Garnett sent Conrad a copy of Constance Garnett's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*, Conrad responded 'I do hope you are not too disgusted with me for not thanking you for the "Karamazov" before. It was very dear of you to remember me; and of course I was extremely interested. But it's an impossible lump [?] of valuable matter. It's terrifically bad and impressive and exasperating. Moreover, I don't know what D stands for or reveals, but I do know that he is too Russian for me. It sounds to me like some fierce mouthings from prehistoric ages'.⁷⁷ Similarly, when Hugh Walpole wrote to Henry James about *The Brothers Karamazov*, he received the following reply:

when you ask me if I don't feel Dostoieffsky's 'mad jumble, that flings things down in a heap,' nearer truth and beauty than the picking and composing that you instance in Stevenson, I reply with emphasis that I feel nothing of the sort, and that the older I grow and the more I go the more sacred to me do picking and composing become—though I naturally don't limit myself to Stevenson's *kind* of the same. Don't let anyone

⁷⁶ Baring, *Landmarks*, pp. 259, 262. The last lines of Wordsworth's sonnet are:

There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exaltations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

See William Wordsworth, "To Toussaint L'Ouverture", in *Poems, in Two Volumes, and Other Poems, 1800–1807*, ed. by Jared Curtis (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 160–1 (p. 161).

⁷⁷ Joseph Conrad, letter to Edward Garnett, 27 May 1912, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, v: 1912–1916*, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 70.

persuade you—there are plenty of ignorant and fatuous duffers to try to do it—that strenuous selection and comparison are not the very essence of art, and that Form *is* [not] substance to that degree that there is absolutely no substance without it. Form alone *takes*, and holds and preserves, substance—saves it from the welter of helpless verbiage that we swim in as in a sea of tasteless tepid pudding, and that makes one ashamed of an art capable of such degradations. Tolstoi and D. are fluid pudding, though not tasteless, because the amount of their own minds and souls in solution in the broth gives it savour and flavour, thanks to the strong rank quality of their genius and their experience. But there are all sorts of things to be said of them, and in particular that we see how great a vice is their lack of composition, their defiance of economy and architecture, directly they are emulated and imitated; *then*, as subjects of emulation, models, they quite give themselves away.⁷⁸

Peter Kaye's argument that 'the English writers who might have helped their countrymen understand [Dostoevsky's] fictional art proved incapable of detecting artistic intent' because they 'did not have access to the diaries, articles, and rough drafts that reveal his commitment to his art', nor had critics 'who could intelligently and accurately address his work in terms of European literary traditions' is undoubtedly true to an extent, but occludes the debates of the period by reading them back through the Jamesian, Fordian version of modernism, and indeed literary studies, that emerged as dominant in the interwar period.⁷⁹ Here the importance of Geoff Gilbert's remark, with which I ended the introduction, becomes clear: 'British modernism... enters its *institutional history* by turning away from Dostoevsky'.⁸⁰ We tend, perhaps, to associate the 'ignorant and fatuous duffers' proposing alternatives to 'strenuous selection and comparison' with the pre-modernist generation of realists, Woolf's Edwardians: Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, and H. G. Wells. James probably did indeed have Bennett and Wells in mind here, as his 1914 essay 'The Younger Generation' identifies them, with Tolstoy, as having 'launched the boat' of a style of contemporary fiction he characterizes as artless. But contemporary experimental writers were also setting themselves against James's preferred aesthetic, and looking to Russian literature as their guide. In the war years, the period of 'early modernism' or, to use Gilbert's more accurate phrase, 'before modernism was', the alternative programmes for a modern art are consciously proposed and contested, as we glimpsed in the previous chapter's discussion of the *English Review*. I now want to consider how Dostoevsky became the focus for an alternative aesthetic programme from that which we saw James, Ford, and Conrad promoting before the war, a programme developed by the close friends S. S. Kotelyansky, D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and John Middleton Murry.

⁷⁸ Henry James, letter to Hugh Walpole, 19 May 1912, in *Letters*, iv: 1895–1916, ed. by Leon Edel (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1984), pp. 618–19.

⁷⁹ Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism*, p. 21.

⁸⁰ Gilbert, *Before Modernism Was*, p. 16. My italics.

3.3 TRANSLATION AND LINGUISTIC OPTIMISM: KOTELYANSKY, LAWRENCE, MANSFIELD, AND MURRY

The wartime utility of Russian literature as a signifier of both Russia's distinctive spirituality and its intellectual progress towards Western democracy created an unprecedented market for translations: 'Russia being an ally, the Russian boom was on', wrote one translator, 'anything new and original from Russia found a ready market'.⁸¹ The National Home Reading Union introduced a 'Russian Literature' course for its 1916–17 session because 'only by some knowledge of Russian thought and life, as set forth by Russian authors, can we come to understand and appreciate a great allied nation' and, moreover, 'many Russian books, particularly in the province of imaginative literature, are of endless interest from the broad human point of view'. The Union's magazine published a series of eight articles by Francis Marchant, a teacher, translator, and prominent member of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, which guided the reader through the reading list: required reading consisted of Petr Kropotkin's newly revised edition of his classic introduction, *Russian Literature*, Arthur Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, Pushkin's *Prose Tales*, Kravchinsky's and Ethel Voynich's collection, *The Humour of Russia*, and one novel each by Tolstoy and Turgenev, chosen from the very extensive list of recommended reading.⁸² The new relationship with Russia elicited calls for the Russian language to be more widely studied at school and university—especially in place of German—resulting in the publication of texts and readers in Russian, as discussed in interchapter three.

While the works of the major nineteenth-century Russian authors were published and republished during the war in versions by established translators such as Constance Garnett, Aylmer Maude, Louise Maude, and Frederick Whishaw, the increased interest in Russia produced a market for more recent Russian literature, too. British readers were now interested in their Russian contemporaries and, as Harold Williams noted in his substantial review of Russian literature published just before the war, *Russia of the Russians* (1914), 'the Russian literature that has become famous throughout the world was written before the 'eighties. A great deal of it was contemporary with mid-Victorian literature'.⁸³ Several publishers introduced new series of Russian writing in English: Constable's Russian Library (1915–18), edited by Stephen Graham, published writing by Fedor Sologub, Aleksandr Kuprin, Lyubov' Dostoevskaya, Valery Bryusov, and Vladimir Solov'ev. Kuprin also appeared in the Dublin publisher Maunsell's 'Modern Russian Library'

⁸¹ John Cournos, *Autobiography* (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1935), p. 281.

⁸² 'Our Third War Session', *Home-Reading Magazine*, 28.1 (October 1916), 3–4 (p. 3); National Home-Reading Union, *Special Course Book List: 28th Reading Session, 1916–17* (London: National Home Reading Union, 1916), pp. [2–3]; P. Kropotkin, *Russian Literature: Ideals and Realities* (London: Duckworth, 1916); Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (London: Dent, 1907); Alexander Poushkin, *The Prose Tales of Alexander Poushkin*, trans. by T. Keane (London: Bell, 1894); Voynich, ed. and trans., *The Humour of Russia*. For the history of the National Home-Reading Union, see Robert Snape, 'The National Home Reading Union', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 7.1 (spring 2002), 86–110.

⁸³ Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, p. 178.

(1915–17), alongside Chekhov, Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, Dostoevsky, Lev Shestov, and Boris Savinkov (under the pseudonym ‘V. Ropshin’).⁸⁴ Even Hodder and Stoughton’s ‘Great Russian Fiction’ series (1915) included Gor’ky and Leonid Andreev alongside Pushkin and Turgenev. A new generation of translators found work in this expanded market. John Cournos, Stephen Graham, C. J. Hogarth, S. S. Kotelyansky, and Leonard Magnus all published their first literary translations for British publishers in 1915; Paul Selver’s first anthology of Russian verse was published in 1916; and Natal’ya Duddington (née Ertel’), who worked with Constance Garnett on her translations, began her own translation career in 1918.⁸⁵ Where Garnett’s, the Maudes’, and Whishaw’s translations had been published in the context of late nineteenth-century debates about naturalism and the new realism, several of the younger translators operated within the literary networks of early modernism, publishing in the first modernist journals, *Rhythm*, *The Egoist*, the *New Age*, and, after the war, *The Athenaeum*, *The Adelphi*, *The Criterion*, and in the small literary presses, such as Martin Secker, Dent, and the Hogarth Press. The translators that brought contemporary Russian literature most centrally into these networks, to two distinct groups, were S. S. Kotelyansky and John Cournos.

I discuss the little-known Cournos in the next chapter; Kotelyansky is somewhat more familiar to modernist scholars, through his close friendships with D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and Virginia Woolf. Like the families of the Whitechapel Group, Kotelyansky’s family lived in the Russian Pale of Settlement: he grew up and was educated in present-day Ukraine, and arrived in Britain in 1911, aged 31. By 1914 he was working at the Russian Law Bureau established in Lincoln’s Inn Fields by Ford Madox Ford’s brother-in-law David Sokis in 1908, by then operated from 212 High Holborn by Ruvin Slatkowsky.⁸⁶ Kotelyansky met D. H. Lawrence in the summer of 1914, when they joined Lawrence’s friend, A. P. Lewis, and Kotelyansky’s colleague at the Law Bureau, William Horne, on a walking tour in the Lake District, and at some point between August and October, Lawrence introduced him to Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry.⁸⁷ Between 1915 and 1920, Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry were Kotelyansky’s

⁸⁴ On Maunsel and Company, see Clare Hutton, ‘The Extraordinary History of the House of Maunsel’, in Clare Hutton and Patrick Walsh, eds, *The Oxford History of the Irish Book*, v: *The Irish Book in English, 1891–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 548–61.

⁸⁵ Cournos, who arrived in London from Philadelphia in 1912, had already published translations of Leonid Andreev’s *Molchanie* (as *Silence*) and *Mysl’* (as *A Dilemma*) for the Philadelphia publisher Brown Brothers in 1908 and 1910 respectively, and some short stories for the Home Correspondence School.

⁸⁶ Galya Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury: The Life and Times of Samuel Koteliensky* (Montreal, QC and Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011), pp. 40, 50–1. For descriptions of the Russian Law Bureau, see Beatrice Glenavy, *Today We Will Only Gossip* (London: Constable, 1964), p. 75, and Katherine Mansfield, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 19 February 1921, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, iv: 183.

⁸⁷ Mark Kinkad-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 1912–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 147; on the difficulty of dating Kotelyansky’s first meeting with Mansfield and Murry, see Geraldine L. Conroy, ‘Our Perhaps Uncommon Friendship: The Relationship Between S. S. Koteliensky and Katherine Mansfield’, *Modern Fiction Studies*, 24.3 (Autumn 1978), 355–67 (p. 356).

main collaborators on a series of literary translations; between 1920 and 1923 he collaborated with Leonard and Virginia Woolf.⁸⁸ Murry began working with Kotelyansky in May 1915, remarking in his autobiography that while Mansfield was in Paris, 'in the evenings Koteliensky would come round with a generous supply of Russian cigarettes and we would work together translating Tchekhov and Kuprin—a speculative venture, for we had no publisher'. Kotelyansky later implied that the venture had been initiated by Mansfield's interest in Chekhov, though Murry wrote to Mansfield that he had also begun 'to think in Tchekov stories'.⁸⁹

Murry and Kotelyansky published four translations in Maunsel's 'Modern Russian Library' in 1915 and 1916: two collections of short stories by Chekhov and Kuprin, a volume of extracts from Dostoevsky's *Dnevnik pisatelya* (*A Writer's Diary*), and a book of essays by the philosopher Lev Shestov. In 1923 they collaborated on one further volume, a collection of materials from various sources published as *Dostoevsky: Letters and Reminiscences* by Chatto and Windus.⁹⁰ Though uncredited, Mansfield was the co-translator of one of the stories in the Kuprin volume ('Captain Ribnikov'), and the section in Dostoevsky's *Letters and Reminiscences* made up of Dostoevsky's letters to his wife, as well as of at least two further manuscripts that were not published.⁹¹ Her co-translations of Chekhov's letters and his diary were published in *The Athenaeum* in 1919 and 1920, and

⁸⁸ Rebecca Beasley, 'On Not Knowing Russian: The Translations of Virginia Woolf and S. S. Koteliensky', *Modern Language Review*, 108 (2013), 1–29.

⁸⁹ John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), p. 344; S. S. Koteliensky, letter to Ruth Mantz, 3 May 1932, container 3.8, Katherine Mansfield Collection, HRC; John Middleton Murry, diary entry 18 May 1915, 'Journal, 1913–20', p. 57, John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull.

⁹⁰ Anton Tchekhov, *The Bet and Other Stories*, trans. by S. Koteliensky and J. M. Murry (Dublin: Maunsel, 1915); Alexander Kuprin, *The River of Life and Other Stories*, trans. by S. Koteliensky and J. M. Murry (Dublin: Maunsel, 1916); Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Pages from the Journal of an Author*, trans. by S. Koteliensky and J. Middleton Murry (Dublin: Maunsel, 1916); Leon Shestov, *Anton Tchekhov and Other Essays*, trans. by S. Koteliensky and J. M. Murry (Dublin: Maunsel, 1916); *Dostoevsky: Letters and Reminiscences*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and J. Middleton Murry (London: Chatto & Windus 1923).

⁹¹ See B. J. Kirkpatrick, *A Bibliography of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 85; 'Dostoevsky: letters and reminiscences, translated from the Russian by S. S. Koteliensky and J. Middleton Murry, handwritten manuscript/ incomplete with revisions, probably in Katherine Mansfield's hand', container 2.11–12, MS-2663, both Katherine Mansfield Collection, HRC; and Katherine Mansfield, letters to S. S. Koteliensky, [? September 1922], 4 October 1922, 9 October 1922, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, v: 1922–1923, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), pp. 278, 287, 291. The unpublished MSS are Tolstoy, 'The Dream: A Hitherto Unpublished Poem in Prose by Leo Tolstoy', and 'The Creative History of "The Devils" by F. Dostoevsky', both Katherine Mansfield Collection, HRC, containers 1.1, 3.7. Mansfield also mentioned to Ottoline Morrell that she was 'translating Maxim Gorki's Journal of the Revolution', but when questioned about this by Ruth Mantz, Kotelyansky replied 'I know of no publication of M Gorky's Journal. (I don't know there is one). K. M. must have been speaking of Mme Hippisus's (Mme Merezhkovsky) Journal, in which she, Mme. H., speaks of Gorky'. His explanation appears unlikely: see Katherine Mansfield, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 17 November 1918, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 1918–19, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan with Margaret Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 291, and S. S. Koteliensky, letter to Ruth Mantz, 28 November 1935, container 3.8, Katherine Mansfield Collection, HRC. Joanna Woods plausibly suggests the 'journal' was the selection of Gorky's 1917–18 articles from *Novaya zhizn'* that he had published as *Nesvoevremennye mysli: zametki o revolyutsii i kul'ture* (*Untimely Thoughts: Notes on Revolution and Culture*) in autumn 1918: see Woods, *Katherine*, p. 166.

incorporated into later translations Kotelyansky produced with Leonard Woolf and Philip Tomlinson; her co-translation of Gor'ky's *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev*, the only book translation for which she was credited, was published in 1928.⁹²

Lawrence's collaborative role was also obscured to an extent, though by his own choice: as well as anonymously revising the text of *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev* after Mansfield's death, he co-translated Shestov's *Apofoez bespochvennosti* (1905) (*The Apotheosis of Groundlessness*), published by Secker as *All Things are Possible* in 1920, and the title story in a collection of Ivan Bunin's short fiction, *The Gentleman from San Francisco and Other Stories*, the rest of which was co-translated by Leonard Woolf, and published by the Hogarth Press in 1922. In both cases, he requested not to be credited, 'It won't do for me to appear to dabble in too many things', he wrote to Kotelyansky.⁹³

Though scattered across several archives, a number of the translations' drafts have survived, making it possible for us to see how Kotelyansky worked with his co-translators, and the extent of their contribution. The most detailed account of the translation process was given by Leonard Woolf in his obituary of Kotelyansky:

His method was to write out the translation in his own strange English and leave a large space between the lines in which I then turned his English into my English. His English was indeed strange, but also so vivid and individual that I was often tempted to leave it untouched. For instance, he wrote: 'She came into the room carrying in her arms a peeled-off little dog,' and on another occasion: 'she wore a haggish look.' You only learned to the full Kot's intensity and integrity by collaborating with him in a Russian translation. I taught myself a smattering of Russian in order to be able to understand something of what he was doing. After I had turned his first draft into English English, we then went through it sentence by sentence. Kot had a most sensitive understanding of and feeling for language and literature and also a strong and subtle mind. He would pass no sentence until he was absolutely convinced that it gave the exact shade of meaning and feeling of the original and we would sometimes be a quarter of an hour arguing over a single word.⁹⁴

⁹² 'Letters of Anton Tchekhov', trans. by S. Koteliensky and Katherine Mansfield, *The Athenaeum*, 4640, 4642–4, 4647, 4649, 4652, 4654, 4656, 4658, 4662, 4669–70 (4 April, 18 April, 25 April, 2 May, 23 May, 6 June, 27 June, 11 July, 25 July, 8 August, 5 September, 24 October, 31 October 1919), 148–9, 215–16, 249, 282, 378, 441–2, 538, 602, 667, 731–2, 858, 1078–79, 1135; 'The Diary of Anton Tchekhov', trans. by S. Koteliensky and Katherine Mansfield, *The Athenaeum*, 4692 (2 April 1920), 460–1; *Note-Book of Anton Chekhov*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Leonard Woolf (New York: Huebsch, 1921), pp. 1–12; *The Life and Letters of Anton Tchekhov*, trans. and ed. by S. S. Koteliensky and Philip Tomlinson (London: Cassell, 1925); Maxim Gorki, *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev*, trans. by Katherine Mansfield and S. S. Koteliensky (New York: Crosby Gaige, 1928). This translation appeared first in the *Adelphi*, and another version in the *Dial*, both in 1924.

⁹³ Leo Shestov, *All Things Are Possible*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky (London: Secker, 1920); Ivan Bunin, *The Gentleman from San Francisco and Other Stories*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1922); D. H. Lawrence, letters to S. S. Koteliensky, 13, 17 August 1923, 16 June 1921, 14 January 1922, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, iv: 1921–24, ed. by Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 482, 487, 37, 165; D. H. Lawrence, letters to S. S. Koteliensky, 10 August, 15? August 1919, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, iii: 1916–21, ed. by James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 381, 384.

⁹⁴ Leonard Woolf, 'Kot', *New Statesman and Nation* (5 February 1955), p. 172.

As Woolf makes clear here, Kotelyansky's co-translators were not working from Russian texts and, unlike the Woolfs, who took Russian lessons from Kotelyansky in 1921, Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry seem to have had no knowledge of Russian, though Lawrence, inspired by the February Revolution, proposed to learn it in 1917 and did learn a little in 1926, and Mansfield's notebooks show that she began to learn it in 1922 at Georgy Gurdzhiev's (Gurdjieff's) Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man at Fontainebleau, where she died in 1923.⁹⁵

Mansfield's and Murry's co-translations were, as the Woolfs' would be later, mainly undertaken in physical proximity to their co-translator, and as Murry's and Leonard Woolf's descriptions demonstrate, Kotelyansky's usual practice was to meet with his collaborator to revise their refinement of his literal English translation. For Mansfield, this stage of the translation process was important, because she placed a high value on the translation's fidelity to the source text: for example, a letter to Kotelyansky about Dostoevsky's *Besny* (*Demons* or *The Possessed*) suggests a range of synonyms for 'children': "little ones", "small people", "youngsters" (not tender enough, I feel). But the decision can only be made through Kotelyansky's knowledge of the Russian source text: "Small people" is nicest. But does he say that?'. Revising Kotelyansky's translations without meeting in person, as she did on this occasion and while working on some of Chekhov's letters in 1919, clearly troubled Mansfield, 'I dislike IMMENSELY not going over the letters with you. I don't want you to rely on me and M. I have long ago finished all that you gave me—But I feel Tchekov would be the first to say we must go over them together'.⁹⁶ Reviewing the manuscripts of the three co-translations by Kotelyansky and Mansfield known to have survived, it is clear that Mansfield revised Kotelyansky's version fairly lightly in comparison with the Woolfs, of whose co-translation practice the fullest record survives.⁹⁷ The majority of Mansfield's revisions are restricted to correcting and refining grammar and word order (Fig. 12), while the Woolfs are a little more ready to change Kotelyansky's vocabulary too (Fig. 13).

Though there exist fair copies in Lawrence's hand of 'The Russian Spirit', part of *All Things are Possible* published in *The Athenaeum* in 1919, and 'Green, White and

⁹⁵ D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 1 May 1917, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 111: 121; D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 4 January 1926, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, v: 1924–27, ed. by James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 367; Frieda Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, [n.d.] March 1926, in *The Memoirs and Correspondence*, ed. by E. W. Tedlock, Jr (London: Heinemann, 1961), p. 232; George J. Zytaruk, *D. H. Lawrence's Response to Russian Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), pp. 39–40; Katherine Mansfield, *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, ed. by Margaret Scott, 2 vols (Canterbury: Lincoln University Press, 1997), 11: 341–3; Katherine Mansfield, 'Notebook 5 [1922]', qMS-1283, John Middleton Murry: Writings and Personal Papers of Katherine Mansfield, Turnbull.

⁹⁶ Katherine Mansfield, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 7 April 1919, 6 June 1919, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 309, 324.

⁹⁷ For details of Mansfield's ms. and ts. translations, see Kirkpatrick, *A Bibliography of Katherine Mansfield*, p. 338. However, Kirkpatrick's assertion that the revisions to the manuscript of *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev* held by Stanford University Library are by Kotelyansky seems to be incorrect; Kotelyansky and Murry both verified that the majority of the revisions were by Mansfield. See letters from John Middleton Murry, Marjorie Wells, and S. S. Koteliensky to Lucy O'Brien, 4, 6 August and 9 September 1947, Katherine Mansfield Collection, Containers 5.2, 3.9, HRC. For details of the Woolfs' ms. and ts. translations, see Beasley, 'On Not Knowing Russian', pp. 1–2.

3)

But ^{from} ~~from~~ ^{there came} that story ^{to} wafted on me a strong breeze of a talent which ~~in a way~~ ^{in a way} reminded me of Pomialovsky; again in the tone of the story ^{one} ~~was~~ felt a wistful little smile of ^{distrust of} ~~distrust to the~~ facts ^{which the author concealed;} ~~fact, concealed by the author,~~ that little smile easily reconciled one to the inevitable, forced sentimentalism of 'Pastor' and 'Christina' literature.

I wrote to the author a few lines about his story, and I received from L. Andreyev an amusing answer; ^{he wrote merry, unusual} in a singular ^{pleasant} handwriting, with half-printed letters, ~~he wrote jolly, funny words,~~ and amongst them stood out in particular relief a disingenuous but sceptical aphorism:

"To a well-fed man to be generous is as pleasant as to have coffee after dinner."

Fig. 12. Katherine Mansfield's annotations to S. S. Kotelyansky's ms. of Maxim Gorki, *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev*, trans. by Katherine Mansfield and S. S. Koteliensky (New York: Crosby Gaige, 1928), folder 1, Misc 167, Manuscript Collection. Reproduced with permission from the Estate of S. S. Koteliensky, courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Stanford Libraries.

8)

August 23rd, 1856.

of Soudakovo, Karies

Your sweet letter has ^{just} arrived, and having explained to you in my first letter the reason why I allow myself to write to you, I am writing ~~now~~ but ~~now~~ ^{now} sends a perfectly opposite impression to ^{in an entirely different state of mind} but under which I had written the first letter. Then I tried ^{as hard as} to write all from that in which I wrote the first letter, ^{myself from} ~~my power the clock~~ ^{the sweetener} but was ~~scraping~~ coming out of me. I tried to check the affection that kept coming from me, but now ~~I check myself~~ ^{I have to check myself} from the calm hatred which the reading of your letter to my aunt has ^{aroused} ~~aroused~~ in me, and not calm hatred ^{because} ~~only~~ but sadness and disappointment ^{at that} ~~in that~~ laissez le naturel ^{Can the red} per la porte, il revient per la fenetre. ~~Can the red~~ de toute beauté, haute volée and the aiso-de-camp ^{height} remain to you for ever the top of all ^{happiness?} worshipping? But this is cruel! Why did you write this? ^{you} you knew how it will be against my grain you knew me - how distasteful I should find it.

Fig. 13. Virginia Woolf's annotations to S. S. Kotelyansky's ms. of Leo Tolstoy, *Tolstoy's Love Letters with a Study on the Autobiographical Elements in Tolstoy's Works* by Paul Biryukov, trans. by S. S. Koteliansky and Virginia Woolf (Richmond: Hogarth Press, 1923), folder 22, Majl Ewing Collection of Hogarth Press Manuscripts, Collection 1299, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. Reproduced with permission from the Estate of S. S. Koteliansky, and courtesy of the Society of Authors as the literary representative of the Estate of Virginia Woolf.

Flame' ('Zelenoe-Beloe-Aloe'), the afterword to Zinaida Gippius's play, *Zelenoe Kol'tso* (*The Green Ring*), no drafts showing Lawrence's annotations to Kotelyansky's initial translation have come to light; nevertheless, his letters shed considerable light on his contribution, as George Zytaruk has demonstrated.⁹⁸ While Mansfield and Murry, like the Woolfs, referred to their contribution as 'translation', Lawrence called it 'editing', and unlike their collaboration with Kotelyansky, his took place primarily by correspondence, as he was so frequently travelling.⁹⁹ This appears to have concerned him less than it did Mansfield, because he conceived his contribution as the creation of a readable English text for a British audience, for which word-for-word accuracy could be sacrificed. On completing his work on Shestov's *All Things are Possible*, he told Kotelyansky that he had

compressed him a bit, but left nothing out—only 'so to speak' and 'as all know' and many such phrases and volatile sentences—no *substance* at all—Sometimes I have added a word or two, for the sake of the sense—as I did in 'Russian Spirit.' What I leave out I leave out deliberately. There is a many-wordedness often, which becomes cloying, wearying.

Even looking over Kotelyansky's translation of Gor'ky's *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev* that Mansfield had already revised, Lawrence's confidence in making changes without reference to the Russian source text is striking. 'I made the English correct—and a little more flexible—but didn't change the style, since it was yours and Katharine's [*sic*]. But the first ten pages were a bit crude'.¹⁰⁰ As George Hyde rightly remarks in his astute account of Lawrence's translations, there is nothing careless about Lawrence's approach, but for Lawrence care did not equate to being literal: 'A language can be killed by over precision, killed especially as an effective medium for the conveyance of instinctive passion and instinctive emotion', he wrote in 1928. Reading over the Bunin stories co-translated by Leonard Woolf, he compared them unfavourably with his own: "'Gentleman" is much the best. Some of Wolf's [*sic*] sentences take a bit of reading. Look at the last sentence on p. 71'.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Lev Shestov, 'The Russian Spirit' (translated by S. Koteliensky), box 3 654/54, and Zinaida Nikolaevna Gippius, 'Green, White and Flame. A Sort of After-Word', box 3 654/49, both in Collection of Material By, About, or Relating to D. H. and Frieda Lawrence, ca. 1910–1930, Collection 654, UCLA; Z. Gippius, 'Zelenoe-Beloe-Aloe', in *Zelenoe Kol'tso* (Petrograd: Izd-vo 'Ogni', 1916), pp. 133–47; Gippius [Gippius], *The Green Ring*, pp. 38–63.

⁹⁹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Martin Secker, 2 September 1919, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, III: 389; Katherine Mansfield, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 17 November 1918, *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, II: 291; Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 344.

¹⁰⁰ D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 29? August 1919, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, III: 387; D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 17 August 1923, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, IV: 487.

¹⁰¹ G. M. Hyde, *D. H. Lawrence and the Art of Translation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 2–5; D. H. Lawrence, 'Introduction', in Grazia Deledda, *The Mother*, trans. by Mary G. Steegmann (London: Cape, 1928), pp. 7–13 (p. 13); D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 9 July 1922, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, IV: 275. The offending sentence reads: 'Perhaps, too, there was in her soul a drop of purely feminine pleasure that here was a man to whom she could give her small commands, with whom she could talk, half seriously and half jokingly as a mentor, with that freedom which their difference in age so naturally allowed—a man who was so devoted to her whole household, in which, however, the first person—this, of course, very soon became clear—was for him, nevertheless, she herself' (Bunin, *The Gentleman from San Francisco and Other Stories*, pp. 71–2).

For all the differences between Lawrence's and Mansfield's approach to their work with Kotelyansky (Murry has left no account that I have been able to find), they shared a confidence in the translation projects, a confidence which marks their attitude to translation, and to language, as distinct from many of their modernist contemporaries. Their translations were not put into the world as technical exercises for their translators, nor as new creative works ('poet's versions', to use Lawrence Venuti's term), the main forms of translation in modernist practice.¹⁰² Rather, Lawrence and Mansfield translate to make available literature and ideas that are worth knowing. We are used to associating modernist writers with anxiety about translation's validity, summed up, most famously, in Woolf's oft-cited scepticism about reading Russian literature in translation: 'When you have changed every word in a sentence from Russian to English, have thereby altered the sense a little, the sound, weight, and accent of the words in relation to each other completely, nothing remains except a crude and coarsened version of the sense'.¹⁰³ But Woolf's scepticism is not echoed by Lawrence or Mansfield. Claire Davison's recent study of Mansfield's and Woolf's collaborations with Kotelyansky makes an excellent case for the significance of the translations in the writers' oeuvres, drawing out a number of shared concerns through comparative examination of the translations. But here I want to emphasize instead the distinction between Mansfield's and Woolf's attitude towards translation, one that is fundamental to their different modernisms. As Davison notes, Mansfield was 'much less self-conscious about imperfectly mastered languages' than Woolf, demonstrating 'a positive delight in translation as improvisation and play, illustrating rather the pitfalls and serendipities to be found when language travels'.¹⁰⁴ Reviewing her *New Age* colleague Paul Selver's *Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry* in 1912, Mansfield remarked that 'A good translation is not unlike a good reproduction of a drawing. It is dependent for success upon many of the same qualities—simple and sure treatment, directness of purpose, very clear treatment of the subject, preferably on a broad scale. Granted these, there is no reason whatever why a translation should be a "paper rose without perfume or colour"'.¹⁰⁵ Underlying this confidence is an attitude to language and to literature that relates Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry to the lin-

¹⁰² Lawrence Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 174; Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 164; Beasley, 'Modernism's Translations', pp. 551–70.

¹⁰³ Woolf, 'The Russian Point of View', in *The Common Reader*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁴ Claire Davison, *Translation as Collaboration, Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield and S. S. Koteliensky* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p. 310.

¹⁰⁵ K. M. [Katherine Mansfield], 'An Anthology of Modern Bohemian Poetry. By Paul Selver' (review), *Rhythm*, 2.9 (October 1912), p. 235. Even when agreeing with Sidney Schiff that the existing Russian translations are 'perfectly terrible. The peculiar flatness of them is so strange and its just that flatness which the story of whatever it is mustnt have', Mansfield expresses no scepticism about the power of the work to transcend the translation: 'I confess that Tchekhov does seem to me a marvellous writer. I do think a story like 'In Exile' or 'Misery' is frankly incomparable... And then Tolstoi—well, you know, Anna's journey in the train when she finds Vronsky is travelling to St. Petersburg too—and the whole figure of Anna— — when I think how real, how vital, how vivid she is to me, I feel I can't be grateful enough to Tolstoi': see Katherine Mansfield, letter to Sydney Schiff, 1 December 1920, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, iv: 131.

guistic optimism of the ethical socialists of chapter one, for whom translation, including literary translation, was also a valued genre.

From the very beginning of their careers, Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry had distinguished themselves from their contemporaries by their faith in language's ability to represent experience, which put them at odds with the series of values by which we have come to define modernism. The trio had first appeared together in the pages of Murry's pre-war journal, *Rhythm*, which distinguished itself from 'a narrow aestheticism' that Murry associated with the *English Review*, and championed art of 'a humaner and a broader field' that dealt with 'the strong things of life'.¹⁰⁶ Lawrence's first contribution, a review of Edward Marsh's first *Georgian Poetry* anthology, in which Lawrence himself appeared, was published in the last issue, in March 1913. It argued that *Georgian Poetry* was like 'a big breath taken when we are waking up after a night of oppressive dreams', with nineteenth-century naturalism—Ibsen, Flaubert, and Thomas Hardy—representing 'the dream we are waking from'. 'The time to be impersonal has gone,' Lawrence writes, 'We start from the joy we have in being ourselves, and everything must take colour from that joy'.¹⁰⁷ Four months later, he used the occasion of an article on Thomas Mann in Murry's and Mansfield's successor to *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, to argue even more firmly against the Flaubertian cultivation of *le mot juste* and the priority of aesthetic form in fiction. Reading *Der Tod in Venedig* (*Death in Venice*) as an allegory of the Flaubertian method, Lawrence concluded:

Thomas Mann seems to me the last sick sufferer from the complaint of Flaubert. The latter stood away from life as from a leprosy. And Thomas Mann, like Flaubert, feels vaguely that he has in him something finer than ever physical life revealed. Physical life is a disordered corruption, against which he can fight with only one weapon, his fine aesthetic sense, his feeling for beauty, for perfection, for a certain fitness which soothes him, and gives him an inner pleasure, however corrupt the stuff of life may be.

Mann's style 'may be very fine', Lawrence wrote, but his work had 'none of the rhythm of a living thing, the rise of a poppy, then the after uplift of the bud, the shedding of the calyx and the spreading wide of the petals, the falling of the flower and the pride of the seedhead'.¹⁰⁸

As Faith Binckes and Caroline Maclean have recently discussed, though *Rhythm* is traditionally defined by its commitment to the philosophy of Henri Bergson and Fauvist aesthetics, its international concerns were by no means only French, and its contents pages show that Russian culture was of considerable interest to the editors

¹⁰⁶ [John Middleton Murry and Michael Sadleir], 'Aims and Ideals', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (Summer 1911), 36. See also John Middleton Murry, letters to Katherine Mansfield, 27 January 1912, 29 October 1919, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by C. A. Hankin (London: Constable, 1983), pp. 16, 199 n. 2. In his autobiography, Murry recalled 'listening spell-bound' to Frank Harris's 'plan for making *Rhythm* the rival of *The English Review*': see Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁷ D. H. Lawrence, 'The Georgian Renaissance', review of Edward Marsh, ed., *Georgian Poetry*, *Rhythm*, 2.14 (March 1913), xvii–xx (pp. xvii, xix).

¹⁰⁸ D. H. Lawrence, 'German Books: Thomas Mann', *Blue Review*, 1.3 (July 1913), 205–6.

and contributors too.¹⁰⁹ This was most evident in the visual art presented to *Rhythm's* readers, which included reproductions of works by Nikolay Feofilaktov, Natal'ya Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov, and Vladimir Polunin, drawings inspired by and depicting the Ballets Russes, and an important essay on Kandinsky by Murry's first co-editor Michael Sadleir (the son of Jacob Kramer's patron, Michael Sadler).¹¹⁰ But Russian literature was also in evidence: *Rhythm* published a short story by Andreev, reviewed two volumes of Chekhov's plays, and published homages in the form of a story by Frank Harris 'After Tolstoi', and poems by Mansfield in the guise of 'Boris Petrovsky'.¹¹¹ From August 1912 Mikhail Likiardopulo (Michael Lykiardopulos), the secretary of the Moscow Art Theatre, was listed as the journal's Russian correspondent, alongside American, French, and Polish correspondents.¹¹² Over the next few years, Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry explored Russian literature as a model for a modern aesthetic that could stand as an alternative to the Flaubertian tradition Lawrence had criticized.

In *Rhythm's* fourth issue, Sadleir had presented Kandinsky's treatise *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (which he would translate in 1914 as *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*) as a theory of modern art that avoided the danger of 'pure pattern-making' through its argument 'that there exists a "something" behind externals, common to nature and humanity alike'—an argument, Sadleir reminded his readers, that in British culture was associated with romanticism, particularly with Wordsworth.¹¹³ When Murry presented his theory of the modern novel in July 1913, he concluded with a similar point. The works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Stendahl are, Murry argued, 'the masterpieces of narrative fiction' because they refuse to be contained by formal perfection. They are great, because of, rather than

¹⁰⁹ Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading Rhythm, 1910–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 79–81; Maclean, *The Vogue for Russia*, p. 70.

¹¹⁰ Anne Estelle Rice, 'Schéhérazade', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (1911), 15; Michael T. H. Sadler [Sadleir], 'After Gauguin', *Rhythm*, 1.4 (1912), 23–9; Georges Banks, 'Pétrouchka', *Rhythm*, 2.2 (1912), 57–63; Anne Estelle Rice, 'Ballet Russe', 'Le Spectre de la Rose', 'L'Après midi d'un faune', 'Les Ballets Russes', 'Le Dieu Bleu', *Rhythm*, 2.3 (1912), 84, 93, 105, 106–10, 117; Georges Banks, 'Salomé', 'Mme Ida Rubenstein', *Rhythm*, 2.4 (1912), 169–72, 170; N. Théophilaktoff, 'Drawing', *Rhythm*, 2.10 (1912), 237; Natalia Gontcharova, 'La Vendange', N. Theophilaktoff, 'Drawing', Michael Larionoff, 'Drawing', *Rhythm* 2.11 (1912), 306, 307, 310, 317; Michael Larionoff, 'Drawing', N. Theophilaktoff, 'Drawing', *Rhythm*, 2.12 (1913), 370, 380; Vladimir Polunin, 'Etching', *Rhythm*, 2.13 (1913), 421; Michael T. H. Sadler [Sadleir], 'The Galleries: Vladimir Polunin', Anne Estelle Rice, 'Designs from the Russian Ballet', *Rhythm*, 2.14 (1913), 478, 479–84.

¹¹¹ Frank Harris, 'The Holy Man (After Tolstoi)', *Rhythm*, 2.5 (1912) 2–10; Léonide Andreieff, 'The Present', *Rhythm*, 2.9 (1912), 207; [Katherine Mansfield], 'Two Poems of Boris Petrovsky: Very Early Spring, The Awakening River', trans. by Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, 1.4 (1912), 30; Boris Petrovsky [Katherine Mansfield], 'The Earth-Child in the Grass', *Rhythm*, 2.8 (1912), 125; Boris Petrovsky [Katherine Mansfield], 'To God The Father', trans. by Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, 2.10 (1912), 237; Boris Petrovsky [Katherine Mansfield], 'Jangling Memory', trans. by Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, 2.12 (1912), 337; Boris Petrovsky [Katherine Mansfield], 'There was a Child Once', trans. by Katherine Mansfield, *Rhythm*, 2.14 (1913), 471; Gilbert Cannan, 'Anton Tchekoff', *Rhythm* (literary supplement), 2.14 (1913), xx–xxiii.

¹¹² 'Contents', *Rhythm*, 2.3 (1912).

¹¹³ Sadleir, 'After Gauguin', pp. 24, 29. See Wassily Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, trans. by M. T. H. Sadler (London: Constable, 1914).

in spite of, their 'loose-ended, if not actually clumsy' forms. Not, he wrote, that these novelists were uninterested or lacking in style, but rather

The novelist—herein lies the truth of his passionate feeling about life—detaches a portion of the web of relations which constitute life, because it assumes for him an overwhelming importance, and inevitably in the portion detached there are a certain number of loose ends which, throughout the novel, suggest the relation of the world beyond... The supreme novelist, being among other things a supremely honest man, by the very honesty of the severance, suggests that there is another world closely bound with that he creates, and for all he knows, equally valuable and equally capable of expression. The great novels are loose-ended because absolute truth is incompatible with the smaller perfection. We enjoy the microcosm that Jane Austen gives us, though we realise to the full that she is ultimately to be regarded as second-rate. The pessimistic Turgeniev had perfection of form because perhaps the finest expression of pessimism is to tie all the ends of life together... he is faultless as regards the perspective of the individual work of art, but ignores the perspective of spiritual values which seems to transcend the more academic values of craftsmanship.¹¹⁴

The ideas in this essay emerged out of a period of self-examination documented in Murry's diary entries during May and June 1913. On 29 May, he expressed admiration for Mansfield's power of 'power of seizing the essence of persons and books and expressing it with just that touch of caricature which seems immediately to put the thing in its right place', which impelled him to list his own literary achievements, and conclude, 'There's not much in this—less even than I thought. Why in God's name do I believe I am going to writing something which will last?'. His answer was that, 'I know that my contemporaries—older than me for the most part—who enjoy a certain reputation already, are not really any good e.g. Cannan, Walpole, Brooke, Gibson, Beresford etc... they are all essentially minor. I know quite certainly that I could write now something bigger (if not so technically accomplished) than any of them'.¹¹⁵

Murry explored what 'bigger' might mean by thinking about the social role of the artist in the same diary entry. He had just read *Syndicalism and Socialism* by Philip Snowden, the Labour MP for Blackburn, and was 'carried away by the statement of the Socialist ideal': 'Could a man be a great novelist and a genuine socialist, or does not rather the seclusion demanded by the writer preclude any preoccupation with social matters?', he asked himself. The British models were not instructive:

¹¹⁴ John Middleton Murry, 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', *Blue Review*, 1.3 (1913), 164–74 (pp. 171–3). See also J. M. M., 'Matter, Form and Style. By Hardress O'Grady' (review), *Rhythm*, 7 (August 1912), 124; Hardress O'Grady, *Matter, Form, and Style: A Manual of Practice in the Writing of English Composition* (London: John Murray, 1912), pp. 11, 121.

¹¹⁵ John Middleton Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', pp. 2–3, John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull. These diaries form the basis of Murry's autobiography, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 255–8. The autobiography is generally faithful to the sections of the diaries it quotes, though in his dismissal of his contemporaries Murry omitted the names listed in the diary and inserted a caveat about Lawrence: 'I know that my contemporaries—older than me for the most part—who enjoy a certain reputation already, are not really very good, D. H. Lawrence always excepted' (p. 256).

Artists—the bad ones—generally claim to be an aristocracy and found their Chelsea Bohemias and talk shop at about the lowest level of human intelligence. Others spread over everything a milk and water humanitarianism, absolutely sickening and false to reality (GC [Gilbert Cannan] is completely ruined by this). Wells—Shaw—might be said to have combined the two; but I doubt it. Shaw is not in the running as a creative artist; and Wells at his biggest writes a social tract instead of a novel.

The following day he looked for a resolution in Tolstoy's *What is Art?*, but found it unsatisfactory. Quoting the end of chapter eighteen in Aylmer Maude's translation, he remarks 'One can imagine that for T. though he does not say so explicitly, a S. R. [socialist reformer] propaganda would be as good as a guarantee that anything was good art'.¹¹⁶

It is in this context that Murry read the article by Arnold Bennett in that month's *English Review* that became the spur to the *Blue Review* article's discussion of form. Bennett had written that 'as the years pass, I attach less and less importance to good technique in fiction' and that the great masters are those who are impatient of 'repeated attempts to arrive at a minor perfection'.¹¹⁷ Murry agreed: this chimed with his view that the 'novelist has come to a vaster, more inclusive conception of life', and that technical perfection is a mark of a 'fundamental cynicism' about life: 'Cynicism cannot find better expression than by tying the ends of life together;—for, make the form-eluding life to be comprehended by form, make a neatly rounded web of the piece you have torn off, and you close up your system of reality, you allow no whither beyond the written word'. Yet Murry, as we saw in the quotation from the published article, wants to retrieve an interest in form and style on behalf of his writers, but define it differently:

What on earth is style in a novel? It is not Henry James—may God help us. Is it anything more than a true thing truly said (as an arrow flies true to the mark)? and does that amount to more than expressing an aspect of life after feeling it with intense passion.... to express the true thing truly, you have just to write out your passionate feeling and if your feeling is fine enough, high enough and broad enough, you will probably achieve style.

Ford's models, Turgenev (Murry reads *On the Eve* [*Nakanune*] on 6 June) and Maupassant, fall short: 'neither seems to tell you more than you know; and the failure seems to result from the very fact of their technical perfection'. Stendhal, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky stand as the great novelists, distinguished by the 'creation of a great individual', and their 'revelation of the human heart (less sentimentally) of psychology'.¹¹⁸ By the middle of 1913, then, Lawrence and Murry had established an outline theory of the modern novel in opposition to that we saw in the last chapter had been set out by Ford and Conrad, following James. As James,

¹¹⁶ John Middleton Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', pp. 4–6, John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull.

¹¹⁷ Arnold Bennett, 'The Story Teller's Craft, II: Writing Novels', *English Review*, 14 (June 1913) 349–60 (pp. 353–4).

¹¹⁸ John Middleton Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', pp. 6–13, John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull.

Ford, and Conrad established their aesthetic in opposition to the model of the Russian novel, as represented by Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, so Lawrence, Murry, and Mansfield, establish theirs in opposition to the French novel of Flaubert and the Francophile model of Turgenev. Where James, Ford, and Conrad emphasize the importance of style to compensate for what they pessimistically see as language's deficient expressive powers, Lawrence, Murry, and Mansfield evince a romanticist optimism in language: 'the true thing' can be experienced and articulated: 'truly said'. The practice of translation was not inherently problematic for writers with this approach to language and style, and nor was the role of the writer in social reform. For them, language was an adequate tool for communication and, hence, action.

3.4 AGAINST CIVILIZATION: THE *SIGNATURE* GROUP AND DOSTOEVSKY

In 1915 Lawrence, Mansfield, Murry, and Kotelyansky collaborated on a new journal intended to publicize the philosophy Lawrence had begun to express in the *Rhythm* essays and, more fully, in two unpublished works: a Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*, and 'Study of Thomas Hardy'. This was *The Signature*, conceived as a fortnightly periodical for private subscribers who, in Lawrence's words, 'care about the real living truth of things'. Lawrence was, he told Cynthia Asquith, 'going to do the preaching—sort of philosophy—the beliefs by which one can reconstruct the world', and Murry would, he told Bertrand Russell, 'be the revealer of the individual soul with respect to the big questions'. Mansfield would 'do satirical sketches'. He invited Russell to contribute 'something serious', and speculated that Gilbert Cannan would also be involved.¹¹⁹ Kotelyansky acted as the financial manager, and was probably responsible for arranging the journal's printing by Israel Narodiczky, a central figure in Whitechapel's literary culture, who had also printed Rudolf Rocker's journal *Der Zherminal* (*The Germinal*), the Biblyotek Arbayter fraynd (Worker's Friend Library) series, and Isaac Rosenberg's first two books of poetry.¹²⁰

The outbreak of war galvanized Lawrence into exploring the social implications of his philosophy and aesthetics. The war transformed 'Study of Thomas Hardy' from a short book on Hardy's characterization for James Nisbet and Co.'s 'Writers of the Day' series to 'a book about Life... my initiation of the great and happy

¹¹⁹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 5 September 1915, letter to Bertrand Russell, 5 September 1915, letter to William Hopkin, 14 September 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 1913–16, ed. by George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 386, 387, 391.

¹²⁰ Ben Peter Gidley, 'Citizenship and Belonging: East London Jewish Radicals, 1903–1918', PhD thesis, Goldsmiths College, University of London, 2003, pp. 92–3; Marion Aptroot and Moshe Sanders, eds, *Jewish Books in Whitechapel: A Bibliography of Narodiczky's Press* (London: Duckworth, 1991). Rosenberg's third and final volume, *Moses: A Play* (London: Paragon Printing Works, 1916), was also printed with Narodiczky's press by Reuben Cohen, the typesetter who had set the first two volumes, but under Cohen's own imprint: see Moorcroft Wilson, *Isaac Rosenberg*, pp. 167–8.

revolution'. On 5 September, a month after Britain had entered the war, he wrote to his agent, J. B. Pinker, 'What a miserable world. What colossal idiocy, this war. Out of sheer rage I've begun my book about Thomas Hardy. It will be about anything but Thomas Hardy I am afraid—queer stuff—but not bad'.¹²¹ His ideas soon took a more concrete turn: at the beginning of January 1915, he wrote to friends of a plan 'to gather together about twenty souls and sail away from this world of war and squalor and found a little colony where there shall be no money but a sort of communism as far as necessities of life go, and some real decency', a colony he and Kotelyansky named Rananim. By February, the colony was to take form not 'away' but 'amongst us': he wrote to Ottoline Morrell that he wanted her to 'form the nucleus of a new community which shall start a new life amongst us... After the war, the soul of the people will be so maimed and injured that it is horrible to think of. And this shall be the new hope: that there shall be a life wherein the struggle shall not be for money or for power, but for individual freedom and common effort towards good'.¹²²

Morrell introduced Lawrence to her lover, Bertrand Russell, on 8 February 1915, and over the next six months the two discussed the necessity for a 'revolution in the state'. It would begin, Lawrence wrote, 'by the nationalising of all... industries and means of communication, and of the land—in one fell blow. Then a man shall have his wages whether he is sick or well or old—if anything prevents his working, he shall have his wages just the same'. Having sent the manuscript of *The Rainbow* to be typed at the beginning of March, he decided to rewrite his study of Hardy ('mostly philosophicalish, slightly about Hardy') as pamphlets, envisaging Russell, Murry, Cannan, and Gordon Campbell as likely collaborators. By June, he and Russell planned to hold a series of lectures in London, 'he on Ethics, I on Immortality: also to have meetings, to establish a little society or body around a religious belief which leads to action', but as they began to read each others' arguments during July, differences in their conceptions of the project began to emerge.¹²³ After reading a detailed outline of Russell's proposed lectures in July, Lawrence wrote to him, 'this which you say is *all social criticism*; it isn't social reconstruction... Primarily you must allow and acknowledge and be prepared to proceed from the fundamental impulse in all of us towards The Truth, the fundamental passion also, the most fundamental passion in man, for Wholeness of

¹²¹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Viola Meynell, 2 March 1915, letter to J.B. Pinker, 5 September 1914, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 299, 212.

¹²² D. H. Lawrence, letter to William Hopkin, 18 January 1915, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 1 February 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 259, 271–2. For the genesis of Rananim, see also John Middleton Murry, 'Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence', *New Adelphi*, 3.4 (June–August 1930), 264–75 (p. 268): 'If ever a man suffered from the War, it was Lawrence. Then he began to form plans of escape. We would get away to an island: Lawrence, Frieda, Katherine, Koteliensky, and I. The island had a name—Rananim—with the *a's* very long. The name is Hebrew, and was supplied by Koteliensky: it came from a Hebrew chant'. On connections between Lawrence's and Tolstoy's ideas about ideal communities, see Dorthe G. A. Engelhardt, *L. N. Tolstoy and D. H. Lawrence: Cross-Currents and Influence* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 54–63.

¹²³ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, 12 February 1915, letter to Viola Meynell, 2 March 1915, letter to Mary Cannan, 24 February 1915, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 20 June 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 282, 299, 292–3, 359.

Movement, Unanimity of Purpose, Oneness in Construction'. On receiving this letter, Russell told Ottoline Morrell that he 'didn't believe these things exist in most people. But I find those who have a strong imagination generally read their own natures into other people, instead of getting at other people by impartial observation'.¹²⁴ Though Russell admired Lawrence personally, they had fundamentally different views both of the source of the problem ('He won't accept in his philosophy the Infinite, the Boundless, the Eternal, as the real starting point', Lawrence complained to Morrell), and its solution.¹²⁵ Most significantly, they disagreed on the nature of government in their utopia. In the outline for his second lecture, Russell envisaged the dissolution of the State and a syndicalist future, but Lawrence annotated 'There must be a State, & a government', 'the state is the expression of a great metaphysical conception of God the Creator, who created the earth according to certain Laws, which, if obeyed, would give happiness'.¹²⁶ In his next letter, Lawrence told Russell, 'You must drop all your democracy. You must not believe in "the people" ... There must be an aristocracy of people who have wisdom, and there must be a Ruler: a Kaiser: no Presidents and democracies'. When Cynthia Asquith enquired about the lectures in August, Lawrence replied 'I don't know if they will ever begin. I don't see how I am to start. Russell and I were to do something together. He was to give a real course on political reconstruction ideas. But it is no good. He sent me a synopsis of the lectures, and I can only think them pernicious'.

I am so sick of people: they preserve an evil, bad, separating spirit under the warm cloak of good words ... I don't know how to begin to lecture or write, publicly, these things of the real truth and the living spirit. Everything is so awful and static, so large and ponderous ... I do believe there are people who wait for the spirit of truth. But I think one can't find them personally. I had hoped and tried to get a little nucleus of living people together. But I think it is no good. One must start direct with the open public, without associates. But how to begin, and when, I don't yet know.

But in his next letter to Asquith, he announced the idea of *The Signature*.¹²⁷

The Signature was, then, the first outcome of a year's thinking about the war, and though Lawrence later distanced himself from the project, it was clearly closely related to his planned lectures with Russell, and indeed the lectures' initial conception as 'a series of weekly pamphlets in which the revolution should be expounded

¹²⁴ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, c. 8 July 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 361, Bertrand Russell, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 8 July 1915, in *The Selected Letters of Bertrand Russell: The Public Years, 1914–1970*, ed. by Nicholas Griffin (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 43. Though Russell's letters to Lawrence are lost, his correspondence with Morrell frequently comments on his relationship with Lawrence.

¹²⁵ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 12 July 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 363.

¹²⁶ D. H. Lawrence, 'Appendix A. Lawrence's Corrections on Russell's Manuscript', in *D. H. Lawrence's Letters to Bertrand Russell*, ed. by Harry T. Moore (New York: Gotham Book Mart, 1948), pp. 75–96 (pp. 82, 83).

¹²⁷ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, 14? July 1915, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 16 August 1915, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 5 September 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 364, 378, 381, 385–6.

by us individually', as Murry later described them.¹²⁸ Like them, *The Signature* was conceived primarily as collaboration with a friend, this time Murry, and like them it would make an appeal to the public. To this end, they rented rooms at 12 Fisher Street, off Southampton Row, for club meetings.¹²⁹ But only three issues of *The Signature* appeared, and only two meetings took place. Lawrence initially envisaged 250 subscribers to cover the cost of printing six issues, but by 2 October (two days before publication), there were only fifty-six, and a dozen at the most at the first meeting on 11 October. Although the number of subscribers rose to at least 122, Lawrence gave notice on the Fisher Street rooms on 21 October (one more meeting took place on 24 October), and the last number appeared on 1 November.¹³⁰

Michael Herbert has noted that *The Signature* was interpreted as a pacifist pamphlet by at least some of its subscribers: Cynthia Asquith wrote in her diary, 'They take such an exalted point of view about the war—calling it blasphemy, etc.—that I'm not at all sure that technically it doesn't amount to treason. Certainly it might be said to be discouraging to recruiting', and Lawrence wrote to Edward Marsh 'Have I showed any public pacifist activity?—do you mean the *Signature*?'.¹³¹ In the third instalment of his contribution, 'The Crown', Lawrence describes the war as the inevitable result of what he sees as a sick civilization, disengaged from authentic life, but seeking the thrill of sensation: 'it became at last a collective activity, a war, when within the great rind of virtue we thresh destruction further and further till our whole civilisation is like a great rind full of corruption, of breaking down, a mere shell threatened with collapse upon itself'.¹³² Murry's essay series, 'There Was a Little Man' begins as a meditation on his position as a non-combatant: since 'the being and purpose of art is to justify life in life', rather than to justify life by reference to ideas or beliefs beyond life experience, to die in

¹²⁸ D. H. Lawrence, 'Note to the Crown', in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays* (Philadelphia, PA: Centaur Press, 1925), [n. pag.]: 'To me the venture meant nothing real: a little escapade. I can't believe in "doing things" like that. In a great issue like the war, there was nothing to be "done", in Murry's sense'. In 'Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence', Murry remarked that 'Lawrence's own account of the venture of *The Signature*... is coloured by subsequent happenings, and essentially inaccurate', particularly in its representation of the project as primarily Murry's. In contrast, Murry contended, 'The *Signature* was only a means of giving Lawrence's ideas to the world when no publisher would have anything to do with him': see 'Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence—III', *The Adelphi*, 1.2 (November 1930), 142–52 (pp. 143–5).

¹²⁹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to William Hopkin, 14 September 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 391; Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 352.

¹³⁰ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 5 September 1915, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 2 October 1915, letter to S. S. Kotliansky, 21 October 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 385, 405, 413; Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile*, pp. 275, 276, 812, n. 96. Murry appears to have planned further issues, however: see John Middleton Murry, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 15 December 1915, in *Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1: 1903–1917, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 219, n. 3; and John Middleton Murry, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 18 December 1915, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, p. 73.

¹³¹ Cynthia Asquith, *Diaries, 1915–1918* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), p. 85; D. H. Lawrence, letter to Edward Marsh, 29 January 1917, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 111: 84.

¹³² D. H. Lawrence, 'The Crown, I', *The Signature*, 1 (1915), 3–14 (p. 6); D. H. Lawrence, 'The Crown, III', *The Signature*, 3 (1915), 1–10 (pp. 5, 6, 10, 9).

the war appears futile, a surrender 'to a mechanical process in which I shall find neither satisfaction nor hope'.¹³³ Mansfield's contributions, 'The Little Governess' and 'Autumns', do not comment on the war, but as Faith Binckes has discussed, read in the context of *The Signature*, Mansfield's 'constructions of nation and gender, the ways in which they reproduce themselves, and the "huge... and painful" price they could extract' have a contemporary force.¹³⁴ Read as a collaborative enterprise, *The Signature* presents the social world of the early twentieth century as on a continuum from out of joint (Mansfield) to apocalyptic crisis (Lawrence); both Lawrence and Murry conceived their contributions as calls for revolution. Quoting the sections of 'There Was a Little Man' left unpublished following *The Signature*'s demise, Murry commented in his autobiography that his 'rather facile solution' was 'a simple desertion of machine-civilisation by individuals... I wanted a real revolution, real chaos. The risks of chaos seemed to me far preferable to the certainty of being ossified in the machine'.¹³⁵

The Signature's critique of civilization and its war was accompanied by a reassertion and intensification of the aesthetic the group had outlined in *Rhythm*; Murry remarks that he has no 'desire to manipulate words for themselves... They, and their beauties, are to me no end at all. They are no more than the means by which I may express something which I feel an imperious need to express'.¹³⁶ Lawrence addressed art directly only in the second half of 'The Crown' (sections IV, V and VI), which remained unpublished until a revised version was included in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays* in 1925. In section IV, 'Within the Sepulchre', he commented that 'The scientist in his laboratory, the artist in his study, the statesman, the artizan, the sensualist obtaining keen gratification' were all engaged in a process of reduction and corruption rather than construction, limited to an art that could only produce ever more 'perfect' statements of the self.¹³⁷ But what is new in these aesthetic formulations is their firmer association with Russian literature: the ideas that eventually became public in *The Signature* were formed during a period of reading and discussion of the novels of Dostoevsky—the 'great Dostoevsky nights', as their friend Gordon Campbell called them.¹³⁸ Mansfield had first read Dostoevsky and Tolstoy at Queen's College, the school on Harley Street she attended from 1903 to 1906 and during the two years she spent in New Zealand following the completion of her studies.¹³⁹ Lawrence had read

¹³³ John Middleton Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, III', *The Signature*, 3 (1915), 19–28 (p. 20); John Middleton Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, I', *The Signature*, 1 (1915), 24–32 (p. 27).

¹³⁴ Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde*, p. 216.

¹³⁵ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 361.

¹³⁶ Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, I', pp. 30, 31.

¹³⁷ D. H. Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 5, 3, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC. In the 1925 version Lawrence replaced 'art' in this section with 'aestheticism': Lawrence, 'The Crown', in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (1925), p. 52; see also 'Appendix II: The Crown: 1915 Variants', *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, ed. by Michael Herbert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 469–79.

¹³⁸ Antony Alpers, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 169.

¹³⁹ Woods, *Katerina*, pp. 34, 52; J. Middleton Murry and Ruth Elvish Mantz, *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* (London: Constable, 1933), p. 198. Gillian Brooker Boddy states that 'Readers' records at the parliamentary General Assembly Library, now destroyed, apparently indicated that her reading

Crime and Punishment in 1909, and—according to his 1930 testimony—*The Brothers Karamazov* in 1913.¹⁴⁰ Murry had reviewed Garnett's translation of *The Idiot* (*Idiot*, 1868–69) for the *Westminster Gazette* in August 1913, and his diary shows that during 1913 he read *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Crime and Punishment*, and the abridged version of Merezhkovsky's 'L. Tolstoy i Dostoevsky' published as *Tolstoi as Man and Artist*.¹⁴¹ During the war, all three read and re-read his work, not only the new translations of the novels by Garnett, but also related works made available by other translators, including works in French. Mansfield finished *Crime and Punishment* at the beginning of February 1915, *The Brothers Karamazov* in February 1916, and read or re-read *The Idiot* and *The Possessed* that spring.¹⁴² Between March 1914 and April 1915, Lawrence read *The House of the Dead*, *Letters from the Underworld* (*Zapiski iz podpol'ya*, 1864), *The Idiot*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, and Ethel Colburn Mayne's translation of a German edition of *Letters of Fyodor Michailovitch Dostoevsky to his Family and Friends*; he read *The Possessed* in late January and early February 1916.¹⁴³ Murry, researching a study of Dostoevsky that he published in 1916, later said he read 'all Dostoevsky's major books over three times': his letters record him reading *The Possessed* and *Un Adolescent* in December 1915 (Garnett's translation of *Podrostok*, *A Raw Youth*, did not appear until the following year), and the preface to his book shows that he also read French trans-

included Dostoevsky, Tolstoy and she may also have read the library's copy of Chekhov's *The Black Monk and Other Stories* acquired in 1904': see Gillian Brooker Boddy, 'The Annotated Notebooks of Katherine Mansfield, 1895–July 1898, with Commentary', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, vol. B, p. 169b.

¹⁴⁰ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Blanche Jennings, 8 May 1909, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 127; E. T. [Jessie Chambers], *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), p. 123; D. H. Lawrence, 'Introduction' in F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Grand Inquisitor*, trans. by S. S. Kotliansky (London: Elkin Mathews & Marrot, 1930), pp. iii–xvi (p. iii). Fedor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel*, [trans. by Frederick Whishaw] (London: Vizetelly, 1886); Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1912).

¹⁴¹ J. M. M., 'Fedor Dostoevsky', review of Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, trans. by Constance Garnett, *Westminster Gazette* (9 August 1913) 4. John Middleton Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', pp. 23, 24b, 25, John Middleton Murry: *Diaries and Notebooks*, MSX-4147, Turnbull; Merejkowski, *Tolstoi as Man and Artist*.

¹⁴² Mansfield, *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 8, 58, 26–8, 33; Katherine Mansfield, 'Notebook 4' [1915], qMS-1251, 'Notebook 34' [1915–16], qMS-1252, 'Notebook 45' (1916), qMS-1253, John Middleton Murry: *Writings and Personal Papers of Katherine Mansfield*, Turnbull. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crime & Punishment*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1914); Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Possessed*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1913). Three English translations of *The Idiot* were available by 1916, but given the fact that Murry was using the Garnett translations for his book, Mansfield and Lawrence, who read it in 1915, are likely to have read Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Heinemann, 1913), rather than Fedor Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, trans. by Frederick Whishaw (London: Vizetelly, 1887) or Fedor Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, trans. by Eva M. Martin (London: Dent, 1914).

¹⁴³ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Arthur McLeod, 14 March 1914, letter to Gordon Campbell, 20 December 1914, letters to Ottoline Morrell, 24 March, 8 April, 30 April, 19 July 1915, letters to S. S. Kotliansky, 8 April 1915, 15 February 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 155, 247, 311, 315, 329, 367, 314, 537. Fedor Dostoevsky, *The House of the Dead, or Prison Life in Siberia*, trans. by H. S. Edwards (London: Dent, 1911); Fedor Dostoevsky, *Letters from the Underworld*, trans. by C. J. Hogarth (London: Dent, 1913); *Letters of Fyodor Michailovitch Dostoevsky to his Family and Friends*, trans. by Ethel Colburn Mayne (London: Chatto & Windus, 1914).

lations of *Dnevnik pisatelya* (*A Writer's Diary*) and Dostoevsky's letters, as well as Mayne's translation of the German edition of the letters, Evgeny Solov'ev's *Dostoevsky: His Life and Literary Activity*, and re-read Merezhkovsky's essay.¹⁴⁴

Murry's diary entry for 18 November 1914, quoted in his autobiography, relates how a conversation about Dostoevsky, in which Lawrence 'was all against him for his humility and love', generated the debate subsequently documented in *The Signature*: Lawrence, concerned with 'social reconstruction', argued that 'the history of human consciousness has been the history of two successive ideas—the idea of Law, and the idea of Love. Each has reached its extremity, the latter nowadays. Each is true, and false; and the way of Life is a balance between them'. Murry, the 'revealer of the soul', responded that 'the two things were better called: the condition of Being and the condition of Knowing', characteristically constructing his argument in relation to the individual, in contrast with Lawrence's social philosophy. Indeed Murry later remarked that comparing 'The Crown' and 'There Was a Little Man' shows 'the nature of the conflict between Lawrence and myself' more clearly than he had understood it in 1915.¹⁴⁵ Their disagreement found a focus in their different evaluation of Dostoevsky's Christianity: both Lawrence and Mansfield deplored Dostoevsky's moral scheme. 'Katherine was quite violent in condemnation of Dostoevsky's "open house for foolish people"', Murry wrote in his diary. 'Lawrence was even more explosive. "Humility is Death. To believe in an Absolute is Death. There are no Absolutes." Katherine was eager in agreement with this'.¹⁴⁶ Despite these differences, however, Dostoevsky appears as the major literary example in both Lawrence's and Murry's philosophies during this period.

In the second half of 'The Crown' Lawrence presents Dostoevsky as the novelist who has most thoroughly explored the psychology produced by contemporary civilization's 'reduction through sensation after sensation, consciousness after consciousness, until nullity is reached, all complexity is broken down, an individual becomes an amorphous heap of elements, qualities'. Dmitry Karamazov is (and would remain) Lawrence's major example of this contemporary malaise, a character 'who seeks and experiences sensation after sensation, reduction after reduction', until he disintegrates into 'a conglomeration of qualities, strictly an idiot, a nullity'. Thus far, Dostoevsky's argument is Lawrence's too. But just as Lawrence criticized Russell's lectures for offering social criticism rather than social reconstruction, so he deplored Dostoevsky's realism, because 'a statement of what is, is the absolute

¹⁴⁴ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 368; John Middleton Murry, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 19 December 1915, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, p. 75; Dostoïevski, *Un Adoléscent*, trans. by J. W. Bienstock and Félix Fénélon (Paris: Revue Blanche, 1902); J. Middleton Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky: A Critical Study* (London: Secker, 1916), pp. v, xii; Dostoïevski, *Journal d'un écrivain*, trans. by J.-W. Bienstock and John-Antoine Nau (Paris: Charpentier, 1904); Th. Dostoïevski, *Correspondance et Voyage à l'Étranger*, trans. by J.-W. Bienstock (Paris: Mercure de France, 1908); Evgenii Soloviev, *Dostoevsky: His Life and Literary Activity*, trans. by C. J. Hogarth (London: George Allen, 1916), a translation of Solov'ev's *F. M. Dostoevsky: Ego zhizn' i literaturnaya deyatel'nost* (St Petersburg: Biograficheskaya biblioteka F. Pavlenkova, 1891).

¹⁴⁵ Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, c. 8 July 1915, letter to Cynthia Asquith, 5 September 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 361, 386; Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 367.

¹⁴⁶ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 314–15.

footstep in the progress backward towards the starting place, it is the undoing of a complete unit into the factors which previously went to making its oneness'.¹⁴⁷ Dostoevsky, then, accurately depicts the sickness of modern civilization in depicting his characters self-absorbed, isolated in their egoism: 'the flux of light and dark has flowed sufficiently apart for the conjunction, which we call life, to disappear'.¹⁴⁸ But the novels fail to offer a remedy, a philosophy of life, that Lawrence can value. Dostoevsky's remedy of 'humility and love' destabilizes the 'perfect balance' Lawrence advocates in 'The Crown'. There, Lawrence associates Christianity with egoism in its promotion of one side of the balance and falsification of part of man's nature: 'those alone are evil, who say, "The lion shall lie down with the lamb, the eagle shall mate with the dove, the lion shall munch in the stable of the unicorn."' For they blaspheme against the *raison d'être* of all life, they try to destroy the essential, intrinsic nature of God'.¹⁴⁹

The tone of the passages about Dostoevsky in 'The Crown' is surprisingly neutral: one has to follow the logic of the complex argument across the instalments to perceive the extent of Lawrence's censure. His letters are less restrained. In April 1915, he wrote to Kotelyansky that he was reading Dostoevsky's letters, and remarked 'What an amazing person he was—a pure introvert, a purely disintegrating will—there was not a grain of the passion of love within him—all the passion of hate, of evil. Yet a great man. It has become, I think, now, a supreme wickedness to set up a Christ-worship as Dostoevsky did: it is the outcome of an evil will, disguising itself in terms of love'.¹⁵⁰ And in a famous letter to Mansfield and Murry written in February 1916, after having just finished *The Possessed*, Lawrence wrote that he had 'gone off Dostoevsky', and provided some 'notes' for Murry's book, which distilled the observations made in 'The Crown' and his letters. 'The whole point of Dostoevsky lies in the fact of his fixed will that the individual ego, the achieved I, the conscious entity, shall be infinite, God-like, and absolved from all relation i.e. free', he argued. 'They are great parables, the novels, but false art'.¹⁵¹

In his autobiography, Murry writes that he found Lawrence's notes 'completely incomprehensible... To this day, I am unable to connect them vitally with Dostoevsky'.¹⁵² For Murry, it was precisely in his analysis of the individual ego that Dostoevsky provided positive examples of the artist figure Murry had envisioned in *The Signature*, who 'lives by his own inward conviction of life'.¹⁵³ In *Fyodor Dostoevsky: A Critical Study* Murry sees Dostoevsky's innovation lying in his creation of a particular type of character, 'mighty champions to battle with life for its

¹⁴⁷ Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 6, 5, 7, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

¹⁴⁸ Lawrence, 'The Crown, I', p. 14; D. H. Lawrence, 'The Crown, II', *The Signature*, 2 (1915), 1–10 (p. 3); Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', p. 6, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

¹⁴⁹ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 314–15; Lawrence, 'The Crown, I', p. 14. Lawrence discusses Dostoevsky's Christianity in most detail in his introduction to Dostoevsky, *The Grand Inquisitor*, pp. iii–xvi.

¹⁵⁰ D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 8 April 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 314.

¹⁵¹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, 17 February 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 542–4.

¹⁵² Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 369.

¹⁵³ Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, III', p. 21.

secret', and his book is concerned only with these 'superhuman figures', because 'it is in them that the strangeness and the fascination and the power of Dostoevsky rests'. As a number of critics have remarked, this leads him to some idiosyncratic interpretations: 'those parts of *Crime and Punishment* which closely concern the regeneration of Raskolnikov, the history of Sonya Marmeladov and her family, of Luzhin and Razumihin, are in the last resort unessential', he states, while 'Svidrigailov is the real hero of the book', because, unlike Raskol'nikov, Svidrigailov 'is not divided against himself'. In Murry's book, Dostoevsky emerges as the great chronicler of 'personality': he 'ventured against the unknown with no other armour than human personality. To no writer before him had personality meant so much. He would accept no division in the soul of man. If man could think, then thought was not given to him as a plaything, but to be used, to be trusted and to be obeyed'.¹⁵⁴ If, as Murry later said, the 'struggle' documented by 'There Was a Little Man' was 'to overcome the complete mental hypertrophy which threatened me', his study of Dostoevsky reads as a justification of mental hypertrophy. Indeed, he remarked that during this period, his 'natural bias towards a extreme condition of self-consciousness had received a powerful stimulus from my reading of Dostoevsky; and it had been still further stimulated by the closer acquaintance with Lawrence'.¹⁵⁵ A 1917 letter from Mansfield suggests they both made these connections at the time—Mansfield negatively. Re-reading one of Murry's *TLS* reviews, she writes 'I don't like it. I don't see its use at all, even artistically. It's a "Signature" style of writing... Sometimes when you write you seem to abase yourself like Dostoevsky did. Its *perfectly* natural to you I know, but oh my God, dont do it'.¹⁵⁶

Given Murry's valorizing of precisely what Lawrence deplored in Dostoevsky it is unsurprising that Lawrence was extremely critical of Murry's book: 'You've got the cart before the horse', he wrote after Murry sent it to him, 'It isn't the being that must follow the mind, but the mind must follow the being'.¹⁵⁷ But Peter Kaye is quite right that in many ways Murry is valorizing and Lawrence is rejecting a shared interpretation of Dostoevsky.¹⁵⁸ Both viewed the Russian novel as presenting a new departure in fiction. In his 'Foreword' to *Studies in Classic American Literature*, Lawrence wrote that 'Two bodies of modern literature seem to me to have come to a real verge: the Russian and the American', which have 'reached the pitch of extreme consciousness' for which 'French modernism or futurism' could only strive.¹⁵⁹ Murry's preface to *Fyodor Dostoevsky* also made a favourable comparison with French literature. 'English literature has lately emerged from a period during which French influence upon it has been palpable', he wrote, 'But the influence of the French has been slight and mainly confined to externals; there has not

¹⁵⁴ Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, pp. 45, 47, 48, 122, 113, 116, 114–15, 262.

¹⁵⁵ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 367, 312.

¹⁵⁶ Katherine Mansfield, letter to John Middleton Murry, [late July 1917], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1: 317–18. See [John Middleton Murry], 'Léon Bloy', review of *Au Seuil de l'Apocalypse* by Léon Bloy, *Times Literary Supplement* (19 October 1916), 498.

¹⁵⁷ D. H. Lawrence, letter to John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, 17 February 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 543.

¹⁵⁸ Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism*, p. 38.

¹⁵⁹ D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923), p. viii.

been sufficient force in the French literature of the nineteenth century to make its influence more deeply felt'. In contrast, Murry suggested that Dostoevsky's influence 'may well be incalculable, not upon the form—he never achieved his own form—but upon the thought and spirit of our literature'.¹⁶⁰

Although this statement clearly fails to do justice to the profound impact of French literature on early twentieth-century British fiction, it does register how writers who aligned themselves with the Russian literary tradition continued to re-appropriate rather than reject the Jamesian and Fordian distinction between French and Russian literature. Murry consigns the French influence to 'externals', presumably meaning style, in order to claim a more profound influence on British literature's 'thought and spirit' by the Russian. By 1918, he would clearly distinguish between Flaubert's and Dostoevsky's 'realism': Flaubert's realism, he argued, concerned the representation of the external world, but as its scope was necessarily fixed by its subject matter, its 'only progress can be in the perfection of style'. Dostoevsky's realism was propelled by the limitations of the Flaubertian form to find a means of including 'all things within his vision', resulting in a realism characterized by contemplation and apprehension.¹⁶¹

These formulations have a particular force in the war context. Lawrence's and Murry's interpretation of Dostoevsky's novels as a profound engagement with the most important questions of life intersects with the use of Russian literature by wartime propagandists such as J. W. Mackail and Gilbert Murray. However, where the propagandists present nineteenth-century Russian fiction as evidence of Russia's progress towards the ideal of Western civilization, Lawrence and Murry interpret Dostoevsky's novels as a critique of that civilization, which they see as a 'machine-civilisation', 'a mere shell', detached from 'life' itself. For Lawrence and Murry, the war is the inevitable consequence of the failings of that civilization.¹⁶² In this terminological climate, it is clear why Lawrence rejected the essay Russell sent him for *The Signature*, 'The Danger to Civilisation' with such vehemence. While Lawrence and Murry questioned the very value of the Western civilization on which British propaganda is based, Russell's engagement in wartime debates asserted the importance of preserving that civilization. In the version of the essay published in the Union of Democratic Control's magazine in March and April 1916, Russell wrote that 'it is the furtherance of civilisation which makes us admire the Roman Empire more than that of Xerxes, or the British Empire more than that of China', and 'It is this service to mankind that is being jeopardised by the present war'. His examples of how the war would hasten the end of Western civilization reveal how fundamentally his concerns differ from Lawrence's. Former soldiers will no longer be able to repress their violent instincts, Russell wrote: 'There is a wild beast slumbering in almost every man, but civilised men know that it must not be

¹⁶⁰ Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, pp. v–vi.

¹⁶¹ John Middleton Murry, 'Realism', in *The Evolution of an Intellectual* (London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 1920), pp. 80–97 (pp. 94, 93). This chapter is closely based on a review Murry had published in 1918: 'What is realism?', review of Arthur McDowall, *Realism*, *The Nation*, 24.2 (12 October 1918), 48–50.

¹⁶² Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 361; Lawrence, 'The Crown, III', p. 9.

allowed to awake. A civilised man who has once been under the domain of the wild beast has lost his moral self-respect, his integrity and uprightness'.¹⁶³ In his letter rejecting the article, which notoriously left Russell suicidal, Lawrence wrote, 'You are simply *full* of repressed desires, which have become savage and anti-social... It is *not* the hatred of falsehood which inspires you. It is the hatred of people, of flesh and blood. It is a perverted, mental blood-lust'.¹⁶⁴

Nevertheless, Russell's role in the hinterland of Lawrence's, Mansfield's, and Murry's *The Signature*, their shared desire for a 'new world', and their criticism of the war highlight the difference between the *Signature* group's stance on the war, and that of the writers whose values were taken up in the high modernism of the post-war period, such as Ford Madox Ford, T. E. Hulme, and Wyndham Lewis, all of whom were army volunteers.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, it was in the six months between Lawrence's rejection of 'The Danger to Civilisation' and its publication in *The U. D. C.* that Russell was engaged in argument about the war with Hulme in the pages of C. K. Ogden's *Cambridge Magazine*. Hulme had attended some of Russell's lecture series 'On Principles of Social Reconstruction' at Caxton Hall in Westminster, which had grown out of the lecture project planned with Lawrence the previous June, and on 3 February he published an extended criticism of Russell's first lecture in his 'War Notes' series for the *New Age*, abridged two days later in the *Cambridge Magazine*.¹⁶⁶ This well-known confrontation is one of the foundation stones of post-war modernism, and despite its focus on pacifism, connections with literary aesthetics are clear. In describing the 'unconscious assumptions' of pacifist arguments such as Russell's, Hulme argued that 'the establishment of the future "principles of social reconstruction" seems always based on an appeal to the values first made prominent by Rousseau, and the romantic movement. The words "personality" and "natural growth" seem enough to settle everything... This faded Rousseauism is based on an entirely false conception of the nature of man, and of the true hierarchy of values; the hierarchy is not objective but is merely the

¹⁶³ Bertrand Russell, 'The Danger to Civilisation', *The U. D. C.*, 1.5 (March 1916), 52–4, 1.6 (April 1916), 62–4 (pp. 52, 53). The essay was also published in the March issue of the Chicago journal the *Open Court*, and in the American edition of *Justice in War-Time*.

¹⁶⁴ Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, II: 1914–44 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1968), p. 22; D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, 14 September 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 392.

¹⁶⁵ In his letter to Russell describing *The Signature*, Lawrence wrote 'I only want people who really care, and who really want a new world, to subscribe': D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, 5 September 1915, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 387.

¹⁶⁶ For the syllabus of Russell's lectures, see 'A Course of Eight Lectures on Principles of Social Reconstruction', in *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell*, XIII: *Prophecy and Dissent, 1914–16*, ed. by Richard A. Rempel (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 295–8. Russell's lectures were held on 18, 25 January, 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 February, and 7 March. On the evidence of the *New Age* versions of the 'War Notes' articles, Hulme attended at least the lectures of 18 January on 'Disintegration and the principle of growth', 1 February on 'War as an Institution', and 22 February on 'Marriage and the Population Question'. In addition, Robert Ferguson notes Hulme's attendance of a lecture with Ramiro de Maeztu after Russell had sent his first response to Ogden on 7 February, which may refer to the 22 February lecture, or the lecture of the week before, on 'Education': see Robert Ferguson, *The Short, Sharp Life of T. E. Hulme* (London: Allen Lane, 2002), pp. 237–8.

result of an uncritical acceptance of the romantic tradition'.¹⁶⁷ The cluster of associations Hulme draws around romanticism and classicism, which proved so significant for the future of literature and literary criticism, derive from Hulme's mature philosophy, in which romanticism or humanism ('the belief that life is the source and measure of all values, and that man is fundamentally good') is represented as the dominant worldview that is, however, 'breaking up', to be replaced by classicism or 'the religious attitude' (the view that 'A man is essentially bad, he can only accomplish anything of value by discipline—ethical and political. Order is thus not merely negative, but creative and liberating. Institutions are necessary').¹⁶⁸

This opposition would of course be most influentially promoted by T. S. Eliot in the nineteen twenties: when Eliot relaunched *The Criterion* as the *New Criterion* in 1926, his editorial aligned the magazine to the 'modern tendency... which, for want of a better name, we may call classicism', and concluded with a list of books that exemplified the classicist tendency, including Georges Sorel's *Reflexions sur la violence*, translated by Hulme, and the posthumous collection of Hulme's essays, *Speculations*, and another list 'more accidental, it is true, but all recently received, which represent to my mind that part of the present which is already dead': H. G. Wells's *Christina Alberta's Father*, George Bernard Shaw's *St Joan*, and Bertrand Russell's *What I Believe*: 'they all hold curious amateur religions based apparently upon amateur or second-hand biology, and on *The Way of all Flesh*. They all exhibit intelligence at the mercy of emotion'.¹⁶⁹

My aim in rehearsing these well-known connections between Hulme, Eliot, and classicism is to emphasize first, that in Britain they were initially articulated in the context of the First World War and debates about the value of 'civilization', and second and more significantly for this study, that they were generated through conflict with a rival contemporary cluster of ideas that Hulme and Eliot disparaged as romanticism. Hulme's and Eliot's argument that the 'modern tendency' of classicism was replacing the 'faded Rousseauism' of romanticism has created a misleading chronology, which suggests that a classicist twentieth-century modernism was reacting against a romantic nineteenth-century aestheticism, with Murry's defence of romanticism in the 1920s understood, as David Goldie has remarked, as 'sporadic and one-off, developing out of no consistent tradition and founding no recognizable school'.¹⁷⁰ Tracking the interest in Russian literature in the period alerts us to the fact that this romanticism relates to a cluster of values (life, linguistic optimism, pacifism, anti-mechanization, anti-western civilization) generated in Russophilic literary debate during the war, and these values were seen by their proponents as every bit as up-to-date a reaction against Flaubertian, Jamesian, Fordian, Hulmean, and Eliotian values as vice versa.

¹⁶⁷ 'North Staffs' [T. E. Hulme], 'War Notes', *New Age* (27 January 1916), 293–4 (p. 293); 'North Staffs.' [T. E. Hulme], 'War Notes: The Kind of Rubbish we Oppose', *Cambridge Magazine*, 5.12 (5 February 1916), 266–7 (p. 266).

¹⁶⁸ T. E. H., 'A Notebook', *New Age*, 18.13 (27 January 1916), 305–7 (pp. 305, 306, 305).

¹⁶⁹ T. S. Eliot, 'The Idea of a Literary Review', *New Criterion*, 4.1 (January 1926), 1–6 (pp. 5–6).

¹⁷⁰ David Goldie, *A Critical Difference: T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry in English Literary Criticism, 1919–1928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 6.

The opposition had always entailed a different perspective on literary form. In the Hulme-influenced syllabus of his 1916 lectures on contemporary French thought for the Oxford University Extension programme, Eliot closely anticipated his famous 1928 preface to *For Lancelot Andrewes*, defining the 'ideals of classicism' to which the early twentieth century was returning as 'form and restraint in art, discipline and authority in religion, centralization in government (either as socialism or monarchy)'. He elaborated that contemporary French classicism in literature involved 'Movement away from both realism and purely personal expression of emotion. Growing devotion to form, finding expression in new forms'.¹⁷¹ As we have seen, Lawrence and Murry associated the cultivation of style with an outworn aestheticism, which was a symptom of the corruption of twentieth-century civilization, and throughout the war years they advanced an expressivist, anti-formalist early modernist aesthetic.¹⁷² Murry's articles in the Liberal newspapers the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily News* frequently set themselves the task of distinguishing between different types—or standards—of art produced by the war, in order to present propagandist art as categorically different from 'true' art in its lack of emotional truth. In 'War Pictures at the Guildhall', he writes that 'popular war-pictures' are popular precisely because they are 'false in sentiment', depicting the war 'as a species of prize fight', and in 'Rhetoric, Verse & Poetry', he criticizes the 'mathematical exactness' of Laurence Binyon's patriotic poetry that marks his work as merely dutiful, in comparison with John Drinkwater's, in which the poetry generated by the war has an emotional consistency with the rest of his oeuvre.¹⁷³ Since Murry's prime criterion of value is emotional sincerity rather than, for example, quality of technique or formal originality, these arguments set him not only against patriotic art, but also against the other strains of early modernism simultaneously struggling towards self-definition. In his comments in the *Westminster Gazette* on his friend Henri Gaudier-Brzeska's death, Murry dismissed the sculptor's association with the 'extravagance and *fumisterie*' of vorticism as 'only a passing phase in his development', and emphasized 'his passion for sincerity' as the defining feature of his art.¹⁷⁴ The aesthetics of the vorticists' recent allies, Clive Bell and Roger Fry, were also criticized. Murry derided one of Fry's paintings which drew on the innovations of French post-impressionism as 'a realistic painting with two odd bits introduced', and he compared Bell's influential *Art* unfavourably with L. March Phillipps's rival work of art theory, *Form and Colour*, which traced different artistic values to divergent religious traditions. In both his dismissal of vorticism as '*fumis-*

¹⁷¹ Ronald Schuchard, *Eliot's Dark Angel: Intersections of Life and Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 27–8; T. S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928), p. ix.

¹⁷² Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 2–3, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC; Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, I', p. 30.

¹⁷³ J. M. M., 'War Pictures at the Guildhall', *Westminster Gazette* (22 July 1915), 2; J. M. Murry, 'Rhetoric, Verse & Poetry', review of Laurence Binyon, *The Winnowing Fan*, Bertram Dobell, *Sonnets and Lyrics in the War*, John Drinkwater, *Swords and Ploughshares*, James H. Cousins, *Straight and Crooked*, *Daily News* (27 May 1915), 8.

¹⁷⁴ J. M. M., 'The Vorticists [reply to Ezra Pound]', *Westminster Gazette* (30 July 1915), 3; J. M. M., 'Henri Gaudier-Brzeska: In Memoriam', *Westminster Gazette* (22 July 1915), 2.

terie' and his repudiation of Bell's theory of 'significant form' as 'triviality', Murry associates form and style with the extraneous and historically inconsequential.¹⁷⁵ Lawrence, too, conceived his aesthetic position in opposition to Bell's. In the introduction to a book of his own paintings published in 1929, he ridiculed 'the way of Significant Form' as 'cant' that used the language of spirituality only to gain 'another great uplift into self-importance, another apotheosis of personal conceit'.¹⁷⁶

3.5 NEW FICTIONS: LAWRENCE'S *THE RAINBOW* AND *WOMEN IN LOVE*, MURRY'S *STILL LIFE*, MANSFIELD'S *PRELUDE*

The foregoing discussion clarifies the range of contexts we should consider when looking for the impact of Russian literature on British modernism. Donald Davie rightly remarked long ago that that impact was not primarily 'a *formal* influence', but rather 'a challenge presented to Anglo-American literary culture'.¹⁷⁷ That challenge took the form of a different perspective on what constituted civilization, on the author's responsibility to that civilization, and on the effectiveness of the author's primary tool: language. But that is not to say that this challenge did not have formal implications. The challenge presented by Dostoevsky's novels came at a critical point in the *Signature* group's development of their fiction: during the war Mansfield was writing 'The Aloe', the first version of *Prelude*, Murry was working on his first novel *Still Life*, and Lawrence was writing the long manuscript initially called *The Sisters*, which became *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. Thus equipped with a fuller sense of the way Russian literature played into wartime literary culture, I now want to turn to these experiments that sought to establish a distinctive, modern form of fiction. In these works the *Signature* group conceived their contribution to the development of the novel as two-fold: first, they aimed to develop a mode of characterization that emphasized the inconsistencies of the individual ego (or soul) and to represent specifically its depth, and, second, they aimed to develop a narrative style that prioritized analysis and explicitly rejected completion and aesthetic satisfaction. The rest of this chapter will consider these four works of fiction in detail.

¹⁷⁵ J. M. M., 'The Painting of Mr. Roger Fry', *Westminster Gazette* (18 November 1915), 3; John Middleton Murry, 'The Spirit of Art', review of Lisle March Phillipps, *Form and Colour*, *Daily News* (31 March 1915), 6. On 23 March, presumably while working on this review, Murry discussed significant form in his diary. The discussion begins: 'significant form may do as a definition of decorative beauty—i.e. of the aesthetic object in pattern. Also it might be used of other aesthetic beauty e.g. of a Rembrandt portrait; but form would be used in a quite different and deeper sense' (John Middleton Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', p. [56a], John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull).

¹⁷⁶ For a qualification of this argument, with which I however disagree, see Anne Fernihough, *D. H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 90–4.

¹⁷⁷ Davie, 'Introduction', in Davie, ed., *Russian Literature and Modern English Fiction*, p. 9.

As we saw in chapter two, Ford Madox Ford's comments on the manuscript of Lawrence's second novel, *The Trespasser*, made Lawrence realize that Ford belonged 'to the opposite school of novelists to me: he says prose must be impersonal, like Turgenev or Flaubert. I say no'. Ford's name for Lawrence's non-impersonal writing was 'Dostoevskyism'.¹⁷⁸ When published in 1912, *The Trespasser* was reviewed in *The Athenaeum* alongside Garnett's translation of *Brat'ya Karamazovy* (*The Brothers Karamazov*) under the heading 'Two Realists: Russian and English', where it was praised as 'poetic realism of a Dostoevskian order'.¹⁷⁹ The comparison is astute: Lawrence's portrayal of Siegmund's delirium in chapter twenty-seven is strikingly reminiscent of Dostoevsky's depiction of Raskol'nikov's state of mind after the murders. Both use the device of having their protagonist awake from an uneasy sleep and feverishly attempt to resolve the consequences of their actions, using a particularly concentrated form of free indirect discourse that foregrounds self-questioning to narrate the protagonists' decisions and sudden shifts in mood.¹⁸⁰ The similarity between Lawrence's and Dostoevsky's styles was short-lived, and more recent criticism has focused on Dostoevsky's philosophical and thematic legacy in Lawrence's fiction. George Panichas, in a much-cited article, argues for the influence of *Crime and Punishment's* representation of evil on the characterization of Loerke in *Women in Love*, George Zytaruk and Peter Kaye see Lawrence's *The Escaped Cock* as a response to and rebuttal of Dostoevsky's interpretation of Christ in *The Brothers Karamazov*, Gary Cox finds a parallel between the murderous relationship of Rogozhin and Nastas'ya Filippovna in *The Idiot* and Gudrun and Gerald in *Women in Love*, and Michelle Frucht Levy reads Lou Witt in *St Mawr* as a Lawrentian version of Dostoevsky's 'Underground Man'.¹⁸¹

It is, however, also possible to trace a more programmatic working out of Lawrence's ideas about Russian literature, the war, and social reconstruction in his fiction of the period. Lawrence began writing 'The Sisters' in March 1913, and worked on the novel through most of 1913 and 1914, during which time he also revised the short stories published as *The Prussian Officer, and Other Stories* in November 1914. It was not until January 1915 that the novel was divided into the two volumes that would be published as *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* in

¹⁷⁸ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Louie Burrows, 9 September 1910, letter to Violet Hunt, 13 December 1910, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 178, 199.

¹⁷⁹ 'Two Realists: Russian and English', review of Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. by Constance Garnett, and D. H. Lawrence, *The Trespasser*, *The Athenaeum*, 4414 (1 June 1912), 613–14.

¹⁸⁰ Compare D. H. Lawrence, *The Trespasser* (London: Duckworth, 1912), pp. 241–51 with Fedor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment: A Russian Realistic Novel*, [trans. by Frederick Whishaw] (London: Vizetelly, 1886), pp. 81–3 and Fedor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, trans. by Frederick Whishaw (London: J. M. Dent, [1911]), pp. 80–2 (Whishaw's translation, with Dent's pagination, was published by Walter Scott the same year).

¹⁸¹ George A. Panichas, 'F. M. Dostoevsky and D. H. Lawrence: Their Vision of Evil', in *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 5.1 (1961), 49–75; Zytaruk, *D. H. Lawrence's Response to Russian Literature*; Gary Cox, 'D. H. Lawrence and F. M. Dostoevsky: Mirror Images of Murderous Aggression', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 29.2 (Summer 1983), 175–82; Michele Frucht Levy, 'D. H. Lawrence and Dostoevsky: The Thirst for Risk and the Thirst for Life', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 33.2 (Summer 1987), 281–8.

September 1915 and November 1920 respectively.¹⁸² From the start, Lawrence described the work as categorically different from his previous novel, *Sons and Lovers*. As early as 23 April 1913 he told Arthur McLeod that 'F[rieda] says it is good. But it's like a novel in a foreign language I don't know very well—I can only just make out what it is about', and in December he used the analogy again in a letter to his close friend and advisor Edward Garnett, promising to send Duckworth's the rewritten 'first half of the Sisters—which I should rather call *The Wedding Ring*... It is *very* different from *Sons and Lovers*: written in another language almost'.¹⁸³ By the middle of May, Lawrence had completed 'The Wedding Ring', now also being referred to as 'The Rainbow', and on 5 June he wrote to Garnett again, this time explaining his approach by comparing it to that of the Italian Futurists and the nineteenth-century Russian realists—comparisons suggested perhaps by his extended stay in northern Italy, not far from the centres of Futurist activity, Milan and Florence, where he had had a recent visit from Constance Garnett and the daughter of Feliks Volkhovsky, Vera, and become acquainted with the Russian novelist Aleksandr Amfiteatrov, who lived nearby:

When I read Marinetti—the profound intuitions of life added one to the other, word by word, according to their illogical conception, will give us the general lines of an intuitive physiology of matter—I see something of what I am after... I don't care about physiology of matter—but somehow—that which is physic—non-human, in humanity, is more interesting to me than the old-fashioned human element—which causes one to conceive a character in a certain moral scheme and make him consistent. The certain moral scheme is what I object to. In Turguenev, and in Tolstoi, and in Dostoievski, the moral scheme into which all the characters fit—and it is nearly the same scheme—is, whatever the extraordinariness of the characters themselves, dull, old, dead... You mustn't look in my novel for the old stable ego of the character. There is another ego, according to whose action the individual is unrecognisable, and passes through, as it were, allotropic states which it needs a deeper sense than any we've been used to exercise, to discover are states of the same single radically-unchanged element. (Like as diamond and coal are the same pure single element of carbon. The ordinary novel would trace the history of the diamond—but I say 'diamond, what! This is carbon.' And my diamond might be coal or soot, and my theme is carbon).¹⁸⁴

Here Lawrence articulates his aim to present in his new novel what he had, in an earlier letter, called 'something of the eternal stillness that lies under all movement,

¹⁸² D. H. Lawrence, letter to Edward Garnett, 22 March 1913, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 530; Mark Kinkead-Weekes, 'Introduction', in D. H. Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. xvii–lxxvi (pp. xix–xliv).

¹⁸³ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Arthur McLeod, 23 April 1913, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 544; D. H. Lawrence, letter to Edward Garnett, 30 December 1913, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 132.

¹⁸⁴ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Edward Garnett, 16 May 1914, D. H. Lawrence, letter to Edward Garnett, 5 June 1914, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 174, 182. Lawrence's quotation from Marinetti is his own translation of Marinetti's 'Manifesto tecnico', in Libero Altomare et al, *I Poeti Futuristi con un proclamo di F. T. Marinetti e uno studio sul verso libro di Paolo Buzzi* (Milan: Edizione Futuristi di 'Poesia', 1912), p. 20. See also D. H. Lawrence, letter to Constance Garnett, 23 January 1914, letter to Edward Garnett, 29 January 1914, letter to Arthur McLeod, 14 March 1914, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 139, 143, 155.

under all life, like a source, incorruptible and inexhaustible'.¹⁸⁵ At this point, it appears to entail peeling aside what Lawrence perceived as the socially constructed and responsive elements of character, 'the old-fashioned human element' legible only within the social codes of morality, to uncover 'another ego', which he likens to the chemical element carbon. While the 'ordinary novel' follows the history of a character who is as finished and polished as a diamond, Lawrence's novel is concerned with the element from which the diamond is formed. What is more, the character formed from this elemental ego 'might be coal or soot', rather than or as well as a diamond, because the character formed from carbon can form different 'allotropic states', even though the ego is 'the same pure single element'. In Lawrence's conception of his aesthetic aim in this letter, we can hear a prefiguring of the basis for his political aims, articulated to Russell a year later: 'you must allow and acknowledge and be prepared to proceed from the fundamental impulse in all of us towards The Truth, the fundamental passion also, the most fundamental passion in man, for Wholeness of Movement, Unanimity of Purpose, Oneness in Construction'.¹⁸⁶

Lawrence began to revise the typescript of *The Rainbow* in March and April 1915, the period in which he was planning a 'revolution in the state' with Bertrand Russell and reading Dostoevsky's works most intensively.¹⁸⁷ Though much of *The Rainbow* had been written and re-written before the war, revisions introduced at this stage can be traced to the particularity of the conjunction between the war, the alliance with Russia, and Lawrence's reading of Russian literature. Most significant are the connections Lawrence draws between nationalism, civilization, and character. The Lenskys' flight to Britain during the Polish Uprising obliquely introduces the subject of state oppression and empire-building.¹⁸⁸ As in *The Trespasser*, where the Russian navy linger off the coast of the Isle of Wight while Helena and Siegmund attempt to escape the social constrictions of their London lives, references to Russian military power constitute an ominous frame of international politics, in which war, and the oppression of nations and ethnic groups, outlines the social effects of the self-oppression Lawrence's novels examine at the level of individual consciousness.¹⁸⁹ Lawrence's allusions to Russia's oppression of Poland had taken on a topical force in the course of the book's revision, because they recalled

¹⁸⁵ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Henry Savage, 19 January 1914, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 137–8.

¹⁸⁶ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, c. 8 July 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 361.

¹⁸⁷ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Bertrand Russell, 12 February 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 282.

¹⁸⁸ Lydia's Polish ancestry is usually attributed to Frieda's family history (Frieda's paternal grandmother was Polish, and her great-grandmother's maiden name was Skrebensky, the name Lawrence gives to Ursula's lover), but her characterization may have been informed by Lawrence's new friendships with Kotelyansky and Mark Gertler, both of whom he met in the summer of 1914, and indeed one of Kotelyansky's characteristic phrases appears in Lydia's Polish-English: 'she wished to beat my father, plainly beat him': D. H. Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (London: Methuen, 1915), p. 52, and Kinkead-Weekes, 'Explanatory Notes', in Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1989), p. 502; D. H. Lawrence, letter to Amy Lowell, 18 December 1914, *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 243.

¹⁸⁹ Lawrence, *The Trespasser*, pp. 59, 103.

the arguments against alliance with Russia put forward by the campaign for British neutrality we saw rehearsed in the *Manchester Guardian* earlier in this chapter.

The war itself is addressed more fully, though still obliquely, by setting Ursula and Skrebensky's relationship in the context of the Second Boer War (1899–1902). Chapter eleven, 'First Love', contains two extended discussions of war: in the first, Ursula questions Skrebensky about his reasons for joining the army: 'war is 'about the most serious business there is', Skrebensky tells her, because—whether one dies or lives—the result of war matters for the nation. His specific example of such a war is the battle of Omdurman (1898), in which Herbert Kitchener defeated a Mahdist army near Khartoum, which had been the site of British defeat in 1885. To Ursula's objection that 'we don't care about Khartoum... I don't want to live in the desert of Sahara', Skrebensky responds that 'You want to have room to live in: and somebody has to make room', and furthermore, 'Where is the nation if we don't?'.¹⁹⁰ As Carl Krockel has remarked, this exchange highlights Britain's hypocrisy in citing German expansionism as a cause for the war, given its own history of colonial expansion, most recently in southern and eastern Africa.¹⁹¹ Indeed, Lawrence sharpened the comparison between British colonialism and the First World War by introducing the reference to Khartoum and the battle of Omdurman during his revisions to the typescript during March and April 1915, where it replaced 'Zulu-land' and the Zulu wars, presumably not only as a more recent reference, but more importantly to bring to mind the role in both wars of 'Kitchener of Khartoum', as he was still widely known, now Secretary of State for War, leading what Britons were being encouraged to believe was a morally justified battle against a rival empire's expansion.¹⁹² During the same process of revision in March and April 1915, Lawrence intensified the opposition between Ursula and Skrebensky on the subject of nation and war, adding terms closer to those he had used in 'Study of Thomas Hardy' and would develop in 'The Crown'. Skrebensky's explanation in the manuscript for why he will fight, 'Serve the nation which shelters me', becomes a far more thoroughgoing evacuation of self in the revision to the typescript, 'I belong to the nation and must do my duty to the nation'. Ursula's diagnosis of his lack of self ('It seems to me... as if you weren't anybody—as if there weren't anybody there, where you are. Are you anybody, really? You seem like nothing to me'), is an addition to the typescript with no source in the manuscript. Lawrence even adds a characterization of Ursula's anti-war position as 'romanticist', though this pre-dates the Hulme-Russell debate by almost a year.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1915), pp. 289–90.

¹⁹¹ Carl Krockel, *War Trauma and English Modernism: T. S. Eliot and D. H. Lawrence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), p. 27.

¹⁹² Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1989), pp. 521, 622. Kitchener's formal title, 'The Earl Kitchener of Khartoum', was routinely used in the press, including, for example, on the cover of *The Graphic*, 13 November 1915: 'A Man with an Iron Will, Horatio, Earl Kitchener of Khartoum'. New biographies were published in 1914 and 1915: Anon, *Kitchener of Khartoum: A Biography* (London: Nisbet, 1914), and Walter Jerrold, *Earl Kitchener of Khartoum: The Story of his Life* (London: W. A. Hammond, 1915).

¹⁹³ Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1915), p. 290, Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1989), p. 622.

The novel's second, more oblique, discussion of war is presented from Skrebensky's perspective after the Boer War has been declared, and he prepares to go with the army to South Africa. Skrebensky justifies the sacrifice of his relationship with Ursula with statist, anti-individualist arguments:

What did personal intimacy matter? One had to fill one's place in the whole, the great scheme of man's elaborate civilisation, that was all... The good of the greatest number was all that mattered. That which was the greatest good for them all, collectively, was the greatest good for the individual. And so, every man must give himself to support the state, and so labour for the greatest good of all. One might make improvements in the state, perhaps, but always with a view to preserving it intact.

Though he knows that this will not 'give him the vital fulfilment of his soul... he did not consider the soul of the individual sufficiently important. He believed a man was important in so far as he represented all humanity'.¹⁹⁴

Although these arguments precede the spring 1915 revisions to this section, their continuity with Lawrence's discussions with Russell during that period is striking, as is their anticipation of the argument in the third instalment of 'The Crown' against social reform and civilization in general.¹⁹⁵ Further, Mark Kinkead-Weekes attributes 'a new edge to [Lawrence's] and Ursula's treatment of Skrebensky' in the revisions Lawrence made to the proofs in July to his 'new impatience with Christian democracy, in outbursts to Russell and Lady Ottoline'.¹⁹⁶ This impatience was generated at least in part by Lawrence's thinking about Dostoevsky: 'It has become, I think, now, a supreme wickedness to set up a Christ-worship as Dostoevsky did', he wrote during the process of revising the typescripts in April, and in May his distrust of Dostoevsky's Christianity increased as he read *War, Progress and the End of History* by Vladimir Solov'ev, the friend of Dostoevsky whose philosophy was so significant for Merezhkovsky and the symbolists. Lawrence was unimpressed: 'He is not very profound, but interesting as revealing the desire of Dostoevsky's Russian, for God, and his hopeless muddle with Christianity'.¹⁹⁷

The suppression of *The Rainbow* a month and a half after its publication was made under the Obscene Publications Act, but critics have speculated that Lawrence's association with Russell and the pacifist tenor of *The Signature*, together with the novel's German dedication and Ursula's anti-war arguments, may have encouraged the Home Office to seek to discredit Lawrence.¹⁹⁸ Lawrence himself, in a 1917 letter to Waldo Frank, distanced the novel from its wartime context: 'I don't think the war had much to do with [*The Rainbow*]', he wrote, 'I don't think the war altered it, from its pre-war statement. I only clarified a little, in revision'. Nevertheless, he continued, he had been aware 'as I revised the book, that it was a kind of working up to the dark sensual or Dionysic or Aphrodisic ecstasy, which

¹⁹⁴ Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1915), p. 306.

¹⁹⁵ Lawrence, 'The Crown, III', pp. 6–7, 10.

¹⁹⁶ Kinkead-Weekes, 'Introduction', in Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1989), p. xliii.

¹⁹⁷ D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Kotliansky, 8 April 1915, letter to Ottoline Morrell, c. 19 May 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 314, 345.

¹⁹⁸ Kinkead-Weekes, 'Introduction', in Lawrence, *The Rainbow* (1989), pp. xlvii–xlviii.

does actually burst the world, burst the world-consciousness in every individual.—What I did through individuals, the world has done through the war'. *Women in Love*, *The Rainbow*'s 'sequel', he told Frank, 'actually does contain the results in one's soul of the war: it is purely destructive, not like the *Rainbow*, destructive-consummating'.¹⁹⁹ Lawrence worked on the novel, developed from the second half of 'The Wedding Ring', between April and November 1916, sending the complete revised typescript to his agent J. B. Pinker on 20 November. After the novel had been turned down by all the publishers Pinker approached, due to a combination of wartime financial constraints and fear of publishing the sequel to the suppressed *Rainbow*, Lawrence revised *Women in Love* again throughout 1917 until September, when it was sent to the American publisher, Thomas Seltzer. *Women in Love* was published by Seltzer in the United States in 1920, and by Martin Secker in Britain in 1921. In their introduction to the Cambridge scholarly edition of the novel, John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey have pointed out that if *Women in Love* had been published in 1917 as intended, it would have been read not as a work of postwar high modernism, in the company of *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses* (1922), but rather a work belonging to the earlier moment in which Eliot's *Prufrock and Other Observations*, Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and Pound's first 'Three Cantos' were published. The world the novel looked forward to would not have been read as 'a new world fitfully and uncertainly rebuilding itself in the weariness of the post-war period, but one which challenged, and strove to redirect, the whole ethos of what Constable's report hopefully called "the forms of English civilisation"'.²⁰⁰

Women in Love is the most direct product of Lawrence's experience of the war, his discussions with Russell and the *Signature* group, and his reading of Dostoevsky—'I seem to recall that Lawrence spoke a good deal of Dostoevsky', Catherine Carswell wrote in her account of visiting the Lawrences in September 1916.²⁰¹ In drawing on the relationships between himself, Frieda, Murry, and Mansfield in his portrayal of Birkin, Ursula, Gerald, and Gudrun, Lawrence provides a conduit for the discussions that were also published in *The Signature*, and much of the phrasing is transferred, particularly to Birkin's statements of his philosophy. When Gudrun and Gerald overhear Halliday and his friends reading out a letter by Birkin in the Café Impérial (1917)/Café Pompadour (1920) (Lawrence's version of Mansfield's, Kotelyansky's and Gertler's 'Dostoevsky evening' at the Café Royal), the phrases are derived from 'The Crown', particularly the third, fourth, and fifth instalments, 'The Flux of Corruption', 'Within the Sepulchre', and 'The Nuptials of Death and the Attendant Vulture'.²⁰² Later in the novel,

¹⁹⁹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Waldo Frank, 27 July 1917, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, III: 142–3.

²⁰⁰ John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey, 'Introduction', in D. H. Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. xvii–lv (pp. xxv–xxxix, liv).

²⁰¹ Catherine Carswell, *The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence* (London: Martin Secker, 1932), p. 65.

²⁰² D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, 4 September 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, II: 649–50; Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 351–2; 'The Crown, III', *The Signature*, pp.

Birkin describes Loerke as having a 'glassy envelope of a will', recalling the description in 'Within the Sepulchre' of 'the glassy envelope, the insect rind, the tight-shut shell of the cabbage' of egoism, and as Gudrun turns from Gerald to Loerke at the end of the novel, she seeks 'the inner individual darkness of sensation within the ego, the obscene religious mystery', like Dmitry Karamazov, Lawrence's prime example in 'Within the Sepulchre' of one who 'seeks and experiences sensation after sensation' in his 'progress towards utter dark disintegration'.²⁰³ Lawrence also attributes to Loerke characteristics he ascribed to Dostoevsky himself. He represents both as self-isolating egotists, and both are compared to rats: Dostoevsky, Lawrence had written to Morrell in 1915, is 'like the rat, slithering along in hate, in the shadows'; Loerke, Gudrun thinks in the 1917 version, is like 'some strange creature, a weasel or a rat', a view revised and transferred to Birkin in the published novel: 'He lives like a rat, in the river of corruption'.²⁰⁴

In the ending of *Women in Love*, Lawrence provides a fictional version of his argument in 'The Crown' that sex between individuals within the 'envelope', 'rind' or 'shell' of egoism is not 'a consummation in union, but a consummation in reduction'; it is 'what happens when a soldier, maddened with lust of pure destructiveness, violently rapes the woman of his captivity'. Through this means, he 'is destroying, reducing, breaking down that of himself which is within the envelope. He is immersing himself within a keen, fierce, terrible reducing agent'. There are already models in fiction: Lawrence notes in 'The Crown' that 'This is Rogozhin seeking Nastasia Filippovna, Dmitri his Grushenka, or D'Annunzio in *Fuoco* seeking his Foscarina'.²⁰⁵ To these examples he adds his own, in the form of Gerald's violent fantasies about Gudrun, which end in his attempt to strangle her: 'how good it was, what a god-given gratification at last! He was unconscious of her fighting and struggling. That struggling was her reciprocal lustful passion in this embrace, the more violent it became, the greater the frenzy of delight, till the zenith was reached, the crisis, the struggle was overborne, her movement became softer, appeased'.²⁰⁶ The novel ends with Birkin's grief at Gerald's death, and the end of Gerald's chance to 'struggle clear'. Gerald's corpse, once powerful, now a carcass, reminds Birkin of 'Dostoevsky's word about Vronsky', in *Dnevnik pisatelya*

9–10; Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 4–5; 'The Crown, V', pp. 3, 6–7, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

²⁰³ Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 394, 417; Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 7, 5–6, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

²⁰⁴ Lawrence, letter to Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry, 17 February 1916, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 24 March 1915, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 543, 311; Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 418, 393–4; D. H. Lawrence, *Women in Love* (London: Martin Secker, 1921), pp. 451–2.

²⁰⁵ Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', pp. 8–9, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC. See also Lawrence, letter to Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry, 17 February 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 544: 'The sensual ecstasy leads to universal murder: for mind the acme of sensual ecstasy lies in devouring the other, even in the pleasures of love, it is a devouring, like a tiger drinking blood (Rogozhin). But the full sensual ecstasy is never reached except by Rogozhin in murdering Nastasya. It is nipped in the last stages by the *will*, the social will. When the police stripped Dmitri Karamazov naked, they killed in him the quick of his being, his lust for the sensual ecstasy'.

²⁰⁶ Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, p. 436.

(*A Writer's Diary*), where Dostoevsky describes the protagonist of *Anna Karenina* as 'a stallion in uniform', misremembered by Lawrence—or Birkin—as 'a human stallion'. The final lines of the 1917 version—'I am not afraid or ashamed to die and be dead'—though phrased affirmatively, provide no resolution; nor does the heavily revised 1920 ending, in which Ursula tells Birkin he cannot have 'two kinds of love': "I don't believe that," he answered.²⁰⁷

Unlike *The Rainbow*, *Women in Love* has no affirmative end: 'it is purely destructive, not like the *Rainbow*, destructive-consummating', Lawrence told Waldo Frank in July 1917, following these remarks on the war:

But alas, in the world of Europe I see no Rainbow. I believe the deluge or iron rain will destroy the world here, utterly: no Ararat will rise above the subsiding iron waters. There is a great consummation in death, or sensual ecstasy, as in the *Rainbow*. But there is also death which is the rushing of the Gadarene swine down the slope of extinction. And this is the war in Europe. We have chosen our extinction in death, rather than our consummation.²⁰⁸

For all his criticism of Dostoevsky's moral conclusions, Lawrence appears to have found Dostoevsky's diagnosis appropriate to his wartime novel: 'Dostoevsky has done for us perfectly the utter subjection of all human life to the flux of corruption. That is his theme, the theme of reduction through sensation after sensation, consciousness after consciousness, until nullity is reached, all complexity is broken down, an individual becomes an amorphous heap of elements, qualities', Lawrence wrote in 'The Crown'.²⁰⁹ If Lawrence is able to resist Dostoevsky's mode of resolution—'There's no need to drag in the fallen angel touch to save ourselves in our own sight. I am most sick of this divinity-of-man business'—he is unable to provide an alternative. Though Birkin's and Ursula's relationship may offer some hope for the future, hope is not the note on which the novel ends, and Lawrence can provide no portrayal of it.²¹⁰

In contrast with *The Rainbow*, *Women in Love* follows 'The Crown' in extending its analysis of individual corruption to the nation. Over dinner in Innsbruck, the two couples discuss how one feels 'übermenschlich—more than human' away from England, where 'it's quite impossible to really let go'. Birkin describes England as 'an aged parent who suffers horribly from a complication of diseases', but suggests that the destruction of the nation could be the salvation of its people: to Gudrun's question "When England has died, she will be born again?", he answers, "Yes... At least the English *people*. As for nations—" he made a strange wave of dismissal with his hand'. In the published version Lawrence's interest has returned to the individual: 'Any hope of England becoming real? God knows. It's a great actual unreality now, an aggregation into unreality. It might be real, if there were

²⁰⁷ Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 440, 443 (this reference to Dostoevsky does not appear in the published novel); Lawrence, *Women in Love* (1921), p. 508; Dostoevski, *Journal d'un Écrivain, 1873, 1876 et 1877*, p. 385.

²⁰⁸ Lawrence, letter to Waldo Frank, 27 July 1917, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 111: 142–3.

²⁰⁹ Lawrence, "The Crown, IV", pp. 5–6, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

²¹⁰ Lawrence, letter to S. S. Kotliansky, 15 February 1916, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 537.

no Englishmen. . . . what else is in front of them, but disappearance? They've got to disappear from their own special brand of Englishness, anyhow'.²¹¹ This strong belief in national identity is consistent with Lawrence's theory of national language. Later in the same chapter, the four English characters find themselves carried away by the laughter of their fellow guests at Loerke's performance of a conversation in a Cologne dialect. As Juliette Taylor-Batty remarks, 'what Lawrence really seems to be interested in here are the effects of intercultural and interlingual contact where the component parts—the different nationalities, and the different languages—are nonetheless kept separate, where the individual ingredients do not break down, dissolve or combine'. Different languages are made proximate, but kept separate, like the lion and the unicorn of 'The Crown', and Taylor-Batty notes that Lawrence was to develop his romantic conception of 'spirit of place' during the same period:

Every continent has its own great spirit of place. Every people is polarised in some particular locality, which is home, the homeland. Different places on the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, different chemical exhalation, different polarity with different stars: call it what you like. But the spirit of place is a great reality. . . . Men are free when they are in a living homeland, not when they are straying and breaking away. Men are free when they are obeying some deep, inward voice of religious belief. Obeying from within. Men are free when they belong to a living, organic, believing community, active in fulfilling some unfulfilled, perhaps unrealized purpose.²¹²

'He maintains a Romantic belief in national language as the embodiment of the perceived qualities of a particular culture', concludes Taylor-Batty. 'To "uproot" languages from place and culture is for Lawrence deeply suspect, and we thus also find in his work a resistance to forms of linguistic mixing or creolisation'.²¹³

The novel also provides Lawrence's most direct attack so far on the updated aestheticism that was emerging as modernism's dominant mode. As numerous critics have noted, Lawrence positions Ursula's and Birkin's ideas about art against those of Hermione, Halliday and, above all, Loerke. To Ursula's criticism of Loerke's sculpture, 'Why . . . did you make the horse so stiff? . . . Horses are sensitive, quite delicate and sensitive, really', Loerke answers with a sustained defence of formalism, 'that horse is a certain *form*, part of a whole form. It is part of a work of art, a piece of form. It is not a picture of a friendly horse to which you give a lump of sugar, do you see—it is part of a work of art, it has no relation to anything outside that work of art'. Ursula's response is also robust: 'I know it is a picture of himself, really', she tells Gudrun, and to Loerke, she says, 'As for your world of art and your world of reality,' she replied, 'you have to separate the two, because you can't bear to know what you are. You can't bear to realise what a stock, stiff, hide-bound brutality you *are* really, so you say "it's the world of art." In a paradigmatic

²¹¹ Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 362, 363; Lawrence, *Women in Love* (1921), p. 418.

²¹² Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature*, pp. 8–9.

²¹³ Taylor-Batty, *Multilingualism in Modernist Fiction*, pp. 46–8.

expression of linguistic optimism, she concludes, 'The world of art is only the truth about the real world, that's all'.²¹⁴

But reviewers of both *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* were largely unsympathetic to Lawrence's attempt to develop a narrative style that would reveal the 'the truth about the real world'. Reviews of *The Rainbow* in particular disliked the 'foreign language' Lawrence saw as marking the development of his fiction from *Sons and Lovers*.²¹⁵ Robert Lynd described it as 'windy, tedious, and even in its excitements nauseating'; Clement Shorter found it 'spoilt not only by the crude sex details but by endless repetitions', and James Douglas complained that 'the thud, thud, thud of the hectic phrases is intolerably wearisome'. Even Lawrence's friend, Catherine Carswell, who wrote the most positive review, deplored the 'increasingly mannered idiom which Mr Lawrence has acquired since the writing of *Sons and Lovers*. The worst manifestations of this at present are a distressing tendency to the repetition of certain words and a curiously vicious rhythm into which he constantly falls in the more emotional passages'.²¹⁶ Similar criticisms were made of *Women in Love*, though it was more positively reviewed in the United States.²¹⁷ What was rejected was precisely Lawrence's reaction against the refinement of the Flaubertian tradition, the 'picking and composing' James recommended, the 'critical attitude' Ford aligned to civilization.²¹⁸ This novel is structured not only in its argument but in its style against that model of civilization, which values the diamond over the carbon, and views art as, in James Douglas's words, 'a dweller in the clean homes and swept streets of life' that 'must conform to the ordered laws that govern human society'.²¹⁹ Lawrence develops a style to peel away the veneer of civilization, to document the way 'supreme sensual experience' reduces the individual 'down to his parts', as Lawrence wrote of Dostoevsky's characters.²²⁰

In his autobiography, Murry wrote that neither he nor Mansfield liked *The Rainbow*: despite their closeness during the period of composition, he 'could not understand the compulsion which was upon Lawrence to write in that fashion and of those themes'.²²¹ In 1921, his relationship with Lawrence by then broken down, he wrote one of the most critical reviews *Women in Love* received. Its significance for this chapter's discussion is in its demonstration of how thoroughly and swiftly Murry turned against the project of developing an art structured against western civilization, which he had seemed to share with Lawrence during the war years:

²¹⁴ Lawrence, *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. 396–7.

²¹⁵ D. H. Lawrence, letter to Arthur McLeod, 23 April 1913, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 1: 544.

²¹⁶ Robert Lynd, 'The Downfall', review of D. H. Lawrence, *The Rainbow*, *Daily News and Leader* (5 October 1915), 6; C. K. S. [Clement Shorter], 'A Literary Letter', *The Sphere*, 63.822 (23 October 1915), 104; James Douglas, 'Books & Bookmen: "The Rainbow"', *The Star* (22 October 1915), 4; [Catherine Carswell], 'New Novels: "The Rainbow"', *Glasgow Herald* (4 November 1915), 4.

²¹⁷ 'New Novels: "Women in Love"', *Saturday Westminster Gazette* (2 July 1921), 14–15; [Edmund Blunden], 'New Novels: Women in Love', *Times Literary Supplement* (9 June 1921), 371; F. S. [Frank Swinnerton], 'New Novels: The Astonishing Mr. Lawrence', *The Manchester Guardian* (15 July 1921), 5.

²¹⁸ Henry James, letter to Hugh Walpole, 19 May 1912, in *Letters*, iv: 618–19; F. [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: Blue Water and the Thin Red Line', pp. 139, 144.

²¹⁹ Douglas, 'Books & Bookmen: "The Rainbow"', p. 4.

²²⁰ Lawrence, 'The Crown, IV', p. 8, box 5, folder 3, D. H. Lawrence Collection, HRC.

²²¹ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 351.

'We stand by the consciousness and the civilization of which the literature we know is the finest flower; Mr. Lawrence is in rebellion against both', he wrote. 'The things we prize are the things he would destroy'. He concluded his review by arguing that Lawrence had wasted his literary gifts in terms that unequivocally repudiate their joint project:

Those gifts were great; they were valuable to the civilization which he believes he has transcended. It may be that we are benighted in the old world, and that he belongs to the new, it may be that he is, like his Rupert, a 'son of God'; we certainly are the sons of men, and we must be loyal to the light we have. By that light Mr. Lawrence's consummation is a degradation, his passing beyond a passing beneath, his triumph a catastrophe. It may be superhuman, we do not know; by the knowledge that we have we can only pronounce it sub-human and bestial, a thing that our forefathers had rejected when they began to rise from the slime.²²²

Murry's novel *Still Life* documents this shift in attitude as it occurred. It was published in 1916, but like Lawrence's 'The Sisters', it was begun in 1913, and it is set in that year.²²³ Also like 'The Sisters', its fiction rests heavily on autobiography, as Sydney Janet Kaplan has discussed: it derives its plot both from Murry's visits to Paris during 1910–11, the penultimate year of his undergraduate studies at Oxford—when he met John Duncan Fergusson, Dorothy 'Georges' Banks, Francis Carco, and Marguéritte, the young French woman he intended to marry—and also his relationships with Mansfield and Gordon Campbell from 1911 to 1913.²²⁴ But its several extended statements of philosophy also show the impact of the 1914–15 discussions with Lawrence and Mansfield about the war, civilization, the novel, and Russian literature, and the beginning of independence from them.

Given its publication in the same year as *Fyodor Dostoevsky: A Critical Study*, it is perhaps surprising that *Still Life* is less obviously 'Dostoevskian' in style than, for example, Lawrence's *The Trespasser*—or even elements of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. Nevertheless, there are traces of Dostoevsky's impact: we might see *Still Life* as Murry's testing of his protagonist, Maurice Templeton—and to an extent himself—against his conception of the Dostoevskian hero. In *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, Murry specified the interest of Dostoevsky's oeuvre as his creation of a new type of character for a post-Christian world, 'mighty champions to battle with life for its secret'. Maurice is no mighty champion and as Murry's alter ego, Murry could not present him as such. But he could nevertheless, as he said of Dostoevsky, venture 'against the unknown with no other armour than human personality'. He admirably remarked of Dostoevsky's characterization, 'he would accept no division in the soul if man', and Murry's account of the obsessively self-conscious Maurice tracks his protagonist's, and his own, attempt to resolve that division.²²⁵ But for

²²² J. Middleton Murry, 'The Nostalgia of Mr. D. H. Lawrence', review of D. H. Lawrence, *Women in Love*, *Nation and Athenaeum*, 29.20 (13 August 1921), 713–14.

²²³ J. Middleton Murry, *Still Life* (London: Constable, 1916), p. 399.

²²⁴ Sydney Janet Kaplan, *Circulating Genius: John Middleton Murry, Katherine Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 13–19; F. A. Lea, *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen, 1959), pp. 18–33.

²²⁵ Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, pp. 46–7, 262.

Murry, as for Lawrence, Dostoevsky provides a model for analysis, not for a solution, and this novel is markedly unresolved. At the level of plot, Maurice leaves Anne Cradock to return to Madeleine, the French lover he had previously abandoned, but ultimately cannot bring himself to confront her. But the more interesting lack of resolution occurs in relation to the novel's aesthetic philosophy.

That philosophy is first set out at a dinner party arranged by Maurice's friend, the drama critic, Jim Cradock. Maurice asks a fellow guest, Mrs. Fortescue, to explain the ideas of the modern artists she has been praising, and she replies glibly:

'Oh, colour.' She halted a minute, then ran smoothly into a remembered phrase. 'The world is self-conscious and afraid of its own impulses. Modern art is the outcome of a desire to bring back colour as a source of pleasure in itself.'

Jim's wife, Anne, counters the formalism of this response by describing admiration for Greek sculpture in expressivist terms: 'I really do get something out of those statues, you know. I feel very calm and quiet in front of them'. Maurice agrees, in a long disquisition: 'the thing you get out of one of these Greek heads, that affects you most profoundly, isn't so much anything in the art as the thing that the art seems to assume and allow for', he remarks. He calls this quality 'harmony in the soul', and notes that it is not confined to works of art: 'just because it is a quality of the soul, you can surely get it elsewhere than in a work of art—you can get it from people who have it when you meet them'.²²⁶

This philosophy is what Murry had referred to as his own 'old business of soul-harmony' in his diary entry for 18 November 1914, the entry that described an early discussion with Lawrence about Dostoevsky and the ideas that would be developed in *Signature*. There, Murry had noted the continuity between Lawrence's argument that (in Murry's words) 'the way of Life is a balance between' the 'idea of Law, and the idea of Love', and his own philosophy of the harmony of the soul, expressed in the diary entry as 'Life, real life, is the discovery of a balance, a living harmony, between the conscious and unconscious principles'.²²⁷ A description of Lawrence's plans for social revolution is also followed by comment on the relevance for his novel: 'He said a few words about the revolution, as to means—nationalization of land, industry, railways . . . Part of the time I was thinking of the remainder of my novel, wh: is to be finished, in first writing, before I write pamphlets with him. Aimé [presumably an earlier incarnation of Anne] must speculate in her mind about existence and the community, her end and what she has achieved, and the conclusion must have a glimpse of something more even than the common vision of Dennis and herself'.²²⁸

As this note indicates, though the novel centres on Maurice's aspiration to soul-harmony, sections are also focalized through the Mansfield character, Anne Cradock, and the Campbell character, Dennis Beauchamp. After beginning her relationship with Maurice, Anne has a dream of the soul in harmony: 'all the

²²⁶ Murry, *Still Life*, pp. 22–3, 31, 32, 34.

²²⁷ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 314–15.

²²⁸ John Middleton Murry, 'Diary and Poems, 1915–19', John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull; Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 337.

darkness was invaded by these veins of light and sound, but the darkness was not driven away by them, but rather in their full clearness it could be seen that the dark was not dark, but only the shade within the very flame of brilliant light', with the result that 'her soul had joined her body and she was alive'.²²⁹ The metaphors strongly recall 'The Crown': 'the light projecting itself into the darkness, the darkness enveloping herself within the embrace of light'.²³⁰ Murry has Dennis make a similar point to Anne, when he finishes a lecture to his students with a discussion of the limitations of medicine: 'what more do we know of the soul? ... Physiology is so lucid concerning the mechanism of sensation only because it takes account of nothing but mechanism.'²³¹ Like Lawrence and Murry, Maurice, Anne and Dennis present their philosophy as looking forward to a unifying of dualisms.

The dinner party argument about the merits of formalism and expressivism is pursued most explicitly in the discussions of the Paris-based Rhythmists. Expressivism is promoted by Miss Etheredge (modelled on Dorothy Banks), when she enjoins Bill Ramsay, the painter based on Fergusson, to paint with more personality: 'A little more Bill and a little less idea. I prefer personality without the art to the art without the personality ... I wish you wouldn't be quite so much of a machine'. Expressivism is also promoted by Maurice in his discussion with Ramsay about the novel he would like to write. Writing is more difficult than painting, he argues, because

you can't get over the fact that words mean something. That's what they're for. You can't just stick them about and make a pattern with them. They have always got to mean something, and what's more they have to mean something pretty big. The time's past when you could pit a middle-class man's ideas into words and make a classic by putting them in beautiful words ... Writing nowadays means representing living people. Poetry is always second rate, now, simply because the good people don't want to be delighted any more, or they only want to be delighted just as they want to play cricket or sail boats.

But what such a novel might look like is not clear to Maurice: 'the only thing I can see myself doing is to write a book to show that everybody else is on the wrong track'. The only plot he can imagine is: 'stick two, three or a dozen people together, watch them, represent them so that everybody must admit that they have really justified their existence'. Ramsay's response is that 'it sounds to me a rather sentimental idea', which Maurice admits, arguing 'There are all sorts of sentimentality. It goes on evolving from kind to kind. All that a writer can do is to discover the kind of sentimentality that the next two hundred years will live by'.²³²

To an extent, sentimentality is re-appropriated as a critical term that describes Maurice's philosophy, and it is set against materialism: Ramsay calls Maurice sentimental when he explains 'that he could not see why the fact, if it were a fact, that the whole universe resolved into material atoms, should be regarded as an explanation of life, much less of art'. Indeed, Maurice's, Anne's, and Dennis's

²²⁹ Murry, *Still Life*, pp. 74–5, 76–7.

²³⁰ Lawrence, 'The Crown, I', p. 6.

²³¹ Murry, *Still Life*, pp. 139–40.

²³² Murry, *Still Life*, pp. 298, 277, 276–8.

philosophical commitment to personality, emotion, and the soul, and their personal commitment to act emotionally rather than rationally, all seem to be associated with Ramsay's term sentimental in the second half of the novel, and opposed to Ramsay's own philosophy, which is repeatedly denigrated as too invested in the laws of physics and mathematics. Entertaining the group in his studio, Ramsay draws a diagram of 'some proposition in physics on the table', prompting Dennis to remark,

"But a theory like that isn't a fact. It's only a symbolic way of stating facts that you can't discover. There's a gap that must be filled with something, and as nobody knows what does fill it, everybody agrees that the neatest arrangement is the true one. They can't even tell whether it works or not..."

"But look here..." protested Ramsay.

"That's Bill all over," said Miss Etheredge. He's always boiling his personality down into a proposition of Euclid."²³³

In this novel, sentimentality becomes associated with a belief that 'the symbolic way of stating facts' can be meaningfully connected to 'the gap': 'words mean something'.

Like Lawrence, Mansfield had been compared to Russian writers in an early review: the *Daily Telegraph* described *In a German Pension* as having an 'impishness' found only in 'a few modern Russian and French authors', a description no doubt encouraged by the publisher's statement on the dust jacket that 'Miss Mansfield's style is almost French in its character and her descriptions will remind the reader of the Russian masters like Turgueneff'.²³⁴ But Mansfield's engagement with Russian writers in her fiction was more sustained and substantially more sympathetic than Lawrence's. She had, in fact, little to say about Turgenev (in a 1914 notebook, she wrote 'I simply cannot believe that there was a time when I cared about Turgenev. Such a poseur! Such a hypocrite!'), but her notebooks, letters, and extant library record her close attention to Dostoevsky's and Chekhov's techniques in particular.²³⁵ Joanna Woods has noted how frequently Mansfield drew on Chekhov's plots: 'The Child-Who-Was-Tired' on 'Spat' khochetsya' (1888) ('Sleepy'), 'Life of Ma Parker' on 'Toska' (1886) ('Misery'), 'An Ideal Family' on 'Skuchnaya istoriya' (1889) ('A Dreary Story'), and 'Marriage à la Mode' on 'Lishnie lyudi' (1886) and 'Poprygun'ya' (1892) ('Not Wanted' and 'The Grasshopper'). Claire Davison has demonstrated the close engagement between her stories and the Russian materials she encountered through Kotelyansky, result-

²³³ Murry, *Still Life*, pp. 310–11, 291, 296, 302.

²³⁴ 'New Books: In a German Pension', *Daily Telegraph* (8 December 1911), 15; Woods, *Katerina*, p. 89. The review in the *New Age*, where ten of the thirteen stories had been first published, dissented: 'her work is totally different from the vast, epic order of "Fathers and Children." She is a sketch artist, and very expert in producing vignettes that contain every necessary detail, if sometimes more than is necessary': see 'Reviews: In A German Pension. By Katherine Mansfield', *New Age*, 10.8 (21 December 1911), 188.

²³⁵ Mansfield, 'Notebook 10', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 1: 296; Woods, *Katerina*, pp. 140, 173.

ing in works that 'explore the metaphors of translation'.²³⁶ Russian literature was also a frequent subject of Mansfield's talent for pastiche: as well as the fictional translations of 'Boris Petrovsky' in *Rhythm*, Mansfield published a short story in the *New Age*, 'Green Goggles', synthesising traits of Dostoevsky's and Chekhov's short stories, and for Ottoline Morrell's 1916 Christmas party she wrote a comic play called 'The Laurels', based on *The Cherry Orchard*.²³⁷ In one of Murry's notebooks from the war years there is a fragment of a Dostoevskian story in Murry's hand, with an explanatory note: 'This was a skit on the Russians, written in competition with K.'.²³⁸

While reading and re-reading *The Idiot* and *The Possessed* in the spring of 1916, Mansfield was returning to 'The Aloe'; indeed it was in the sixth of the 'The Aloe' notebooks, begun on 12 March 1916, that Mansfield made her most detailed notes on Russian literature: comments on the characterization of Nastas'ya Filippovna Barashkova in *The Idiot*, and notes on the relationship between Ivan Shatov and his wife Mariya in part three, chapter five of *The Possessed*.²³⁹ In these notes, there is a clear correspondence with her own work. She was returning to 'The Aloe' after a break of nine months, during which her brother Leslie had died in a military training exercise, and Mansfield now conceived her writing as an homage to Leslie, as Angela K. Smith and others have discussed, a decision that had implications for her style.²⁴⁰ In the notebook, alongside the sections of 'The Aloe' and the notes on Dostoevsky's novels, Mansfield reflects on the new approach her story would take. On 22 January 1916, she wrote:

the form that I would choose has changed utterly. I feel no longer concerned with the same appearances of things. The people who lived or who I wished to bring into my stories don't interest me any more. The plots of my stories leave me perfectly cold... Now—now I want to write recollections of my own country. Yes I want to write about my own country until I simply exhaust my store—not only because it is a 'sacred debt' that I pay to my country because my brother & I were born there, but also because in my thoughts I range with him over all the remembered places. I am never far away from them. I long to renew them in writing.

²³⁶ Woods, *Katerina*, pp. 207, 211–12; Davison, *Translation as Collaboration*, p. 32. The translations of the titles are Garnett's.

²³⁷ Katherine Mansfield, 'Pastiche: Green Goggles', *New Age*, 11.10 (4 July 1912), 237; Katherine Mansfield, 'Unbound Papers', *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 76–9. Chris Mourant convincingly argues that the 'Boris Petrovsky' poems were satires of Paul Selver's translations, published as 'Polish Fragments' in the *New Age*, and were submitted to, but turned down for, the magazine's 'Pastiche' column: see Chris Mourant, *Katherine Mansfield and Periodical Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 115–32.

²³⁸ John Middleton Murry, Notebook [ca. 1916–1921], MS Papers 11326–085, Murry Family: Literary and Personal Papers, Turnbull.

²³⁹ Mansfield, 'Notebook 45', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 26–7, 33, 28.

²⁴⁰ Mansfield, 'Notebook 34', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 59–60; Angela K. Smith, *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 162–70. See also Con Coroneos, 'Flies and Violets in Katherine Mansfield', in Suzanne Raitt and Trudi Tate, eds, *Women's Fiction and the Great War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 197–218; Christine Darrohn, "'Blown to Bits": Katherine Mansfield's "The Garden-party" and the Great War', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 44.3 (1998), 513–39.

And the people, the people we loved there. Of them too I want to write—another ‘debt of love’. Oh, I want for one moment to make our undiscovered country leap into the eyes of the old world. It must be mysterious, as though floating—it must take the breath. It must be ‘one of those islands’ . . . I shall tell everything, even of how the laundry basket squeaked at ‘75’—but all must be told with a sense of mystery, a radiance, an after glow because you, my little sun of it, are set. You have dropped over the dazzling brim of the world. Now I must play my part—

Here we see Mansfield taking part in the ‘different kind of romanticism’ Jay Winter argues is a product of the First World War, alongside the Eliotian modernism that responds with ironic detachment. ‘Many sought to reach the sacred through the metaphor of resurrection’, Winter writes. ‘What better means of evoking feeling for the brotherhood of the living and the dead than by hearing them speak again?’²⁴¹

Another reflective passage concerns the character of Beryl Fairfield in ‘The Aloe’:

What is it that I’m getting at? It is really Beryl’s ‘Sosie’. The fact that for a long time now, she really hasn’t been even able to control her second self: its her second self who now controls her. There was [a] kind of radiant being who wasn’t either spiteful or malicious of whom she’d had a glimpse whose very voice was different to hers who was grave who never would have dreamed of doing the things that she did. Had she banished this being or had it really got simply tired and left her. I want to get at all this through her just as I got at Linda through Linda. To suddenly merge her into herself.

Mansfield’s preoccupations here are twofold: her decision to replace ‘plots’ with ‘recollections’, and the difficulty of characterization, especially female characterization. Her notes on Dostoevsky’s novels also relate to these topics. In her comments on both Nastas’ya Filippovna and Mariya Shatova, Mansfield is interested in how Dostoevsky’s characterization obliquely conveys the character’s past: commenting on Nastas’ya’s statement to Totsky that she would not allow his marriage ‘from spite simply because she chose not to’, Mansfield remarks, ‘Her action, when Dostoevsky says “from spite”, is to show her power, & now that he has jerked out the weapon with which he wounded her she feels the dreadful smart’. Similarly, on Mariya Shatova: ‘How did Dostoevsky know about that extraordinary vindictiveness, that relish for bitter laughter that comes over women in pain? Its a very secret thing but its profound profound . . . Are his women ever happy when they torment their lovers? No. They too are in the agonies of labour—they are giving birth to their new selves, and they never believe in their deliverance’.²⁴²

In tone, ‘The Aloe’ could hardly be more distant from the tone of desperation that characterizes Dostoevsky’s novels. What Mansfield appears to have taken from *The Possessed* and *The Idiot* is his characterization of these two women, whose inconsistent behaviour in the present of the novels is produced by their past experiences. In ‘The Aloe’ both Linda and Beryl are provided with explanatory histories,

²⁴¹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 221.

²⁴² Dostoevsky, *The Idiot* (1913), pp. 38–9; Mansfield, ‘Notebook 45’, in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, II: 32, 27, 27, 28.

and the Dostoevskian legacy is most obvious in the portrayal of Beryl: Mansfield writes her reflection on Beryl's 'Sosie' on the page facing her attempt, towards the end of the story, to articulate Beryl's awareness of the boundary between her 'real self' and the social self performed in her letter to Nan Fry (Nan Pym in *Prelude*). Though one might be tempted to attribute Mansfield's interest in Beryl's second self to the Dostoevskian trope of the double, Mansfield's use of the French 'sosie' (not the English nor French 'double') suggests that connection is not at the forefront of her mind. Nevertheless, while the structural use of the explicitly doubled character may not be in Mansfield's thoughts, the psychological complexity of Dostoevsky's characters certainly is: like Nastas'ya Filippovna and Mariya Shatova, Beryl Fairfield's actions are 'spiteful' and 'malicious', but they conceal another aspect of her character 'of whom she'd had a glimpse'. Mansfield's attempt to convey these two sides of Beryl, not through narrative intervention, but 'through her', alert her to Dostoevsky's ability to portray layers of character, including layers formed outside the frame of the story, in the character's memory.

In revising 'The Aloe' into *Prelude* for the Hogarth Press in 1917, both these reflections, along with other passages of description and explanation, are excised, leaving Linda especially as a far more elliptical character. While both women retain the doubleness Mansfield associated with Dostoevsky's characterization, it is no longer explained through techniques of introspective recollection or narrative intervention, which Mansfield had used in 'The Aloe': the story remains more firmly in its own present. In this, it is much more like Chekhov's stories—Woods argues for its indebtedness to 'The Steppe'—but it is also more similar to the Dostoevsky of the short fiction and the *Writer's Diary* that Mansfield would single out for praise in her 1919 review of *An Honest Thief and Other Stories*: 'the child-like, candid, simple Dostoevsky who wrote "An Honest Thief" and "The Peasant Marly [Marey]" and "The Dream of a Queer Fellow." These three wonderful stories have all the same quality, a stillness, a quiet that takes the breath,' she wrote.²⁴³ Mansfield knew 'An Honest Thief' from an 1885 German translation, 'The Dream of a Queer Fellow' had been included in Murry's and Kotelyansky's 1916 selection from *Dnevnik pisatelya, Pages from the Journal of an Author* (as her use of their title, rather than Garnett's 'The Dream of a Ridiculous Man' points out), and she may also have known 'The Peasant Marey', from the French selection from *Dnevnik pisatelya* that Murry and Kotelyansky consulted.²⁴⁴ Like 'The Steppe' and much of 'The Aloe', 'The Peasant Marey' is focalized through a child, and moreover contains passages of reflection on Dostoevsky's childhood home and his relationship with his family's employees that have much in common with

²⁴³ Woods, *Katerina*, pp. 121–2; K. M. [Katherine Mansfield], 'Some Aspects of Dostoevsky', review of Fyodor Dostoevsky, *An Honest Thief and Other Stories*, *The Athenaeum*, 4674 (28 November 1919), 1256.

²⁴⁴ F. M. Dostojevskij, 'Der ehrliche Dieb', in *Erzählungen*, trans. by Wilhelm Goldschmidt (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1885), pp. 101–19; Dostoïevski, *Journal d'un Écrivain, 1873, 1876 et 1877*, pp. 165–71. She could also have read 'An Honest Thief' in French as it had been published twice by this date: *L'Honnête voleur* (Paris: Librairie Illustrée 1892), and 'Un Voleur honnête', in *La Femme d'un autre*, trans. E. Halpérine-Kaminsky (Paris: Plon, 1888), pp. 219–60. 'La moujik Marey' was also included in the latter volume, pp. 133–49.

Mansfield's project of writing 'recollections of my own country . . . And the people, the people we loved there'.²⁴⁵

Though discarded in this story, the sustained introspection Murry and Mansfield associated with Dostoevsky was retained as a mode, most extensively and successfully in 'Je Ne Parle Pas Français'. The story foregrounds the recollection of a protagonist, musing on the motivations of his different selves, but its most obvious Dostoevskian allusion is in its narrator's direct address to the reader, a mode Mansfield had encountered in both 'The Dream of a Queer Fellow', and *Letters from the Underworld*, to which she surely alludes in Raoul Duquette's statement that 'I am going to make a name for myself as a writer about the submerged world'.²⁴⁶ Certainly, this was Murry's view of the story's genealogy: he wrote to Mansfield that, after reading it, 'my sensation is like that which I had when I read Dostoevsky's *Letters from the Underworld*. That is, it's unlike any sensation I have ever yet had from any writing of yours, or any writing at all except D's'. The Dostoevskian aspect for Murry is in the story's emulation of 'that unearthly way he has of putting you in a place & stopping the world—everything stands still, becomes timeless'.²⁴⁷ As Taylor-Batty has discussed in detail, this story stages a complicated discussion of translation and multilingualism through the characterization of its narrator, Duquette, who is 'presented as enacting a troublingly "cosmopolitan" identity, which involves the skilful mediation and translation between cultures,' but also—like Lawrence's Loerke 'a lack of "authenticity" with regard to any individual language or culture'.²⁴⁸

Mansfield's reading of Dostoevsky has some similarities with Lawrence's and Murry's, insofar as they are all responses to Merezhkovsky's Dostoevsky the individualist. But where this is inflected by Lawrence to create Dostoevsky the egotist, and by Murry to create the chronicler of 'personality', Mansfield's Dostoevsky emphasizes Dostoevsky the equal: Merezhkovsky, we recall, wrote that 'Dostoevski is nearer to us . . . He loves us simply as a friend, and as an equal, not like Turgeniev at some poetic distance, nor again, like Leo Tolstoy, from the lofty altitude of a preacher'.²⁴⁹ In her review of *An Honest Thief and Other Stories*, Mansfield wrote,

Perhaps Dostoevsky more than any other writer sets up this mysterious relationship with the reader, this sense of sharing. . . . we seem in some strange way to half-know what is coming and yet we do not know; to have heard it all before, and yet our amazement is none the less, and when it is over, it has become ours. This is especially true of the Dostoevsky who passes so unremarked—the childlike, candid, simple Dostoevsky who wrote 'An Honest Thief' and 'The Peasant Marly [Marey]' and 'The Dream of a

²⁴⁵ Mansfield, 'Notebook 45', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 32.

²⁴⁶ Katherine Mansfield, *Je Ne Parle Pas Français* (Hampstead: Heron Press, 1919), p. 6.

²⁴⁷ John Middleton Murry, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 8 February 1918, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, pp. 114–15. Hankin mistranscribes the letter, which confuses its meaning: her 'although it's unlike D. in that unearthly way' should read 'though it's like D. in that unearthly way': see John Middleton Murry, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 8 February 1918, folder 12, MS Papers 4003, Turnbull.

²⁴⁸ Taylor-Batty, *Multilingualism in Modernist Fiction*, p. 75.

²⁴⁹ Merejkowski, *Dostoevski*, p. 7. Mansfield would also have encountered this point in Constance Garnett's 'Translator's Preface', in Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov* (1912), pp. v–vii (p. vi).

Queer Fellow.' These three wonderful stories have all the same quality, a stillness, a quiet that takes the breath. What have they to do with our time? They are full of the tragic candour of love.²⁵⁰

While Lawrence and Murry are most interested in Dostoevsky's 'champions', Mansfield draws attention to the Dostoevsky of ordinary life, whose characterizations generate recognition and recollection in the reader.²⁵¹ Dostoevsky habitually describes, Mansfield writes, 'the infinitely preposterous states of mind of some poor wretch, not as though he were "showing us a star," but with many a familiar nod and look in our direction, as much as to say: "But you know yourself from your own experience what is to feel *like this*".'²⁵² Like Merezhkovsky, Mansfield sees Dostoevsky as peculiarly contemporary and, for her—bereaved, like so many others—what defines the contemporary moment is the conjunction of love, tragedy, and honesty.²⁵³

Mansfield concludes her review by remarking that 'there is only one other man who could have written the death of Emelyanouska'. To whom does she refer? Surely Chekhov, the Russian author with whom Mansfield most closely identified. Mansfield had encountered Chekhov by 1910, as we know from her first published story in Britain, 'The Child-Who-Was-Tired', a version of Chekhov's 'Spat' *kho-chetsya* ('Sleepy').²⁵⁴ But, despite the fact that Kotelyansky later attributed his and Murry's translation project for Maunsel in 1915 to Mansfield's enthusiasm for Chekhov, references to Chekhov in both Mansfield's letters and her notebooks are rare until 1919, when she began to translate Chekhov's letters and subsequently his diary with Kotelyansky.

In 1932, writing to Mansfield's biographer, Ruth Mantz, Kotelyansky remarked that Chekhov's influence on Mansfield was 'most formative and important'. Yet he insisted that it was Chekhov's letters that 'had a tremendous influence on K.M.', rather than 'the technique of writing': 'This is the least important part of T's influ-

²⁵⁰ K. M. [Mansfield], 'Some Aspects of Dostoevsky', p. 1256.

²⁵¹ D. H. Lawrence, 'Introduction', in Giovanni Verga, *Mastro-don Gesualdo*, trans. by D. H. Lawrence (London: Cape, 1928), pp. v–xx (pp. xi–xii); Murry, *Fyodor Dostoevsky*, p. 48.

²⁵² K. M. [Mansfield], 'Some Aspects of Dostoevsky', p. 1256. See also Mansfield, 'Notebook 45', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, II: 27, on Nastas'ya Filippovna: 'her knowledge almost "technical" of how things are done in the world is not at all impossible. With such women it appears to be a kind of instinct Maata was just the same—she simply knew these things from nowhere'.

²⁵³ J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986), p. 305: 'War losses touched virtually every household in Britain, and nearly every family was diminished by the death in combat of a father, a son, a brother, a cousin, or a friend'.

²⁵⁴ Katharine [sic] Mansfield, 'Bavarian Babies: The Child-Who-Was-Tired', *New Age*, 6.17 (24 February 1910), 396–8. For the debate about whether Mansfield knowingly plagiarized Chekhov, see 'Appendix 2: "The Child-Who-Was-Tired": The Times Literary Supplement Correspondence', in Claire Tomalin, *Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life* (London: Viking, 1987), pp. 261–71. In the course of this discussion, Murry suggests that 'The Child-Who-Was-Tired' was written in the summer of 1909, while Mansfield was in Bavaria, and Antony Alpers argues that Mansfield encountered Chekhov there for the first time. Gillian Boddy records that *The Black Monk and Other Stories*, containing R.E.C. Long's translation, 'Sleepyhead', was available in the General Assembly Library in Wellington, when Mansfield was using its collection in 1907–8: see Boddy, 'The Annotated Notebooks of Katherine Mansfield', p. 169b.

ence on K.M.', he wrote.²⁵⁵ Murry had made a similar point in a footnote to his introduction to the *Journal of Katherine Mansfield* in 1927, remarking that while 'there is a certain resemblance' between Mansfield's and Chekhov's fiction,

Mansfield's technique is very different from Tchekhov's. She admired and understood Tchekhov's works as few English writers have done; she had (as her *Journal* shows) a deep personal affection for the man, whom, of course, she never knew. But her method was wholly her own, and her development would have been precisely the same had Tchekhov never existed.²⁵⁶

Mansfield's letters and notebooks clearly did register 'deep personal affection for the man'—in January 1922, for example, she included him in a list of personal friends: 'I can truly say I think of W. J. D. [Walter de la Mare], Tchekhov, Koteliensky, HMT [H. M. Tomlinson], and Orage every day. They are part of my life'—but Murry's edition of Mansfield's letters excised many of the references to Chekhov's writings, and Rachel Polonsky has recently suggested that this was an element of Murry's deliberate 'de-professionalizing' of Mansfield.²⁵⁷ Certainly, Murry's and Koteliensky's remarks seem contradicted by Mansfield's comments on the form of Chekhov's stories: 'Tchekhov makes me feel that this longing to write stories of such uneven length is quite justified', she wrote at the end of 1916, and, after re-reading 'The Steppe' in August 1919, she commented, 'It has no beginning or end. T. just touched one point with his pen—and then another point—*enclosed* something which had, as it were, been there for ever'.²⁵⁸

Chekhov also profoundly informed Mansfield's definition of the style of her generation. Reading Mansfield's letters alongside her reviews for *The Athenaeum* of the same period demonstrates the extent to which she measured her contemporaries against her Chekhovian ideal. 'There are certain modern authors,' she wrote in January 1920, 'for whom the whole art of writing consists in the power with which they are able to register that faint inward shock of recognition.'

Glancing through life they make the discovery that there are certain experiences which are, as it were, peculiarly theirs. There is a quality in the familiarity of these experiences or in their strangeness which evokes an immediate mysterious response—a desire for expression. But now, instead of going any further, instead of attempting to relate their "experiences" to life or to see them against any kind of background, these writers are, as we see them, content to remain in the air, hovering over, as if the thrilling moment were enough and more than enough.

Writers who fall into this category in Mansfield's reviews are Ethel Colburn Mayne ('we feel that she is so content with the strangeness, with the fascination of just

²⁵⁵ S. S. Koteliensky, letter to Ruth Mantz, 3 May 1932, container 3.8, Katherine Mansfield Manuscript Collection, Ransom Center.

²⁵⁶ John Middleton Murry, 'Introduction', in *Journal of Katherine Mansfield* (London: Constable, 1927), pp. vii–xvi (pp. xiii–xiv).

²⁵⁷ Rachel Polonsky, 'Chekhov and the Buried Life of Katherine Mansfield', in Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude*, pp. 201–14 (p. 203).

²⁵⁸ Mansfield, 'Notebook 17', in *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, 11: 83; Katherine Mansfield, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, [21 August 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 353.

hinting, just suggesting, that she loses sight of all else'), May Sinclair ('Is this... to be the novel of the future? ... Can one think for one moment of the mystery of life when one is at the mercy of surface impressions?'), and above all, Dorothy Richardson. In her review of the fourth volume of *Pilgrimage*, *The Tunnel*, Mansfield remarks,

She has no memory. It is true that Life is sometimes very swift and breathless, but not always. If we are to be truly alive there are large pauses in which we creep away into our caves of contemplation. And then it is, in the silence, that Memory mounts his throne and judges all that is in our minds—appointing each his separate place, high or low, rejecting this, selecting that—putting this one to shine in the light and throwing that one into the darkness. ... we feel that until these things are judged and given each its appointed place in the whole scheme, they have no meaning in the world of art.²⁵⁹

She made the same point, more firmly, in her review of *Interim* nine months later: the account of Miriam's experiences 'leaves us feeling, as before, that everything being of equal importance to her, it is impossible that everything should not be of equal unimportance'.²⁶⁰ In these reviews, we can see the distinction Mansfield drew between the approach of Richardson, Sinclair, and Colburn Mayne, and her own, borne specifically of wartime experience, in which 'life' is examined through the process of sorting and ordering that derives from recollection and contemplation. Mansfield surely had in mind Chekhov's letter to his friend Aleksey Suvorin, which she had recently translated, and was published in *The Athenaeum* the same month as her first review of Richardson. Though Chekhov insists on his own realism—'I must relate it in the very way in which I hear it'—that realism is selective: 'My only concern is to be gifted enough to be able to distinguish important evidence from unimportant, to be able to throw the proper light on the characters, and to speak their language'.²⁶¹

Yet Mansfield's criticism of Richardson's lack of artistry does not imply a reversal of the aesthetic she had promoted in *Rhythm*.²⁶² Indeed, the reviews suggest that she sees the failure to reflect and select from the ingredients of fiction as a kind of stylistic withdrawal, where her own effort to relate experiences to life, and place them against a background, constitutes an engagement she associated with

²⁵⁹ K. M., 'Dragonflies', review of Ethel Coburn Mayne, *Blindman*, Eleanor Mordaunt, *New Wine in Old Bottles*, Dorothy Richardson, *Interim*, *The Athenaeum*, 4680 (9 January 1920), 48; K. M., 'The New Infancy', review of May Sinclair, *Mary Olivier: A Life*, *The Athenaeum*, 4651 (20 June 1919), 494; [Katherine Mansfield], 'Three Women Novelists', review of Patience Worth, *Hope Trueblood*, Mrs. Victor Rickard, *The House of Courage*, Dorothy Richardson, *The Tunnel*, *The Athenaeum*, 4640 (4 April 1919), 140–1 (p. 141).

²⁶⁰ K. M., 'Dragonflies', p. 48.

²⁶¹ Anton Tchekhov, letter to A. S. Souvorin, 30 May 1888, 'Foreign Literature: Letters of Anton Tchekhov, II', trans. by S. Kotliansky and Katherine Mansfield, *The Athenaeum*, 4642 (18 April 1919), 215–16, (p. 216). E. V. Seleneva's discussion of the way Chekhov was characterized as modernist and impressionist in Britain (as opposed to a realist, as in Russia) is relevant here: see E. V. Selezneva, 'A. P. Chekhov kak modernist i impressionist na pervonachal'nom etape angloyazychnoi retseptsii ego tvorchestva v 1910–1930-x gg.', *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, 388 (2014), 30–4.

²⁶² John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, 'The Meaning of Rhythm', *Rhythm*, 2.5 (June 1912), 18–20.

Chekhov and Dostoevsky. The Russian writers propose a contemporary style for Mansfield, but it is a style she sees as quite different from the modernity of her peers. 'I wonder if you have read Joyce and Eliot and these ultra-modern men?', she wrote to Kotelyansky in 1919, 'It is so strange that they should write as they do *after* Tchekhov. For Tchekhov has said the last word that has been said, so far, and more than that he has given us a sign of the way we should go. They not only ignore it: they think Tchekhov's stories are almost as good as the "specimen cases" in Freud'.²⁶³ This criticism of Eliot's and Joyce's misreading of Chekhov as clinical is echoed in her remarks on Woolf's early work. Her two reviews praise the polish of Woolf's writing—in this she sees her as quite distinct from 'the note-book literature' of writers such as Richardson—but in her review of *Night and Day* she complains that the novel is 'shut and sealed from us'.²⁶⁴ In a letter to Murry she elaborated:

My private opinion is that it [*Night and Day*] is a lie in the soul. The war never has been, that is what its message is. I don't want G. forbid mobilisation and the violation of Belgium—but the novel can't just leave the war out. There *must* have been a change of heart. It is really fearful to me the 'settling down' of human beings. I feel in the *profoundest* sense that nothing can ever be the same that as artists we are traitors if we feel otherwise: we have to take it into account and find new expressions new moulds for our new thoughts & feelings. Is this exaggeration? What *has* been—stands—but Jane Austen could not write *Northanger Abbey* now—or if she did I'd have none of her. There is a trifling scene in Virginia's book where a charming young creature in a bright fantastic attitude plays the flute: it positively frightens me—to realise this *utter coldness* & indifference. But I will be very careful and do my best to be dignified and sober. Inwardly I despise them all for a set of *cowards*. We have to face our war—they won't. I believe *Bogey*, our whole strength depends upon our facing things. I mean facing them without any reservations or restraints.²⁶⁵

These criticisms, this resistance to what Mansfield saw as the 'coldness & indifference' of Woolf, the devaluation of memory and reflection in Richardson, Sinclair, and Colburn Mayne, and the misreading of Chekhov she attributed to Eliot and Joyce, all throw into relief the distinctive qualities of Mansfield's fiction, particularly those that her contemporaries derided as 'sentimental'. Woolf told

²⁶³ Katherine Mansfield, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, [early August 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 345. Compare her similar complaint about Edward Garnett's reading of Chekhov in her letter to William Gerhardt, 10 July 1922, *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, v: 221: 'Garnett seems greatly impressed by the importance of T's scientific training as a doctor, not the *indirect* importance (I could understand that) but the *direct*. He gives as a proof The Party & T's letter in which he says "the ladies say I am quite right in all my symptoms when I describe the confinement." But in spite of T's letter that story didn't need a doctor to write it. There's not a thing any sensitive writer could not have discovered without a medical degree. The truth of that "importance" is far more subtle'.

²⁶⁴ [Katherine Mansfield], 'A Short Story', review of Virginia Woolf, *Kew Gardens*, *The Athenaeum*, 4650 (13 June 1919), 459; K. M. [Katherine Mansfield], 'A Ship Comes into the Harbour', review of Virginia Woolf, *Night and Day*, *The Athenaeum*, 4673 (21 November 1919), 1227.

²⁶⁵ Katherine Mansfield, letter to J. M. Murry, 10 November 1919, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 111: 1919–1920, ed. by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 82.

Vita Sackville-West that Mansfield's work had a 'cheap sharp sentimentality', and Eliot called Mansfield 'a sentimental crank', whose writing was antithetical to the classicist project of *The Criterion*; it was a term that had also been used much earlier to describe *In a German Pension* by the reviewer in the *New Age*, probably Beatrice Hastings.²⁶⁶ As Suzanne Clark has discussed, modernism was structured against the sentimental: it 'inaugurated a reversal of values which emphasized erotic desire, not love; anarchic rupture and innovation rather than the conventional appeals of sentimental language'.²⁶⁷ Mansfield's writing was not conventional, but it did not look to 'anarchic rupture and innovation' as primary expressive devices, and it did, as we have seen, seek to express love.

Mansfield's sentimentality was clearly not a failure to achieve modernist impersonality, it was a positive aesthetic decision, one which she and Murry, also associated with the term by his peers, had consistently seen as marking their difference from their contemporaries. We have seen how before and during the war, both writers associated Russian literature with a set of values they sought to apprehend in their own writing. In the last year of the war, as distinctions between different proto-modernist aesthetics hardened, their stance became more explicitly associated with romanticism. We might see their affiliation with a Russophile tradition as preparing the way for their promotion in the last year of the war of the English romantics against the French classicists who had been the primary model for James's and Ford's, and now above all Eliot's, modernism. Identifying themselves with the poets Mansfield called 'our "special" set—Keats, W. W., Coleridge, Shelley de Quincey, and Co.', Mansfield is 'seized with the wonder of the english tongue—of english poetry', and remarks 'I do find the french language, style, attack, point of view, hard to stomach at present. Its all *tainted*. It all seems to me to lead to dishonesty'.²⁶⁸ Murry, likewise, compares the English romantics to 'those mingy, bingy Frenchmen'. However, one Frenchman is admired in these letters: the *bête-noir* of modernist classicism, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, about whom Murry was writing for the *TLS*: 'Rousseau was of the same kind as us'.²⁶⁹ No wonder that when Mansfield read Eliot's *Francophile*, classicist second collection of poetry, she wrote to its publisher, Virginia Woolf, in dismay: 'The poems *look* delightful but I confess I think them unspeakably dreary. How one could write so absolutely without emotion—perhaps thats an achievement. The potamus really makes me *groan*'.²⁷⁰ (Two years before, Mansfield had referred to its author as 'French polish Elliot [*sic*']

²⁶⁶ T. S. Eliot, letter to Ezra Pound, 7 November 1922, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, 1: 1898–1922*, rev. edn, ed. by Valerie Eliot and Hugh Haughton (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), p. 775; 'Reviews: In A German Pension', p. 188.

²⁶⁷ Suzanne Clark, *Sentimental Modernism: Women Writers and the Revolution of the Word* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 1.

²⁶⁸ Katherine Mansfield, letters to J. M. Murry, 4 March 1918, 27 February 1918, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 107, 97, 96.

²⁶⁹ John Middleton Murry, letters to Katherine Mansfield, 1 March 1918, 10 March 1918, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, pp. 132, 136.

²⁷⁰ Katherine Mansfield, letter to Virginia Woolf, [c. 12 May 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 318.

in a letter to Ottoline Morrell.)²⁷¹ In this context, 'Je Ne Parle Pas Français', completed a few days before Mansfield's remarks about the relative virtues of the French and English languages, appears to be less a satire on cosmopolitan identity, than an attack on specifically French cosmopolitan identity, and gives additional force to Taylor-Batty's point that the character of Mouse is the location of authenticity in the story: 'her Englishness, her professed lack of proficiency in different languages, and her lack of cosmopolitanism are all implicitly related to her status within the story as a character who is presented as experiencing "real" suffering ("they were suffering...those two...really suffering")', and as the catalyst for Duquette's experience of something "real".²⁷²

As I indicated in my discussion of *Still Life*—and as these comments on English and French make clear—Mansfield's and Murry's sentimentality was a theory of language as much as it was an attitude or a style. It is a confidence in language's ability to express the self or the 'soul', a confidence that 'words mean something'.²⁷³ Here, then, we see the two distinct accounts of modernism Vincent Sherry and Modris Eksteins set out in their studies of the First World War co-existing on the post-war British literary scene. Sherry's high modernism, defined by scepticism about the expressive power and truth value of language in the wake of the horrors of the war and the mendacity of propaganda broadly corresponds to the Francophile, Eliotian line, which repudiates the romantic values of originality, personality, and the expression of emotion, and turns to tradition, impersonality, and the cultivation of style. Eksteins' (and Winter's) neo-romanticism more closely describes the modernism of Lawrence, Mansfield, and Murry.²⁷⁴ It is telling that Murry concluded his introduction to his and Kotelyansky's collection of Shestov's essays by arguing that the lack of a substantial poetic response to the war suggested that the soul of British poets had become 'dulled and blunted' during the 125 years since the romantic poets' response to the French Revolution, which he held up as a model of engagement. Now Russian writers must teach their British peers how to engage with their contemporary world, he writes, because 'where we have sharply divided art from art, and from science and philosophy, and given to each a name, the Russians have still the sense of a living connection between all the great activities of the human soul...in Russia the things of the spirit are held in honour above all others. Because of this the Russian soul is tormented by problems to which we have long been dead, and to which we need to be alive again'. According to Murry, the materialism of the present has made it impossible for poets to fulfil their function in responding to the war: 'Either this is the greatest struggle for right, or the greatest crime, that has ever been. The unmistakable voice of poetry

²⁷¹ Katherine Mansfield, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 16 June 1917), in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 1: 311. I am grateful to Janet Wilson for bringing this to my attention.

²⁷² Taylor-Batty, *Multilingualism in Modernist Fiction*, pp. 75–6.

²⁷³ Murry, *Still Life*, p. 277.

²⁷⁴ Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism*, pp. 11–14, 225; Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, p. 92; Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 2–5.

should be certain either in protest or enthusiasm'.²⁷⁵ This attitude is opposed to that of the Francophile modernists discussed by Fussell and Sherry, for whom language has been so devalued by propaganda that it cannot be trusted. For the romantic modernists, though, the poet must engage, whether in propaganda or pacifism. Murry wrote to his son a year before his death, 'My concern has always been that of a moralist, and I have never been sufficient of the artist to be diverted from it. And yet the stubborn feeling persists that my "concern" was shared in the old days by Lawrence and by Katherine: that I was, in some sense, their critical counterpart, and that the kind of seriousness we had has been lost. That distinguished us, absolutely, from the Bloomsburies'.²⁷⁶

How did this 'seriousness' respond to the revolutions in Russia? On 30 March 1917, Murry wrote in his diary,

It seems incredible that I should have had no inclination, have seen no reason, to make a note on the Russian Revolution. But that incredible fact is certainly worth noting.

After nearly three years of war an event to be likened only to that which made Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron & Shelley sing, is to us—I believe I am typical—no more than a slightly larger headline in a morning paper. The great good is overshadowed by the greater evil. Yet it may, possibly, bring us peace—a real peace.²⁷⁷

It was true, as we will see in the next chapter, that British public opinion was chiefly concerned with the revolutions' implications for the First World War, a concern that increased over the next year. Nevertheless, given the intensity of his work on Russian literature during the previous two years, Murry's lack of response is remarkable. But Mansfield, too, left little written comment: on November 1918, when she was translating Gor'ky's recent journalism about the revolution with Kotelyansky, she told Ottoline Morrell that it had made her feel '*anything anything* rather than revolution', but there is no further reference until March 1922 when she tells Dorothy Brett that she has read two 'amazing books': Merezhkovsky's *Le Règne de l'antéchrist*, in a volume which also included an account of the revolution by Gippius, and *Le Monsieur de San-Francisco*, the collection of stories by Ivan Bunin that Mansfield appears not to have known Kotelyansky had co-translated with Lawrence and Leonard Woolf and would publish two months later. 'The ghastly horror and terror of that life in Petrograd is impossible to imagine. One must read it to know about it', she remarks. 'At this present moment Life in Russia is rather like it was four centuries ago. It has simply gone back four centuries. And anyone who sympathises with Bolshevism has a lot of answer for'. She met the Paris-based symbolists a month later, but was disappointed: Bunin and Gippius complained that they had received nothing for the translations Kotelyansky had

²⁷⁵ [John Middleton Murry], 'Introduction', in Shestov, *Anton Tchekhov and Other Essays*, pp. vii–xviii (pp. xi, xii, xvii, xi).

²⁷⁶ Qtd in Colin Middleton Murry, 'Introduction (rough draft)', in *The Journals of J. Middleton Murry: The Early Years, 1913–1922*, MS Papers 11327–001, pp. a–c (pp. b–c), Murry Family: Literary and Personal Papers, Turnbull.

²⁷⁷ Murry, 'Journal, 1913–20', p. 61A, John Middleton Murry: Diaries and Notebooks, MSX-4147, Turnbull.

made of their work, and they showed little admiration for Chekhov, with whom Mansfield had become obsessed.²⁷⁸

Kotelyansky, who one might expect to have inspired interest in the revolutions in his friends, was on poor terms with Mansfield and Murry during the last two years of the war, and he and Mansfield appear to have had no correspondence between July 1916 and September 1918.²⁷⁹ But Kotelyansky himself was much engaged with events in Russia following the February Revolution. Via the journalist Mikhail Farbman, he was corresponding with Gor'ky and sending him and his journal, *Novaya Zhizn'*, statements in support of the revolution, and promises of contribution, from British writers and political figures. He invited neither Mansfield nor Murry, however: of the younger generation of writers only Cannan, Lawrence, and Frank Swinnerton appear on his projected list of contributors.²⁸⁰ But Lawrence responded with great enthusiasm: 'I got your telegram yesterday about Gorki's paper. Write and tell me what it means exactly—I shall be only too glad to contribute anything I can', he wrote on 1 May. 'I feel that our chiefest hope for the future is Russia. When I think of the young new country there, I love it inordinately. It is the place of hope. We must go, sooner or a little later'.²⁸¹

This enthusiasm was short-lived, and neither Lawrence, Mansfield, Murry, nor Kotelyansky ever visited Soviet Russia. *Novaya Zhizn'* was closed down in the summer of 1918; Kotelyansky's family suffered from the anti-Semitic brutality of the Red Army during the Civil War.²⁸² And despite Lawrence's and Murry's pro-revolutionary statements during the *Signature* period, Russian communism did not appeal to these anti-materialist modernists. In 1916, in his introduction to *Anton Tchekhov and Other Essays*, Murry had praised Shestov for fighting against the 'tyranny' of Russian Marxism and its dogmatism, and when he became a public advocate of communism in the 1930s, he argued for a 'creative', 'imaginative' communism, rather than the 'negative and reductive' communism of Soviet Russia.²⁸³ If Lawrence was more positive about Russian communism in his 1920 introduction to Shestov's *All Things are Possible*, where he envisaged Russia overcoming the 'virus' of European civilization, enabling 'each individual [to] act spontaneously from the forever-incalculable prompting of the creative well-head within him', his

²⁷⁸ Katherine Mansfield, letter to Ottoline Morrell, 17 November 1918, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, 11: 291; Dorothy Brett, 9 March 1922, Ida Baker, 2 April 1922, S. S. Koteliensky, 8 April 1922, 25 May 1922, 29 May 1922, William Gerhardt, 14 June 1922, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, v: 95, 140, 147–8, 178, 184, 204–6. Dmitri Mérejkowsky, *Le Règne de l'Antéchrist*, Z. Hippus, *Mon Journal sous la Terreur*, D. Philosophoff, *Notre Évasion*, trans. by M. de Gramont, H. Mongault, Maurice (Paris: Bossard, 1921); Ivan Bounine, *Le Monsieur de San-Francisco*, trans. by Maurice (Paris: Bossard, 1922).

²⁷⁹ Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury*, pp. 97–8.

²⁸⁰ [List of potential contributors to *Novaya Zhizn'*], vol. ix: General Correspondence, Koteliensky Papers, Add. MS 48974, BL.

²⁸¹ D. H. Lawrence, letter to S. S. Koteliensky, [1 May 1917], in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 111: 121.

²⁸² Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury*, p. 102.

²⁸³ Murry, 'Introduction', in Shestov, *Anton Tchekhov and Other Essays*, pp. xv–xvi; John Middleton Murry, 'Communism and Art: or Bolshevism and Ballyhoo', *The Adelphi*, ns 5.4 (January 1933), 263–70 (pp. 266–8).

hope was clearly founded on a severe misapprehension of the regime.²⁸⁴ By 1930, he was praising Shestov's fellow symbolist, Vasily Rozanov, who Kotelyansky translated in the late 1920s, for understanding the danger of "civilisation" which does not come from within, but which is poured over the mind: Russia under the communists had not overcome the virus after all: 'the affective and effective centres collapsed, the control went all wrong, the energy died down in a rush, the nation fell, for the time being completely ruined. Too sudden civilisation always kills'. In one of his last essays, the introduction to Kotelyansky's translation of *The Grand Inquisitor*, chapter five of the fifth book of *Brat'ya Karamazovy*, Lawrence reasserted his assessment of Dostoevsky as 'an evil thinker and a marvellous seer', whose 'unanswerable' diagnosis of human nature was borne out by the continuing failure of civilization: 'Russia destroyed the Tsar to have Lenin and the present mechanical despotism, Italy has the rationalised despotism of Mussolini, and England is longing for a despot'.²⁸⁵

Mansfield died in on 9 January 1923 at the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man run by the Armenian émigré Georgy Gurdzhiev at Fontainebleau. In her rejection of a scientific cure for her tuberculosis in favour of Gurdzhiev's 'Fourth Way', she too affirmed her commitment to a Russian mysticism she had encountered in the symbolists and their predecessors. Her correspondence with the novelist William Gerhardie, who had been on the staff of the British attaché in Petrograd during the revolutions, did not begin until 1921, when he was studying in Oxford, and their correspondence was entirely confined to literary matters. The next chapter, however, turns to a group of British writers, including Gerhardie, who had direct experience of the new Russia, and its revolutionary birth.

²⁸⁴ D. H. Lawrence, 'Foreword', in Shestov, *All Things are Possible*, pp. 7–12 (pp. 9–10).

²⁸⁵ D. H. Lawrence, 'V. V. Rozanov, *Solitaria*' (review), *Calendar of Modern Letters*, 4 (July 1927), 157–61; D. H. Lawrence, 'A Remarkable Russian', review of *Fallen Leaves*, by V. V. Rozanov, *Everyman* (23 January 1930), 733–4; Lawrence, 'Introduction', in F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Grand Inquisitor*, p. vii.

Interchapter 3

Modern Languages

The British canon of Russian literature was largely the creation of a small number of amateur translators and critics. They include, in the nineteenth century, John Bowring, William Ralston, Thomas Budd Shaw, Charles Turner, and Frederick Whishaw, and in the early twentieth century, Maurice Baring, John Cournos, Constance Garnett, Stephen Graham, Petr Kropotkin, Aylmer Maude, and Louise Maude. Those who had not grown up in Russia or a Russian-speaking family (as Cournos, Kropotkin, Louise Maude, and Whishaw had) learned Russian in a variety of ways: through visiting Russia, whether on business (Bowring), or to teach English (Aylmer Maude, Shaw, Turner), from private teachers in Britain (Baring, Graham), including British-based émigrés (Garnett), and through independent study (Ralston).¹ Engagement with Russian literature was both a motivation to and a means of learning the language: literary translation usually featured in tuition and self-tuition at an early stage. Stephen Graham recalled that, ‘from a barrow I bought a tattered copy of *Crime and Punishment*... It resulted in my beginning to learn Russian, first from a grammar, then from Berlitz, and thirdly from a young Russian recommended to me by the Russian Consul’. This was Nikolay Lebedev, whose method of teaching included the recitation of passages of Turgenev, and the joint translation of Dostoevsky’s *Unizhennye i oskorblennye* (*Humiliated and Insulted*).² Constance Garnett recorded that Feliks Volkhovsky ‘suggested my learning Russian and gave me a grammar and a dictionary, and the first story I attempted to read—one of Stankevitch’s’.³

However, at the turn of the century the study of Russian was becoming professionalized, with increasing numbers of schools and universities offering courses in Russian. The biographical and scholarly focus on individual amateur translators has obscured the less obviously tangible impact of the institutions. From 1904, when Russian was added to the Final Honour School of Medieval and Modern Languages at the University of Oxford, many translators and critics of Russian

¹ Whishaw, *A History of the Whishaw Family*, pp. 181–3; Bowring, *Autobiographical Recollections*, pp. 117–25; George Bartle, *An Old Radical and his Brood: A Portrait of Sir John Bowring and His Family* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1994), p. 8; Protopopova, ‘Leo Tolstoy’s Translator Aylmer Maude’, 49–73; William Smith, ‘A Brief Memoir of the Author’, in Thomas B. Shaw, *A History of English Literature* (London: John Murray, 1864), pp. v–vi; ‘Literary gossip’, *The Athenaeum*, 3957 (29 August 1903), 291–2; Baring, *The Puppet Show of Memory*, pp. 224, 260, Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, pp. 14, 16, Werner Lauter, *Die Bedeutung von W. R. S. Ralston als Vermittler russischer Literatur nach England* (Marburg: Philipps-Universität, 1962), p. 10.

² Graham, *Part of the Wonderful Scene*, pp. 14–15.

³ R. Garnett, *Constance Garnett*, p. 75.

literature were no longer self or privately taught, they were the product of a small number of institutions.⁴ By 1917 an aspiring Russophile could learn Russian at least nine independent schools (the City of London School, Cheltenham College, Eton, the Holt School in Liverpool, the Leys School in Cambridge, Oundle, Repton, Princess Helena College, and Tonbridge School), attend courses at the universities and university colleges of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Nottingham, and Sheffield, and the British Army training institutions, the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and the Staff College at Camberley, and take classes at technical colleges, commercial institutes, and Berlitz schools across the country.⁵

But what characterized the teaching in these institutions, and what was their impact on the dissemination of Russian literature? Although certain individuals were undoubtedly responsible for the shape of the discipline in its early years, this chapter places equal emphasis on the variety of institutional forces that formed methodologies, curricula, and canons. In this, it builds on James Muckle's excellent study *The Russian Language in Britain*, though it focuses specifically on the teaching of Russian literature, rather than Russian language or Russian studies more generally. The move of Russian into the universities took place at a point when the major works of Russian literature were still in the process of being translated into English for the first time, and this chapter examines the impact of the institutionalization of Russian studies on the creation of a British canon of Russian literature.

In 1906, Nevill Forbes, the brother-in-law of Charles Ashbee, the founder of the Guild and School of Handicraft we briefly encountered in chapter one, graduated with a first class degree from Oxford's new Final Honour School of Medieval and Modern Languages: he was the first student to graduate in Russian.⁶ There had been, however, a series of annual or biennial lectures on Slavonic subjects in Oxford since 1870, when Forbes's teacher, William Morfill, delivered the first Ilchester lectures, funded by an endowment to promote the study of Slavonic languages, literature, and history. Morfill was appointed Reader in Russian and the Other Slavonic Languages in 1889, and Professor in 1900.⁷ Although Cambridge's Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos preceded Oxford's Final Honours School by twenty years, its provision in Russian developed later: Ivan Nestor-Schnurmann provided Russian tuition from 1897 to 1899, and in 1900 Alexander Goudy, who had been teaching Russian at the University College of Liverpool, was appointed to the first University Lectureship. In 1907 Russian was added to the Medieval and

⁴ Charles Firth, *Modern Languages at Oxford, 1724–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 74–6.

⁵ Modern Language Association Sub-Committee for Russian Studies, *The Teaching of Russian* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1917), pp. 18–25; James Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain: A Historical Study of Learners and Teachers* (Ilkerton: Bramcote Press, 2008), pp. 32–3, 47–51, 59–65; Addresses of teachers of Russian, *Russian Review*, 1.3 (July 1912), 6.

⁶ MacCarthy, *The Simple Life*, p. 131.

⁷ Firth, *Modern Languages at Oxford*, p. 59; Gerald Stone, 'The History of Slavonic Studies in Great Britain', in Josef Hamm and Günther Wytrzens, eds, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Slawistik in nichtslawischen Ländern* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), pp. 360–98 (pp. 376–89).

Modern Languages Tripos, and Goudy was first listed as an examiner in 1910, but it was not until 1948 that Elizabeth Hill was appointed the first Professor of Slavonic Studies.⁸ The first School of Russian Studies in Britain was founded in 1907 at the University of Liverpool by Bernard Pares, who had held appointments at the university in modern history from 1902 to 1908, when he became Professor of Russian History, Language and Literature.⁹ At the University of London, Russian had been taught at King's College since 1889, when Nikolay Orlov (Nicholas Orloff) was appointed Lecturer in Russian in the School of Oriental and Colonial Languages, and in 1915 the university established a separate School of Slavonic Studies, to which Pares was appointed Professor of Russian in 1917.¹⁰ Russian was also taught in the English department at the University of Manchester by W. J. Sedgefield, appointed as Lecturer in English Language in 1906, but also, the following year, University Lecturer in Russian, a post he held until 1919, when Mikhail Trofimov, Pares' former colleague at both Liverpool and the School of Slavonic Studies, took up the newly established post of Sir William Mather Professor of Russian. Before 1914, Russian could be studied at university level at only these five institutions.¹¹

The professorial titles held by Morfill and Pares indicate some of the differences between the teaching of Russian in their universities. Morfill, Professor of Russian and the Other Slavonic Languages at Oxford, worked within a tradition of modern language teaching that was specifically philological. Francis Trithem and Max Müller, the first two Professors of Modern European Languages at Oxford (appointed in 1848 and 1854 respectively), were both trained in, and taught, comparative philology, and indeed the Professorship of Modern European Languages was abolished when in 1868 a Professorship of Comparative Philology was created for Müller, as more suited to his research interests.¹² Morfill, like many Slavonic scholars, had been trained as a classicist, and his Ilchester lectures show the influence of his linguistic training: the subject of his first series, in 1870, was 'Ethnology, early history, and popular traditions of the Slavonic nations', and that of his second series, in 1873, 'The best mode of beginning the study of the Slavonic languages'.¹³ In his 1890 lecture delivered on his inauguration as Reader, 'An Essay on the Importance

⁸ Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain*, pp. 43, 45–6; J. R. Tanner, *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge: Being a Supplement to the Calendar with a Record of University Offices, Honours and Distinctions to the Year 1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), p. 970; Elizabeth Hill, *Why Need we Study the Slavs? An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 35; Anthony Cross, *Cambridge: Some Russian Connections: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), pp. 28–9.

⁹ Bernard Pares, *My Russian Memoirs* (London: Cape, 1931), pp. 246–50; Bernard Pares, *A Wandering Student: The Story of a Purpose* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1948), pp. 98–9.

¹⁰ I. W. Roberts and Roger Bartlett, *History of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 1915–2005*, 2nd edn (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 2009), pp. 2–4, 8; Pares, *A Wandering Student*, pp. 275–6.

¹¹ Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain*, p. 47; Henry Guppy, 'Notes and News', *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 29.1 (July 1945), 1–47 (p. 13); W. K. Matthews, 'Professor M. V. Trofimov', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 27.69 (1949), 575–6.

¹² Firth, *Modern Languages at Oxford*, p. 34.

¹³ Stone, 'The History of Slavonic Studies in Great Britain', p. 379.

of the Study of Slavonic Languages', the only one of these lectures to have survived, Morfill gave three reasons for studying Slavonic languages: their significance for comparative philology ('the Slavonic languages occupy a middle position between the Western and Eastern branches of the great Aryan family'), the quality of their literature (of which he mentions their folk literature as of particular interest), and, more briefly, their practical use for diplomacy: 'In order to interpret properly the Eastern question, which never settled is still hovering over us, we must know the Slavonic mind, the Slavonic languages and literatures'.¹⁴ His published works also testify to his linguistic and literary focus: he was the author of *Slavonic Literature* (1883), which prefaces its account by presenting August Schleicher's classification of Slavonic languages; three histories of Russia and one of Poland, three of which give particular prominence to literary history; grammars of Polish (1884), Serbian (1887), Russian (1889), Bulgarian (1897), and Czech (1899); two translations from Old Church Slavonic, and an edition of Elizabethan ballads.¹⁵ Under Nevill Forbes, who succeeded Morfill in 1910, Russian in Oxford continued to be a primarily linguistic and literary subject. Forbes was best known for his translations for children and for his grammars and textbooks, including *Russian Grammar* (1914), *Elementary Russian Grammar* (1919), and four *Russian Books* (1915–18) of lessons, literary extracts, and exercises.¹⁶ In his obituary, Pares described him as 'in the first

¹⁴ W. R. Morfill, *An Essay on the Importance of the Study of Slavonic Languages* (London: Henry Frowde, 1890), pp. 15, 17–29, 32.

¹⁵ Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*, W. R. Morfill, *Russia* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880); W. R. Morfill, *Russia* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1890); W. R. Morfill, *A History of Russia* (London: Methuen, 1902); W. R. Morfill, *Poland* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1893); W. R. Morfill, *A Simplified Grammar of the Polish Language* (London: Trübner, 1884); W. R. Morfill, *Simplified Grammar of the Serbian Language* (London: Trübner, 1887); W. R. Morfill, *A Grammar of the Russian Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889); W. R. Morfill, *A Short Grammar of the Bulgarian Language, with Reading Lessons* (London: Trübner, 1897); W. R. Morfill, *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Cech Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899); *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, trans. by W. R. Morfill, ed. by R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896); 'The Apocalypse of Baruch', trans. by W. R. Morfill, in J. Armitage Robinson, ed., *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, 5.1: *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897); W. R. Morfill, ed., *Ballads Relating Chiefly to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Ballad Society, 1873).

¹⁶ Nevill Forbes, *Word-for-Word Russian Story-Book* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1916), and the translations for his cousin Valery Carrick's *Picture Tales from the Russian* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1913), *More Russian Picture Tales* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1914), *Still More Russian Picture Tales* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1915), and *Picture Tales: Fourth Selection* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1924); Nevill Forbes, *Russian Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914); Nevill Forbes, *Elementary Russian Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919); Nevill Forbes, *First Russian Book: A Practical Manual of Russian Declensions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915); Nevill Forbes, *Second Russian Book: A Practical Manual of Russian Verbs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916); Nevill Forbes, *Third Russian Book: Extracts from Aksakov, Grigorovich, Herzen, Saltykov* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917); Nevill Forbes, *Fourth Russian Book: Exercises on First and Second Russian Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918); Raymond Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett, *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918). Forbes' other book publications were: Nevill Forbes and Captain Keyworth, *Easy Serbian for our Men Abroad, and How to Pronounce it* (London: Kegan Paul, 1915); Louis Cahen and Nevill Forbes, *English-Serbian Phrase-Book, with Easy Grammar* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1915); Nevill Forbes, *The Southern Slavs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915); Nevill Forbes et al, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915); Dragutin Subotić and Nevill Forbes, *Serbian Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918); Dragutin Subotić and Nevill Forbes,

place a comparative Slavonic philologist with a sound knowledge of the various Slav languages', who 'wrote also several interesting literary studies in the *Russian and Slavonic Reviews*'. Drawing attention to the difference in their approaches, Pares noted somewhat disdainfully that Forbes' contribution to the co-edited *History of Russia from the Vangarians to the Bolsheviks* 'covered the middle period from John the Great to modern times, just that in which the Russian people found the least expression in the political history of the country'.¹⁷

Pares, Professor of Russian History, Language and Literature at the University of Liverpool, and Professor of Russian ('but really of Russian History', he later wrote) at the University of London, was, by contrast, a modern historian, although he had also studied Classics as an undergraduate. In his memoirs he emphasized that his first professorial title was carefully chosen, as 'it represented the principle of nation study, which is what I have always stood for; namely, that our teaching should not stop short at language and that, apart from provision for the teaching of philology, the language should also serve as a key to the study of literature, history, and economics'.¹⁸ For Pares, the study of Russian was less a scholarly pursuit than an urgent political necessity: attending the first Duma in 1906, he became aware how few of the British Foreign Office employees could speak Russian well enough to understand the political situation, leaving them reliant on interpreters and other attendees who, he claimed, deliberately misinformed them.¹⁹ Far more than Morfill, Forbes, Sedgfield, or even Hill, who set up the intensive Russian courses at Cambridge to train interpreters during the Second World War, Pares saw the study of Russian as providing preparation for political or commercial engagement with Russia, rather than linguistic or cultural knowledge for its own sake.²⁰ The distinction between his approach and that of the philological study in Oxford was explicit: 'Nine students out of ten really wish rather to know about the country than about the history of its language', he wrote, 'Business men would naturally prefer as their employees persons trained in this way: so would the diplomatic and consular services'.²¹ Unsurprisingly, Pares is remembered less for his scholarship than his promotion of Russian studies in Britain, persuading local businessmen to fund lectureships and travelling fellowships, and founding and editing the first scholarly journals of Slavonic studies in Britain, the *Russian Review* (1912–14), and the *Slavonic* (from 1928 *The Slavonic and East European Review* (1922–)).²²

Engleska Gramatika (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920). Forbes was also the general editor of the 'Oxford Russian Plain Texts' series, for which he also edited most of the texts published.

¹⁷ Bernard Pares, 'Obituary: Nevill Forbes', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 7.21 (March 1929), p. 702.

¹⁸ Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, pp. 249–51; Pares, *A Wandering Student*, p. 276.

¹⁹ Pares, *A Wandering Student*, p. 141. Bernard Pares, 'Mackay and the School of Russian Studies', in *A Miscellany Presented to John Macdonald Mackay, LL.D.* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press/London: Constable, 1914), pp. 48–55 (p. 48).

²⁰ Elizabeth Hill, *In the Mind's Eye: The Memoirs of Dame Elizabeth Hill*, ed. by Jean Stafford Smith (Lewes: Book Guild, 1999), pp. 230–9.

²¹ Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, p. 250.

²² Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, pp. 246–8, 251–3, 569; Pares, *A Wandering Student*, pp. 98–102, 296–303.

Though he produced three literary translations, he was relatively uninterested in, even antagonistic towards, the nineteenth-century prose his compatriots were discovering in the early twentieth century. Reading the works of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Gogol' and Chekhov while he was learning Russian, he wrote in his memoirs, 'used to make me extremely angry—especially Tolstoy. Reading him at a snail's pace, one had forced in on one every ounce of his innate cynicism and, I would dare to add, his innate savagery'.²³ Bar his *History of Russia* (1931), described by his former colleague R. W. Seton-Watson in 1949 as 'probably still... the most practical textbook of Russian history coming from an English pen', his books consisted primarily of reflections on the contemporary history he viewed at first hand—as in *Russia and Reform* (1907), *The League of Nations, and Other Questions of Peace* (1919), *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (1939), *Russia* (1940), *Russia and the Peace* (1944)—and explicitly autobiographical accounts of the political situation, such as *Day by Day with the Russian Army* (1915), and *Moscow Admits a Critic* (1936).²⁴ The secretary of the School of Slavonic Studies, Dorothy Galton, described him as 'not the sort of scholar who spent a great deal of time poring over books and papers; indeed I doubt very much if he ever did much work in the British Museum Library, for instance... He was more of a publicist, a disseminator of ideas and knowledge'.²⁵

The teaching of Russian in Cambridge has been less fully recorded. Goudy published little—his one book-length contribution, produced with his colleague Edward Bullough, was an edition of Tolstoy's 'Sevastopol'skie rasskazy' ('Sevastopol Sketches').²⁶ The figure who had been expected to be appointed to Goudy's university post, Ellis Minns, had followed his undergraduate degree in Classics with studying Russian under Paul Boyer at the l'École des langues orientales in Paris, and research in Russian archaeology in St Petersburg. He was appointed College Lecturer in Russian at Pembroke College in 1901, and Disney Professor of Archaeology in 1927.²⁷ Hill was one of the early graduates of Pares' School of

²³ Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, p. 38; Alexander Griboyedov, *The Mischief of Being Clever (Gore ot Uma)*, trans. by Bernard Pares (London: School of Slavonic Studies/Eyre and Spottiswoode, [1925]); *Krylov's Fables*, trans. by Bernard Pares (London: Jonathan Cape, 1926); N. Misheyev, *A Heroic Legend: How the Holy Mountains Let Out of Their Deep Caves the Mighty Heroes of Russia: A Modern Bylina*, trans. by Gleb Struve and Bernard Pares (London: Centenary Press, 1935).

²⁴ R. W. Seton-Watson, 'Bernard Pares', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 28.70 (November, 1949), 28–31 (p. 30); Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1926); Bernard Pares, *Russia and Reform* (London: Constable, 1907); Bernard Pares, *The League of Nations and Other Questions of Peace* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919); Bernard Pares, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: A Study of the Evidence* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939); Bernard Pares, *Russia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940); Bernard Pares, *Russia and the Peace* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1944); Bernard Pares, *Day by Day with the Russian Army, 1914–15* (London: Constable, 1915); Bernard Pares, *Moscow Admits a Critic* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1936). Pares also published two volumes of autobiography, *My Russian Memoirs* and *A Wandering Student*.

²⁵ D. Galton, 'Sir Bernard Pares and Slavonic Studies in London University, 1919–39', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 46.107 (July 1968), 481–91 (p. 482).

²⁶ Leo Tolstoy, *Sevastopol*, ed. by A. P. Goudy and E. Bullough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916).

²⁷ Grahame Clark, *Prehistory at Cambridge and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 30–2; Hill, *Why Need we Study the Slavs?*, p. 35.

Slavonic Studies, and wrote her doctoral dissertation there under D. S. Mirsky on the development of the nineteenth-century psychological novel. She was, a former student remembered, 'a poor teacher of literature, but, paradoxically, a powerful inspirer of love for the Russian writers, and also a brilliant, though terribly demanding, language instructor'.²⁸ Memories of her teaching collected for an eightieth birthday tribute recorded the centrality of literature in her teaching: 'nearly everything, Marshak's "Mister Tvister", Pushkin's "Evgeny Onegin", numerous songs and poems, stuck and a seed was sown', recalled Derek van Abbé, 'Do you still ... get people to enjoy literature instead of just analysing it?', asked John Davidson.²⁹

The differences between both individuals and institutions were in part generational. At the new University of Liverpool, which received its Royal charter only in 1903, Pares found himself 'in a hive of creation ... Brilliant men from all quarters, Oxford, Cambridge, Scotland, Germany, were drawn hither by the attraction of writing a new word on a blank sheet'.³⁰ The aims and methods of university education were undergoing rapid change, as access to higher education expanded and new universities looked to different constituencies for both their students and their benefactors.³¹ For many of these students, and the middle-class businessmen who funded their education, the vocational aspects of university courses became more relevant. The implications for the teaching of Russian, with its potential to directly facilitate new commercial and political opportunities, are strikingly apparent in Pares' account of the development of his department at Liverpool. Members of his staff, he wrote, 'had close relations with many business men and, were ready to answer any inquiries as to Russian trade; for these there was no fee, but we invited support for the school'. Alongside John Mackay, the Professor of History, the greatest assistance, both financial and advisory, was provided by the shipping magnates Alfred Jones and John Rankin. Although both initially refused assistance, Jones became more interested in supporting Pares' work following the visit of a delegation from the third Duma to Britain in 1909, which Pares organized and not only brought to Liverpool, but to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, where Jones, as President, 'made a short and typical speech: "We know you have got things that we want, and we believe we have got things that you want; let's see how we can be useful to each other"'. Rankin's assistance, which included funding Pares' own post, was made possible after Pares was able to obtain Russian compensation for a ship belonging to his firm that had been sunk in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War. The department's journal, the *Russian Review*, was edited by contacts Pares had made on his visits to Russia in 1905 and 1906: Harold Williams and Maurice Baring, the correspondents for the *Manchester Guardian* and the

²⁸ A. D. P. Briggs, 'Obituary: Professor Dame Elizabeth Hill', *The Independent* (6 January 1997), p. 14.

²⁹ Derek van Abbé, John Davidson, quoted in Hill, *In the Mind's Eye*, pp. 500, 497. See also Christopher N. L. Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988–93), iv: 436.

³⁰ Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, p. 53. See also Thomas Kelly, *For the Advancement of Learning: the University of Liverpool, 1881–1981* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1981), p. 148.

³¹ See 'Report on Commercial Education', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3.2 (December 1900), 151–3.

Morning Post, respectively, and Samuel Harper, son of the first President of the University of Chicago, who had studied Russian at the l'École des langues orientales in Paris from 1902 to 1904.³² Russian became established in the universities, then, at a point when ideas about what and who education was for were starting to transform the range of subjects available and how they were taught. Depending on the institution, Russian, as a new subject, could either be shaped to existing educational models, as at Oxford, or present a new model, as at Liverpool.

The emergence of Russian as a subject in university also coincided with a change in language teaching in Britain, which sheds some light on the difference in approach between these institutions and these individuals. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the 'grammar-translation method' of teaching, based on the teaching of Greek and Latin, was largely replaced by the 'direct method' advocated by the reform movement, in which tuition was given in the foreign language rather than the mother tongue. Oral communication and accurate pronunciation became prioritized over reading and translating literary texts.³³ Reading over the contributions to the major British periodicals in modern language studies of the period, *Modern Language Quarterly* (1897–1904) and its successors *Modern Language Teaching* (1905–19) and *Modern Language Review* (1905–), one gains a sense of the scale of the change. *Modern Language Teaching*, was the journal of the British Modern Language Association, and was edited by Walter Rippmann (also Ripman), who was one of the early proponents of the reform movement in Britain (and Katherine Mansfield's German teacher at Queen's College, Harley Street).³⁴ From its inception the journal promoted the direct method and the use of phonetics in teaching. In 1905, *MLT* published a report on the ideal school curriculum in modern languages by a committee of the Assistant Masters' Association, to which Rippmann had been co-opted, which, as its introduction noted, 'goes very far in the direction of the reform movement'. It recommended 'as little as possible of the mother-tongue' in lessons, that grammar should be taught inductively, rather than through memorizing rules and exceptions, and that the teacher should have knowledge of the application of phonetics. It stated that the main aims of teaching a modern language (which it envisaged beginning when pupils were aged ten to twelve) as enabling pupils to acquire:

1. A good pronunciation.
2. Fluency in the use of a fair vocabulary of serviceable words.

³² Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, pp. 51, 254, 201, 246, 248, 90, 115; A. H. Milne, *Sir Alfred Lewis Jones, K.C.M.G.* (Liverpool: Henry Young, 1914), pp. 70–1; Samuel N. Harper, *The Russia I Believe In: The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper, 1902–1941*, ed. by Paul V. Harper, with the assistance of Ronald Thompson (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 11–14, 29, 37–8. Russian at the University of Birmingham was funded on similarly commercial grounds: see R. E. F. Smith, *A Novelty: Russian at Birmingham University, 1917–67* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1987), pp. 2–9.

³³ For an overview of the changes in language teaching during the period, see Eric W. Hawkins, *Modern Languages in the Curriculum*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 117–53.

³⁴ Katherine Mansfield, letter to Sylvia Payne, 24 January 1904, letter to S. S. Kotliansky, [17 May 1915], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, I: 10, 191–2; letters to John Middleton Murry, [13 October, 19 November 1919], in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, III: 21, 104.

3. Ease in the application of the elementary accidence and syntax of the foreign language.
4. A sympathetic attitude towards the foreign nation.

Translation and composition were only to be introduced at the intermediate stage. Even at the advanced stage, after pupils had studied the language for up to eight years, 'only the elements of historical grammar', were to be taught.³⁵

The reform movement had significant implications for the place of literature in modern language tuition. In January 1901, W. Stuart Macgowan, a teacher at Cheltenham College, who was a central figure in the British reform movement, proposed a resolution to the Annual General Meeting of the Modern Language Association 'That the aim of modern language teaching should be literary rather than colloquial', and that rather than emphasizing immediate utility of languages, teachers should devote themselves to 'the task of proving their literary value as instruments of humanistic culture'. But most of the audience argued that such a resolution would return them to an outmoded and ineffective curriculum. Rushton Parker remarked that if the early training was in the spoken language 'surely literature would take care of itself', and a Dr Abrahams agreed that 'they should give a practical knowledge of a language first, and let the literary knowledge follow'. Rippmann himself argued that 'it seemed to him utterly unfair to bring against the reformed mode the charge of neglecting the literary side of modern language teaching', but nevertheless that 'it was of immense value to attach importance to a spoken language in the early stage of teaching' and 'from such a groundwork there would be... a perfectly natural progress to the literary appreciation of the language'. An amended resolution was passed with precisely the opposite emphasis from Macgowan's original formulation: 'That the aim of modern language teaching should be colloquial as well as literary'.³⁶

The reform movement's success in Western Europe was such that in France the direct method was imposed by ministerial decree in 1902. Only six years later, however, ministerial instructions re-introduced limited grammar teaching and translation into the mother tongue.³⁷ In Britain, too, Macgowan's critique of the reform movement's utilitarianism appeared to gain more adherents towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1909 *Modern Language Teaching* initiated a discussion forum on 'The Teaching of Literature', because, the forum's editor F. B. Kirkman noted, 'though the Reform in England has already done much for the language, it has yet to win for the literature its rightful place'. Contributors responded to the questions, 'What are the best methods of giving our pupils a taste for reading the best foreign literature strong enough to endure beyond the end of the school period?', 'What conditions, if any, hinder our giving to

³⁵ 'Suggestions for a Modern Language Curriculum', *Modern Language Teaching*, 1 (1905), 241–5 (pp. 241, 242, 245).

³⁶ 'Report of the Annual General Meeting', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 3 (1900), 157–88 (pp. 169, 173–4).

³⁷ Hawkins, *Modern Languages in the Curriculum*, p. 130, Wilfried Decoo, *Systemization in Foreign Language Teaching: Monitoring Content Progression* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 59.

the cultivation of literary taste the place it merits in modern foreign language instruction?', and 'What principles are to determine the suitability of the literary works to be read?'. However, many of the respondents still took issue with the questions' assumption that schools should cultivate literary taste in their pupils at all: 'If by the cultivation of literary taste is meant teaching to read Racine, Pascal, and Goethe, I maintain that, with the usual exceptions, such taste does not and cannot exist at school', wrote W. Osborne Brigstocke of Berkhamsted School, 'It is ridiculous to attempt this with a class'. If literature was to be read, almost all contributors agreed with Hardress O'Grady of Goldsmiths' College that it should be only after doing 'a very great deal of spade-work' in learning vocabulary and pronunciation, which left little time for the discussion of literature. Several respondents noted that the difficulty in finding time for literary study was exacerbated by the necessity of teaching to exams, which required 'prepared books studied from the translation rather than from the literary point of view', as L. M. Grove of Redland High School remarked.³⁸

These discussions focus almost exclusively on the teaching of French and, to a much lesser extent, German. The only discussion of Russian in *Modern Language Teaching* before 1914 is a 1911 article, 'Practical Training in Russian', by Mikhail Trofimov, then a member of Pares' department at the University of Liverpool. Although Trofimov does not discuss teaching methods, his focus on the history of the language, its grammar, and morphology aligns his approach to the grammar-translation method based on the study of Classics, rather than the direct method. Following the outbreak of war, however, the teaching of Russian received much more attention. In *Modern Language Teaching*, the classicist Herbert A. Strong suggested that German would become less widely taught after the war, and that Russian might replace it: 'there is no language at once so simple, so rich, and so musical; nor is there any other European language which contains such a store of national songs and legends'.³⁹ In reply, W. H. D. Rouse, headmaster of the Perse School, advocated Italian as a replacement for German, rather than Russian, 'not only because the [Russian] language is more difficult than any of those mentioned, but because its literature is largely in the future. I am aware that Russian contains much that is worth studying now, but it cannot show any writers to rank with Dante, or even Boccaccio'.⁴⁰ Unsurprisingly, the Russian Lecturer at the University of Manchester, W. J. Sedgefield, argued the case for Russian and its literature, but thought the language's difficulty precluded it being studied in school apart from in the most advanced classes. Nevertheless, he wrote, 'the study of Russian must be taken up vigorously in this country' because 'there will be a great field for British capital and enterprise in the Russian Empire, which is incomparably endowed with natural resources hitherto hardly at all developed'.⁴¹ The connection between education and commercial opportunity was made even more explicitly in the journal's

³⁸ 'Discussion Column: The Teaching of Foreign Literature', *Modern Language Teaching*, 5 (1909), 50–1, 84–7 (pp. 85, 86), 202–7 (p. 207).

³⁹ Herbert A. Strong, 'German and Russian', *Modern Language Teaching*, 10 (1914), 183.

⁴⁰ W. H. D. Rouse, 'Italian v. German', *Modern Language Teaching*, 10 (1914), 222.

⁴¹ W. J. Sedgefield, 'The Study of Russian', *Modern Language Teaching*, 10 (1914), 243–44.

report on the Conference of the United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association, which discussed how Britain could compete more effectively with Germany. The President, the industrialist and former Liberal M. P., William Mather, told the conference that 'of all the beneficial developments in foreign countries possible for us, the greatest was that of cultivating a close relationship with Russia in industrial, social and political efforts... Our Public Schools and Universities must apply themselves to this end by providing for Russian studies as they did for French and German'.⁴²

It was at this point, when the legacy of the direct method's educational claims converged with the political and commercial opportunities presented by the First World War, that a report on 'The Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain' was commissioned from a committee chaired by Stanley Leathes, a former Cambridge historian who had become First Civil Service Commissioner in 1910. The report, commissioned in 1916 and published in 1918, was part of a broader examination of education in Britain, prompted by concerns that it was failing to teach the skills needed to keep British industry and commerce internationally competitive. While the Leathes Report affirmed what it called the 'idealistic aims of education'—the development of 'the higher faculties, the imagination, the sense of beauty, and the intellectual comprehension'—it was the immediate practical utility of modern languages that was emphasized. After the war, the report noted, 'lost ground must be recovered; new openings must be found; in countries where we felt secure we shall find our footing precarious... In a great part of our foreign trade a knowledge of languages, a knowledge of foreign countries and of foreign peoples, will be directly and abundantly remunerative'.⁴³

The report encouraged the expansion of teaching of all languages, but while it found that 'school teaching in non-European languages is not necessary', it recommended that Russian, alongside Italian and Spanish, should be established on an equal footing with German in schools and universities, and French, 'by far the most important language in the history of civilisation', should retain its priority. Amongst its recommendations for universities was that 'neither Latin nor Greek be compulsory for an Arts degree in any of our Universities', that within ten years from the end of the war, the staff in French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Russian should be increased from the current 31 to 55 professorships and 72 to 110 lectureships, in the areas of language and philology, literature, history and institutions, and economics, and that these areas should be considered within universities as 'an interdependent whole' with 'recent and present day conditions of each country studied' included as much as possible. This last recommendation is indicative of the report's support for what Pares called 'nation-study' and came to be called Area Studies. It advocated more collaboration between departments and remarked with regret that although departments of modern languages had been set up in a number of universities 'none of these has up to the present attempted to join all the

⁴² 'From Here and There', *Modern Language Teaching*, 11 (1915), 119–22 (p. 121).

⁴³ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain* ['Leathes Report'] (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), pp. 15, 10.

studies connected with any one foreign country in a single enlightened and comprehensive School of Modern Humanities'.⁴⁴

Throughout the report the discipline discussed was referred to as 'Modern Studies' rather than 'Modern Languages', which efficiently sums up the change it envisaged, especially in universities, in looking to History rather than Classics as a disciplinary model: 'All or nearly all of [the Honours Courses in Modern Studies] require of all their students some philology and some study of the ancient forms of the language. This we consider unnecessary. These branches should be optional. None of the courses give any adequate place to the history of the life, the thought, the institutions, of the foreign countries'. Although the authors of the report noted that 'it will not be expected of us that we should enter into a minute disquisition on the method of teaching Modern languages, or attempt to decide the many controversial points that are still debated under this head', they had 'no doubt that the introduction into teaching of what is called the Direct Method has removed a great obstacle from the path of teachers of modern languages', that is, the 'incessant intervention of English', used in the method of teaching Classics. The report also followed advocates of the direct method by proposing that 'teachers of Modern Languages should have a thorough training in phonetics' and 'oral examination should be used wherever possible'. But overall the approach supported by the report was a considerably modified version of the direct method appropriate to 'Modern Studies': the use of English was not prohibited—'it is probably impossible to carry language teaching far in schools without some reference to the mother tongue'—, and nor was reading literary texts in schools—'we feel bound to plead for more serious attention being given in the Upper Forms to the writings of French classical authors'. The report even suggested that after learning a first language 'one or more additional languages can be learnt with advantage for reading purposes only...such passive knowledge is quite worth cultivating, though the student may never attain the stage of speaking and writing'. Languages, the report argued, 'are for use'.⁴⁵

This brief history of the debates governing modern language teaching in the first two decades of the twentieth century indicates that by 1918, the date of the Leathes Report, the role of literature in modern language study was being questioned on a number of fronts. In schools, literary study was seen as broadly desirable, but only for advanced students, because it was not conceived as contributing to language learning, and, according to proponents of the direct method, could impede it. The Leathes Report, while supportive of literary study as 'one of the most important sources of historical enlightenment', places its emphasis firmly on the contemporary political and commercial use of modern languages, rather than the broader cultural understanding of nations, to which literature might contribute.⁴⁶

Despite the political and popular interest in Britain's wartime ally, neither Russian literature nor Russian history were highly valued in the Leathes Report:

⁴⁴ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages*, pp. 19, 64–5, 42, 4.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages*, pp. 48, 53–8.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages*, p. 58.

'though Russian literature of late years has attracted great interest and exercised some influence, we shall probably be right in conceding to it little educational value. Nor is Russian history a subject to be recommended for study in schools. At present it appears as amorphous, obscure, unaccented, and uninspiring'.⁴⁷ This was not the view of the Modern Language Association's Sub-Committee for Russian Studies whose 'Memorandum on the Teaching of Russian' was published in February 1917. Its secretary, Edward Bullough, taught French and German at Cambridge, and was a member of Leathes' committee. While the memorandum, like Leathes' report, demonstrated the profession's turn away from the philological teaching model, it argued that Russian literature was a particularly important source of historical, including contemporary historical, information:

To speak of her literature may be superfluous. Its influence during the 19th Century, though small in this country, has been profound and lasting on the Continent. Some of its outstanding names--Púshkin, Lérmontov, Gógol, Dostoyévsky, Herzen, Turgénev, Tolstóy, Merezhkóvsky, Chékhov—are household words even here. To mention others, as yet unfamiliar to English ears, might savour of the foolish attempt to impress the reader with celebrities, to him unknown. They are, however, gradually coming into their own even among the general reading-public (as, for instance, Aksákov from among the older writers, or Kúprin among the moderns). But certainly two features in Russian literature of educational importance, deserve mention: the fact that Russian literature, by reason partly of its youth and partly of its circumstances, has hardly ever reached that degree of divorce from reality which Western literatures frequently display, and reflects, therefore, more directly currents of thought and problems of human life; the second feature is the delicate balance—one of its artistic triumphs—of realism, often frank and unflinching, and a spirituality which finds in it its emblem and embodiment.⁴⁸

What, then, was actually studied by students of Russian? What proportion of the curriculum was devoted to literature, and which authors and works were dominant? The relative youth of Russia's literary history was a persistent point in discussion: was Bullough's positive interpretation of this reflected in a curriculum dominated by the nineteenth-century novel? Or did W. H. D. Rouse's negative interpretation (Russia 'cannot show any writers to rank with Dante, or even Boccaccio') provoke the creation of curricula asserting a longer literary tradition?⁴⁹

In light of the evidence from *Modern Language Teaching*, which shows how little literature was taught in French classes in schools, it would seem unlikely that Russian literature was taught in the few schools that offered the language. However, School Certificate and Higher Certificate examination papers (usually for students of sixteen and eighteen respectively) tell another story. Those set by the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board between 1922 and 1925, for example, show that students taking the Higher Certificate were required to translate two passages from their prescribed texts, which were either Forbes' *Third Russian Book*:

⁴⁷ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ Modern Language Association Sub-Committee for Russian Studies, *The Teaching of Russian*, pp. 11–12.

⁴⁹ Rouse, 'Italian v. German', p. 222.

Extracts from Aksakov, Grigorovich, Herzen, Saltykov, and Arshak Raffi's edition of two short stories by Turgenev, *Moo-Moo and The District Doctor*, or alternatively Goudy's and Bullough's edition of Tolstoy's Sevastopol sketches and Paul Selver's Chekhov collection, *The Chameleon and Four Other Tales*—all accented Russian texts with Russian–English vocabularies.⁵⁰ For the School Certificate set by the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, there appear to have been no prescribed texts, but students were required to produce unseen translations from literary authors: Turgenev, Pushkin, and Ostrovsky in 1923, Gogol', Tyutchev, and Goncharov in 1924, and Dostoevsky, Pushkin (and the historian Moisey Ostrogorsky) in 1925.⁵¹ From the academic year 1917–18, the Joint Matriculation Board prescribed a rotating series of Russian literary works for its School as well as its Higher Certificates, though no examination was actually set until a Higher Certificate in 1921, when the prescribed texts were J. H. Freese's edition of Ivan Krylov's fables, and Nevill Forbes' editions of short works by Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and Dostoevsky.⁵²

Commenting on how demanding the examinations were, James Muckle remarks that 'other evidence suggests that these examinations were intended to matriculate Russian émigrés seeking entry to British universities, rather than home candidates, and it became necessary later to adjust standards'.⁵³ But there are other indications that literature was taught in schools. The preface to Eric Underwood's *A School Russian Grammar*, published in 1916, recommends using the grammar alongside 'an easy reading book such as *Dearmer and Tananévich's First Russian Reader*', which consisted of 'the easiest little stories from Tolstóy (who was a master of style even in his shortest and simplest writings)'. The series of accented readers published in 'Kegan Paul's Russian Texts series' were advertised as 'for School Use'.⁵⁴ The examination for the Newcastle Russian Prize at Eton included translation from prescribed literary texts: in 1920, Gogol's 'Starosvetskie pomeschchiki' ('Old World Landowners'), edited by Forbes, and *Russian Lyrics*, edited by the Cambridge classicist, J. D. D. Duff.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Forbes, *Third Russian Book*; Ivan Turgenyev, *Moo-Moo and The District Doctor*, ed. by A. Raffi (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, [1917]); Tolstoy, *Sevastopol* (1916); Anton Chekhov, *The Chameleon and Four Other Tales*, ed. by P. Selver (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1916).

⁵¹ Box 1, Nevill Forbes Archive, Taylor Slavonic.

⁵² I. A. Kryloff, *Select Fables*, ed. by J. H. Freese (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1917); Saltykov, *Bogomol'sy, stranniki i proezhzhie; Proshlye vremena (Pilgrims and Wayfarers; Bygone Times)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); and F. M. Dostoevsky, *Elka i svad'ba; Chestnyi vor (A Christmas Tree and a Wedding; An Honest Thief)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917). The Saltykov-Shchedrin and Krylov volumes apparently replaced the two works that, with the Dostoevsky volume, were originally prescribed for that year, Karamzin's 'Bednaya Liza' and Pushkin's *Poltava*, perhaps due to difficulties in obtaining them, as there had been no recent editions of the Russian texts published in Britain. See *The Calendar of Joint Matriculation Board, 1921, Containing the Examination Papers and Lists of Successful Candidates for the Year 1920* (Manchester: Cornish, 1920), p. 54.

⁵³ Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain*, p. 71.

⁵⁴ E. G. Underwood, *A School Russian Grammar* (London: Blackie and Son, 1916), p. [3]; Chekhov, *The Chameleon and Four Other Tales*, back matter.

⁵⁵ N. V. Gogol', *Starosvetskie pomeschchiki (An Old-World Country-House)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); J. D. Duff, ed., *Russian Lyrics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917); Box 5, Nevill Forbes Archive, Taylor Slavonic.

In the universities, the extent of, and approach to, the literary content on Russian courses was inevitably determined by the tutors' disciplinary background and their perspective on the changing profession. At Oxford, the course was notably literary and text-based. For the year 1905–1906, the year Forbes graduated, the Examination Statutes listed the subjects of examination (for all languages) as 'The Language as spoken and written at the present day', 'Works or portions of works written in the Language', 'The History of the Language', 'The History of its Literature' and 'A Special Subject of Language or Literature'. In Russian, the prescribed authors and texts were: the Gospel of St Mark in the Ostromir Codex; Erich Karl Berneker's *Slavische Chrestomathie mit Glossaren* (1902); *Povest' vremen'nykh let* (the *Primary Chronicle*); *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po Svyatoi zemle* (*The Travels of the Igumen Daniel in the Holy Land*); Nikolay Ustryalov's edition of *Skazaniya Knyazya Kurbskogo* (1833) (*Tales of Prince Kurbsky*); the *Domostroi*; Grigory Kotoshikhin; Dmitry Kantemir (Cantemir), Gogol'; Pushkin (*Evgeny Onegin*, *Poltava*, *Tsygany*, *Boris Godunov*, lyrics); Lermontov; Turgenev (*Dvoryanskoe gnezdo* [*Home of the Gentry*]; *Dym* [*Smoke*]); *Senilia*.⁵⁶ The list remained identical until 1928, the year before Forbes died, as did the range of examined subjects, bar the addition in 1915–16 of 'The History, especially the Social History, of the corresponding country or countries of Europe during the prescribed period of Literature'.⁵⁷ This change in fact appears to have had little actual impact on the teaching or examinations: knowledge of social history was tested, both before and after 1916, in the two 'History of the Literature' papers, which required candidates to answer one question on history in addition to three on literature. But the fact that the study of history is highlighted in the list of subjects from 1915 reflects the wartime situation and the intellectual and educational climate in which the Leathes Report was written.

In Cambridge, the emphasis of the Russian curriculum fell on later material than in Oxford, and Russian history received greater attention. In 1907, when Russian was added to the Tripos, the subjects for examination were 'Passages from Russian writers beginning with the nineteenth century for translation, with questions on language and metre', 'Alternative subjects for original composition in Russian bearing on Russian literature, history or institutions', 'Passages from English authors to be translated into Russian', 'Questions on Russian literature from the beginning of the eighteenth century with special reference to selected authors' (consistently Pushkin, Gogol', and Turgenev, with the addition from year to year of Aleksandr Griboedov, Krylov, Karamzin, Mikhail Lomonosov, Denis Fonvizin, Nikolay Novikov, Alexey Tolstoy, and Lev Tolstoy), 'Passages from selected works of Russian literature earlier than the eighteenth century for translation and explanation; with questions on the elements of historical Russian grammar, metre, and literary history' (consistently, the *Primary Chronicle*, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (*The Tale of Igor's Campaign*), and either *Skazaniya Knyazya Kurbskogo*, the *Domostroi*, or Kotoshikhin's *O Rossii v tsarstvovanie Alekseye Mikhailovicha* (1666–67; 1840) (*On*

⁵⁶ *The Examination Statutes, 1905–1906* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 128, 130.

⁵⁷ *The Examination Statutes, 1915–1916* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), p. 142.

Russia during the Reign of Aleksey Mikhailovich). The last area, the only one on literature before 1800, could be substituted by a paper on recent history: 'Questions on the outlines of the history of Russia (including social, political, and ecclesiastical institutions), especially in the nineteenth century'.⁵⁸ This alternative was offered only for students studying Russian, and it is not surprising that it calls to mind Bullough's words in the 1917 Modern Languages Association memorandum on Russian teaching, which represented Russian literature as 'reflect[ing]... more directly' contemporary history than did its 'Western' counterparts, since Bullough was one of the main agents in the reform of the languages curriculum at Cambridge in 1917.⁵⁹ After the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos became the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos that year, driven by the same combination of intellectual transition and wartime pressures that produced the Leathes Report, it was specified that the passages for translation would be from works written after 1800, and the subjects for original composition would be drawn from the nineteenth century. This firm positioning of the Russian literary canon in very recent history contrasts with the choice of periods for the other languages: for French, subjects were drawn from 1600–1700, for German from 1750–1850, for Italian from 1300–1400, and for Spanish from 1550–1650. The final year examinations in Russian, on 'Literature and History' and 'Historical and Comparative Philology', required some work in earlier periods, though the weight of the former still fell on the post-1700 period.⁶⁰ From its inception at Cambridge, Russian was the least philologically inflected course in the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, with the most contemporary literary and historical content.

The Russian departments run by Bernard Pares at the University of Liverpool and the School of Slavonic Studies were, as one would expect, less linguistic and literary in their outlook. At Liverpool, studying Russian as part of the first-year course leading to the Intermediate Examination entailed 'translation from and into Russian; outlines of Russian historical grammar and literature; elementary philology or phonetics', alongside courses in history and economics. The second and third year course was examined in two parts, the first consisting of an oral examination, and one paper each in general Russian history, European history since 1682, Russian economics, Russian literature and Russian language, and the second consisting of a dissertation and oral examination, and a paper on a special period of Russian history, literature, or economics.⁶¹ Although the historical study of

⁵⁸ *Ordinances of the University of Cambridge to 1 October 1907* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 138–9; Subjects Proposed for the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, 1914', *Cambridge University Reporter*, 41.43 (1911), 114–18; 'Subjects for the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, 1915', *Cambridge University Reporter*, 42.39 (1912), 1070–3; 'Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, 1917: Subjects', *Cambridge University Reporter*, 44.40 (1914), 1103–6.

⁵⁹ Modern Language Association Sub-Committee for Russian Studies, *The Teaching of Russian*, p. 11; E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Muse Unchained: An Intimate Account of the Revolution in English Studies at Cambridge* (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958), p. 54; Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, iv: 434.

⁶⁰ *Ordinances of the University of Cambridge to 1 October 1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 140–1.

⁶¹ *The University of Liverpool Calendar, 1912* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1912), p. 229. 1912 is the first year the scheme of papers is listed, though the areas of study appear from 1911, and a brief syllabus first appeared in 1910, augmented in subsequent years.

language is not absent from the curriculum, and students can choose to specialize in literature, no other course in Russian gave so much space to history, let alone economics. As Pares later wrote,

We were not a language school, though we hoped some day to have the language more creditably taught than it would be easy to do elsewhere. But the language was the most necessary of Hilfsmitteln for the study of all other subjects connected with Russia. Our plan, with any serious student, would be to pitch him straight into it. He would begin with almost daily language classes, with our very capable native teacher, who reported him as soon as possible to be ready for further work in his subject; he would then be given Russian books and told to read them. He would be little lectured, at first much tutored. Probably knowing almost nothing, not merely of Russia but of all that European atmosphere in which Russia has to be set, he might need at first many lectures on modern European history. But these lectures would hardly be lectures; at every point the teacher would stop to find out by questioning whether the pupil were losing his time, or whether he had to begin further back. The classes were, then, an examination of the student's reading, with which the teacher was kept in continual contact. Russian was learnt on the road.⁶²

In contrast with the entries for other languages, no set books are listed for Russian in the *University of Liverpool Calendar*, and it is likely that the course had few enough students for not only the learning but the teaching to occur 'on the road'. Indeed, between 1907 and 1918, when Pares resigned his position to move to the University of London, an external examiner in Russian is listed in the Calendar only twice, Pavel Vinogradov appears in 1912 and W. J. Sedgfield in 1915, which suggests very few students indeed took university examinations in the subject.⁶³

At the University of London's School of Slavonic Studies Pares put a similar curriculum in place for degrees in Russian (and in Polish, in Czech and Slovak, and in Serbo-Croat and Slovene). After passing the University Intermediate Examination at the end of their first year of study, students could choose to follow either a course in language and literature or a course in regional studies. The former course consisted of examinations in oral proficiency, translation, composition, literature, history of the language, and either comparative Slavonic philology or the history of Russian literary criticism. The course in regional studies also contained examinations in oral proficiency, translation and composition, and in place of the language and literature examinations, papers in 'Russian history, with the political geography', Russian laws and institutions, modern European history and 'Russian literature (more particularly as one of the principal expressions of Russian social history)'.⁶⁴ The prescribed books are not listed in the prospectus outlining the course, nor in the surviving examination papers—the language and literature papers taken by Elizabeth Hill and the regional studies papers taken by Joshua Cooper in 1924.

⁶² Bernard Pares, 'Mackay and the School of Russian Studies', pp. 51–2.

⁶³ *The University of Liverpool Calendar*, 1912, p. 100; *The University of Liverpool Calendar*, 1915–16 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1915), p. 123. However, Samuel Harper notes that Vinogradov visited Liverpool as an external examiner in 1911: see Harper, *The Russia I Believe In*, p. 71.

⁶⁴ *School of Slavonic Studies Prospectus*, 1921–22 (London: University of London Press, 1921), pp. 7–11; *School of Slavonic Studies Prospectus*, 1922–23 (London: University of London Press, 1922), pp. 8–11.

The papers show, however, that extracts for translation by Hill were taken from Pushkin's correspondence with Petr Vyazemsky, from Dostoevsky's *Brat'ya Karamazovy* (*The Brothers Karamazov*), from Aleksey Tolstoy's poem, *Ioann Damaskin* (1859) (*John of Damascus*), and Chekhov's short story, 'Dom s mezoninom' (1896) ('The House with the Mezzanine'). Questions on other papers covered a wide range of subjects and authors, but particular works singled out were Gogol's *Peterburgskie povesti* (1835–42) (*Petersburg Tales*), Griboedov's play, *Gore ot uma* (1823–24) (*Woe from Wit*), and the essays *Chto takoe iskusstvo?* (*What is Art?*) by Tolstoy, and 'Lev' Tolstoy i Dostoevsky' ('Lev' Tolstoy and Dostoevsky') by Merezhkovsky. The Regional Studies translation paper required Cooper to translate into Russian extracts from recent studies of Russia by the historian Pavel Vinogradov, and into English extracts from an essay by Gertsen (Herzen), and Gor'ky's *Detstvo* (1913–14) (*Childhood*). Its literature paper asked Cooper to, for example, 'Give an account of the „Слово о полку Игоревѣ“ [*Slovo o polku Igoreve* (*The Tale of Igor's Campaign*)] (a) from the poetical, and (b) from the political and historical point of view', and discuss 'The Russian upper classes as portrayed by Tolstoy (with special reference to „Война и Миръ“ [*Voina i mir* (*War and Peace*)]' or 'Chekhov as the representative and the poet of the интеллигенція [intelligentsia]'.⁶⁵ The School of Slavonic Studies' lecture lists during the 1920s show that, after a somewhat generalist beginning, where Pares' and Seton-Watson's history lectures were supplemented by talks by Rosa Newmarch and Aylmer Maude, Russian literature was taught by two substantial lecture series a year following the appointment of D. S. Mirsky in 1922, then 'the first and only full-time academic specialist in Russian literature in the country'.⁶⁶ However, according to Dorothy Galton, though Pares gave the impression that the School was 'a hive of industry, with many students playing an important part in the life of the nation and empire; alas, the degree lists for the period (1922–39) tell a different story, and most of the staff were engaged in teaching of an elementary kind more appropriate to a secondary school'. Moreover, despite Pares' commitment to the Regional Studies degree, 'the Regional Studies courses never had the same appeal for students as the more regular language and literature courses'.⁶⁷ The record of degrees bears out Galton's argument, which suggests that in fact, despite the appearance of the curriculum and the lecture lists, students at the School of Slavonic Studies received under D. S. Mirsky an education not substantially less literary, if notably more up-to-date, than those at Oxford and Cambridge, rather than the training in contemporary history offered by Pares.⁶⁸

It is, however, somewhat misleading to measure the teaching of Russian literature by degree courses and university examinations. Although the type of information

⁶⁵ Box 2, Nevill Forbes Archive, Taylor Slavonic.

⁶⁶ University of London, King's College and King's College for Women, 'Public Lectures and Arrangements in the Easter Term, 1922', Seton-Watson Collection (SEW 20/3/6), SSEES; G. S. Smith, *D. S. Mirsky: A Russian-English Life, 1890–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 94.

⁶⁷ Galton, 'Sir Bernard Pares and Slavonic Studies in London University, 1919–39', p. 488.

⁶⁸ *University of London: The Historical Record, 1836–1926* (London: University of London Press, 1926).

available differs between institutions, the class lists for all the universities discussed show that the number of students taking degrees in Russian was extremely small: Muckle notes that only ten first degrees were awarded at the School of Slavonic Studies between 1920 and 1939, an average of less than one student a year was taking the Russian undergraduate course at Oxford, as late as 1933 there were only two registered degree students at Cambridge, and the department at Nottingham awarded no degree in almost two decades of teaching Russian, beginning in 1915.⁶⁹ Yet many more students were studying Russian for diplomas, certificates, and civil service exams, often as 'external students', and teachers of Russian, especially Pares, but also Mirsky and Forbes, gave a number of public lectures. Indeed, the School of Slavonic Studies lectures during this period were open to the public.⁷⁰

But it was not necessary to attend classes or lectures to be taught Russian literature by the new generation of university teachers. Their influence was extended by a variety of publications that shaped the Russian literary canon in Britain. Their critical work was of course important: Mirsky's School of Slavonic Studies lectures formed the basis of his enormously influential *History of Russian Literature*, the most significant work of literary criticism from this early period of university Russian studies, and he also wrote important articles on contemporary literature in journals from the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Listener* to the *Nation* and *Athenaeum* to Pares' *Slavonic Review*.⁷¹ Morfill was a prolific reviewer of new books in Slavonic studies for the *Academy* as well as for academic journals, Forbes published introductory articles on major Russian authors in Pares' *Russian Review*. Pares' two journals themselves were the major conduits for new research in Russian and Slavonic studies, although in both cases, the literary content was subordinate to work on history and contemporary politics.⁷² But these first teachers were less important as critics than as facilitators of others' study of Russian literature. Part of the reason their significance has been obscured is that they were at least as likely to be editors as authors or translators, providing Russian literary texts for students of the language and literature.

Literary texts in Russia for English-speaking students had been available since the late nineteenth century: Henry Riola's *A Graduated Russian Reader* appeared in 1879, consisting of grammatical exercises followed by 'stories, extracts, etc., selected from the prose and poetry of the best Russian authors', including sections from Russian histories, as well as extracts from works by Ivan Dmitriev, Gogol', Krylov, Nikolay Karazin, Lermontov, Pushkin, Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Mikhail

⁶⁹ James Muckle, 'Russian in the University Curriculum: A Case-study of the Impact of the First World War on Language Study in Higher Education in Britain', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 37.3 (2008), 359–81 (p. 373).

⁷⁰ Muckle, *The Russian Language in Britain*, pp. 95–6; Smith, D. S. Mirsky, p. 95; Galton, 'Sir Bernard Pares and Slavonic Studies in London University, 1919–39', pp. 482, 491.

⁷¹ D. S. Mirsky, *Contemporary Russian Literature, 1881–1925* (London: Routledge, 1926), D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Dostoyevsky (1881)* (London: Routledge, 1927). The edition usually referred to as *A History of Russian Literature*, D. S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature*, ed. and abr. by Francis J. Whitfield (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), is an abridged version of these two volumes.

⁷² Pares, 'Mackay and the School of Russian Studies', p. 54; Pares, *A Wandering Student*, pp. 100–1.

Zagoskin, among others.⁷³ Ivan Nestor-Schnurmann brought out an edition of Lermontov's *Geroi nashego vremeni* (*A Hero of our Time*) in 1899 with an English translation on the page facing its accented Russian text, so that 'he who works carefully through this book, learning by heart, translating, and retranslating as he goes, cannot fail to pick up a great deal of Russian by the time he gets to the end of it'.⁷⁴ In 1902 Eduard Roller produced an English version of Gustav Werkhaupt's *Russisches Konversations-Lesebuch*, which consisted of very short extracts from poems and prose (Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tolstoy prominent again), with conversation practice based on the extracts' vocabulary and grammar.⁷⁵ The most substantial, and most respected, of these early Russian readers was the 1906 English edition of the 1905 *Manuel pour l'étude de la langue russe* by Paul Boyer and Nikolay Speransky, colleagues at l'École des langues orientales in Paris, adapted by their former pupil, Samuel Harper. It consisted of complete stories for children by Tolstoy, with the addition of his short story 'Tri smerti' ('Three Deaths'), described by Boyer in his introduction as 'perfect models of the language as actually spoken'.⁷⁶ In Forbes' 1914 *Russian Grammar*, it is the only reader in English recommended, alongside three German and four Russian volumes of accented texts.⁷⁷

But during the war many more readers for English beginners were produced. Some were marketed at schools, such as the editions of stories by Chekhov, Garshin, Krylov, Lermontov, and Turgenev edited by Paul Selver, J. H. Freese, Roman Biske, and Arshak Raffi, respectively, and A. E. Semeonoff and H. J. W. Tillyard's *Russian Poetry Reader*, all of which were published in 'Kegan Paul's Russian Texts' series, advertised 'for School Use', and which included introductions, grammatical notes and vocabularies.⁷⁸ Other series were directed at beginners more generally, such as the accented texts in the 'Russkaya Biblioteka' series, edited by Roman Biske and published by Richard Jaschke, 'Bondar's Russian Readers' (used by the Woolfs), edited with a facing page translation, notes and vocabulary by the prolific David Bondar, and the 'Oxford Russian Plain Texts', edited by Nevill Forbes.⁷⁹ Several

⁷³ Henry Riola, *A Graduated Russian Reader, with a Vocabulary of all the Russian Words Contained in It* (London: Trübner, 1879), p. iii.

⁷⁴ Ivan Nestor-Schnurmann, trans. and ed., *Russian Reader: Lermontoff's Modern Hero with English Translation and Biographical Sketch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), pp. vii–viii.

⁷⁵ G. Werkhaupt and Ed. Roller, *Russian Reader: With Exercises of Conversation* (Heidelberg: Groos, 1902).

⁷⁶ Paul Boyer and N. Spéranski, *Manuel pour l'étude de la langue russe* (Paris: Colin, 1905); Paul Boyer and N. Speransky, *Russian Reader*, adpt Samuel Northrup Harper (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press; London: Luzac, 1906), p. ii.

⁷⁷ Forbes, *Russian Grammar*, pp. 5–6.

⁷⁸ Chekhov, *The Chameleon and Four Other Tales*; Vsyévolod Garshin, *The Signal, and Four Days on the Field of Battle*, ed. by J. H. Freese (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, [1918]); Kryloff, *Select Fables*; Michail Yurievitch Lermontoff, *Bela*, ed. by R. Biske (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, [1917]); Turgenyev, *Moo-Moo and The District Doctor*; A. E. Semeonoff and H. J. W. Tillyard, eds, *Russian Poetry Reader* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1917).

⁷⁹ The 'Russkaya Biblioteka' series of 'abridged and accented' texts, with brief prefaces by Roman Biske, consisted of: A. S. Pushkin, *The Captain's Daughter: A Tale* (London: Jaschke, 1919); N. V. Gogol, *Dead Souls* (London: Jaschke, 1919); and A. P. Chekhov, *Short Stories*, 2 vols (London: Jaschke, 1919); and I. V. Skvortsov, *Russian History*, 2 vols (London: Jaschke, 1919). 'Bondar's Russian Readers' consisted of (in order of issue): A. S. Pushkin, *The Queen of Spades*, ed. by D. Bondar (London: Effingham Wilson, 1915); A. P. Chekhoff, *Humorous Stories*, ed. by D. Bondar (London:

poetry readers were published with grammatical notes and vocabulary: as well as Semeonoff's and Tillyard's, beginners could turn to James Duff's *Russian Lyrics*, consisting primarily of poems and extracts by Pushkin, Aleksey Tolstoy, and Fyodor Tyutchev, E. N. Steinhart's *Poems of Michael Lermontoff*, and Paul Selver's *Modern Russian Poetry*, whose collection of poetry by the Russian Symbolists was a rare departure from the dominance of romantic poetry.⁸⁰

However, the readers' editors differed in the extent to which they conceived of their volumes as an aid to language learning or as introductions to Russian literature. Steinhart remarks that 'whatever may be the purpose of the English student of Russian, whether a commercial or a purely literary one, he cannot penetrate as far as necessary into the language without studying its literature and, I am inclined to think, more especially its poetry'. Semeonoff and Tillyard agree that 'the perusal of verse has a recognized value in fixing grammatical forms and the stress-accent in the pupil's mind, especially if some of the poems are learnt by heart'. Selver, however, confines his introduction to comment on the literary and cultural value of his collection, hoping that it 'will convey a fairly adequate idea of the chief features in modern Russian poetry, a branch of Russian literature which has so far received very little serious attention in this country'.⁸¹ Of the readers that anthologized extracts or short works by a variety of authors, Frank Freeth's *A First Russian Reader* provided no attributions, and made no distinction between short pieces

Effingham Wilson, 1916); L. N. Tolstoy, *Family Happiness*, ed. by D. Bondar, 2 vols (London: Effingham Wilson, 1916–17); N. V. Gogol, *The Inspector-General*, ed. by D. Bondar (London: Effingham Wilson, 1917); A. E. Kouprin, *How I Became an Actor*, ed. by P. Bondar (London: Effingham Wilson, 1919). Amongst Bondar's many other publications were (with Alfred Calvert), *Bondar's Simplified Russian Method (Conversational and Commercial)* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1911), and the *Russian Journal* (1916–17) and *Russian Pupil* (1918). On Woolf's use of Bondar, see Beasley, 'On Not Knowing Russian', pp. 6–7. The 'Oxford Russian Plain Texts' consisted of: F. M. Dostoevsky, *Elka i svad'ba; Chestnyi vor (A Christmas Tree and a Wedding; An Honest Thief)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); V. M. Garshin, *Izbrannye razskazy: To, chego ne bylo; Vstrecha; Signal; Chetyre dnya (What Never Happened; The Meeting; The Signal; Four Days)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, [1920]); N. V. Gogol', *Starosvetskie pomeschki (An Old-World Country-House)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); I. A. Goncharov, *Slugi starogo veka (Men-Servants of Other Days)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, [1918]); I. A. Krylov, *Izbrannye basni (Select Fables)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, [1918]); V. G. Korolenko, *Noch 'yu; V noch' pod svetlyi prazdnik (In the Night; Easter Eve)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, [1918]); M. Yu. Lermontov, *Izbrannye stikhotvoreniya (Selected Poems)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, [1918]); A. S. Pushkin, *Boris Godunov: Drama v stikhakh* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1920?); A. S. Pushkin, *Pikovaya dama (The Queen of Spades)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); Saltykov, *Bogomol' tsy, stranniki i proezhzhie; Proshlye vremena (Pilgrims and Wayfarers; Bygone Times)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); Lev Tolstoy, *Kavkazskii plenik (A Prisoner of the Caucasus)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917); I. S. Turgenev, *Pegas; Biryuk; Les i step' (Pegasus; Biryuk; Forest and Steppe)* (Oxford: Tipografiya Klarendon, 1917). All volumes were edited by Forbes, bar Tolstoy, *Kavkazskii plenik*, and Pushkin, *Pikovaya dama*, edited by E. G. Underwood, Turgenev, *Pegas; Biryuk; Les i step'* edited by Underwood and Forbes, and Garshin, *Izbrannye razskazy*, edited by Ivy Williams and Forbes. The volumes contained only accented texts, and the promise of the series list in the back pages, that 'Editions of the above will also be issued with introductions, notes, and vocabularies', was not realized.

⁸⁰ Duff, ed., *Russian Lyrics*, E. N. Steinhart, trans. and ed., *Poems of Michael Lermontoff* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1917); P. Selver, trans. and ed., *Modern Russian Poetry: Texts and Translations* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1917).

⁸¹ Steinhart, *Poems of Michael Lermontoff*, p. vi; Semeonoff and Tillyard, *Russian Poetry Reader*, p. v; Selver, *Modern Russian Poetry*, p. 5.

presumably composed by the author and texts by, for example, Karamzin, Krylov, and Lermontov, which suggests that the texts operate entirely as examples of language use. Evelyn While's *Easy Russian Reader* attributes texts by, for example, Aleksandr Afans'ev, Krylov, and Tolstoy, but not others by Aleksey Pleshcheev and Vasily Zhukovsky. Mikhail Trofimov's *Elementary Russian Reader*, however, recommends study of the literary texts not only as 'one of the surest ways of strengthening and developing the stock of grammatical knowledge, and of mastering the means of expression peculiar to the language', but also as a means to bring the student 'into the field of national ideas and views of the Russian people'. Accordingly, from the very beginning of his reader he uses attributed sentences and short paragraphs by Aleksandr Izmailov, Apollon Maikov, and Tolstoy to teach particular grammatical points, as well as providing more substantial texts by Aksakov, Chekhov, Krylov, and Turgenev as the lessons advance.⁸²

It was professional teachers of Russian who were the principal disseminators of this material. As well as Boyer, Forbes, Harper, Goudy, Nestor-Schnurmann, and Trofimov, whose affiliations have been discussed, Riola appears to have taught at the Army Staff College, Bondar taught at the Manchester Municipal School of Commerce, and Raffi at the School of Slavonic Studies. Duff, Freese and Tillyard were professional classicists (Duff and Freese at Cambridge, Tillyard at Edinburgh), but they also taught Russian. Making Russian-language literary texts available facilitated their own teaching and made setting texts for national examinations possible, but as part of a network of scholarly activities that increasingly emanated from within the academy, it also put in place a particular canon, and certain ways of engaging with it.

The canon of Russian literature developed by the first generation of Russian teachers in schools and universities is distinct from that generated by their amateur predecessors in a number of ways. First, it contained more poetry. Although John Bowring's early nineteenth-century editions had introduced Russian poets to British readers at the very beginning of the translation of Russian literature into English, little poetry had been published since; even Pushkin, though frequently translated, was represented primarily by his prose. Professional Russian teachers drew attention to the poetry of Pushkin, Lermontov, Maikov, and Aleksey Tolstoy, in particular, and Selver's *Modern Russian Poetry* reader and Mirsky's lectures and criticism introduced the poets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Poetry was, as Semeonoff and Tillyard pointed out, a useful tool in teaching pronunciation and consolidating grammar, the status of the genre supported a defence of Russian courses as sufficiently rigorous mental exercise, and lyrics, at least, were a convenient length for classroom teaching.⁸³ The latter reason also fostered the publication and teaching of short stories and fables: Krylov and, especially, Tolstoy had been translated in the late nineteenth century, and Chekhov's

⁸² Frank Freeth, *A First Russian Reader* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench 1916), pp. 56–61, 68–71, 72–9; Evelyn C. While, *Easy Russian Reader* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1919), pp. 2, 8; Michael V. Trofimov, *Elementary Russian Reader* (London: Constable, 1917), p. 3.

⁸³ Semeonoff and Tillyard, *Russian Poetry Reader*, p. v.

stories were becoming popular through R. E. C. Long's, S. S. Kotelyansky's, and (a little later) Constance Garnett's translations at the same time that professional teachers were providing the Russian texts. To their short works, teaching materials added the writings of Aksakov, Saltykov-Shchedrin, and Garshin to the canon of easily available works. It is notable that the first generation of Russian teachers did not translate, nor produce editions, of longer works, even when they were taught on courses, as we know *Anna Karenina* was at Cambridge and *Brat'ya Karamazovy* (*The Brothers Karamazov*) was at the School of Slavonic Studies. Dostoevsky is in general surprisingly under-represented in the teaching canon, given that the period of the First World War was the height of Dostoevsky's popularity.

The canon of Russian literature was affected not only by the addition of certain texts produced in the course of the institutionalization of Russian teaching, but by the approach to literature in the new modern languages departments, generated in reaction against prior intellectual and educational models, chiefly Classics and philology, and attraction to more 'modern' subjects, chiefly History and English. (The picture, however, is far from consistent from institution to institution: in Cambridge, as Christopher Brooke has discussed, Classics represented the progressive literary model for modern languages, in reaction against the model of English, which was associated with Anglo-Saxon philology.)⁸⁴ The literary texts produced by professional teachers are evidence of the change in language teaching away from philological analysis to use of the foreign language, and literature is used in the new grammars to supply authentic examples of language use—'perfect models of the language as actually spoken', as Boyer wrote of Tolstoy's stories—in place of the contorted concoctions associated with grammars for the classical languages.⁸⁵

In the case of Russian, this change in literature's use in language teaching has a particular force and interest. Since the first stage of extensive translation of Russian literary texts into English, during the Crimean war, Russian literature had been read as a window onto contemporary political history, reflecting 'more directly currents of thought and problems of human life' than other national literatures'.⁸⁶ In a sense, then, the role of Russian literature in grammars, to teach how the language was authentically used, and its role in courses inflected towards regional or nation studies, is a continuation or consolidation of its place in the popular or, at least, pre-professional culture. When Pares advocates teaching Russian literature as part of a regional studies programme, he may be breaking with prevailing educational ideas of how one teaches foreign languages and literatures, but there is no break with the prevailing popular ideas of how one interprets a Russian novel. Of all the European literatures, Russian literature's use value was always the most evident. A circular logic is in play here: the British canon of Russian literature was established in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Russian writers, following the lead of their British and French contemporaries, were developing the realist novel; the Russian novel's realism was readily accepted by British readers seeking information

⁸⁴ Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, pp. iv, 434.

⁸⁵ Paul Boyer and N. Speranski, *Russian Reader*, p. ii.

⁸⁶ Modern Language Association Sub-Committee for Russian Studies, *The Teaching of Russian*, p. 11.

about a political enemy, and eventually, ally. In the first decades of the twentieth century, 'Russian literature', that is, the British canon of realist Russian nineteenth-century novels, was inevitably promoted as reflecting 'more directly currents of thought and problems of human life'. So even though the nineteenth-century realist novels were not moved into the canon by the institutionalization of Russian studies, that institutionalization—in which the connection between the wartime government and Russian studies via Pares played a significant part—consolidated their canonical position.

Yet in the immediate post-war period the ideas governing literary studies in Britain and the United States—and, briefly, in Russia—began to pull in the opposite direction, away from the study of literature as historical record and towards the study of literary form. To a certain extent, the literature that was valued in the subsequent four decades, particularly modernist literature, both contributed to and benefited from this shift. The fact that, from the 1930s, contemporary Russian literature was dominated by its ideological opposite, socialist realism, adds an external political factor to the native pressures with which this chapter has been primarily concerned. There is still much to say about the role of the School of Slavonic Studies during the early years of the Soviet Union, and Pares' and Mirsky's increasingly opposed ideologies, as Mirsky became committed to communism. Mirsky's lecture series in spring 1931 was entitled 'Russian Literature in its Relation to Russian Social History (From 1860)', and ran from Dostoevsky to 'the Soviet Novel' via Tolstoy, 'The Radicals of the 'Sixties', 'Nekrasov and the *Narodniki*', Chekhov, Gor'ky, the Symbolists and Vladimir Mayakovsky.⁸⁷ The same year, Pares published *My Russian Memoirs*, which contained the comments on Russian literature I quoted at the beginning of this chapter. It is instructive that Pares' strongest invective is reserved for Tolstoy, and his highest praise for Chekhov, in whom, he writes, 'there is no shade of cynicism and hardly any of the unpleasant'.⁸⁸ The champion of regional studies and the integration of university disciplines, has, it turns out, a narrow and conventional conception of literary value. But Pares' literary taste, like the debates, curricula, examination papers, grammars, and teaching texts examined in this chapter, is both cause and effect in the development of the British canon of Russian literature. Literature is indeed 'one of the most important sources of historical enlightenment', to quote the Leathes Report once more—though, as even Pares knew, literature is not only that.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ University of London, King's College and King's College for Women, 'Public Lectures and Arrangements in the Easter Term, 1931', Seton-Watson Collection (SEW 20/3/6), SSEES.

⁸⁸ Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, p. 38.

⁸⁹ *Report of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages*, p. 58.

4

Against the Machine

Imagists, Symbolists, Journalists, Diplomats, and Spies

4.1 IMAGISM, SYMBOLISM, AND *THE EGOIST*

Like Samuil Kotelyansky, John Cournos (né Ivan Korshun) brought turn-of-the-century Russian writers to a British readership. But where the fiction Kotelyansky translated was primarily by or about the realist writers associated with Maksim Gor'ky—Leonid Andreev, Ivan Bunin, Anton Chekhov, Aleksandr Kuprin, and Gor'ky himself—Cournos translated their symbolist contemporaries: Aleksey Remizov, Fedor Sologub, and later Andrey Bely and Merezhkovsky. The distinction is by no means absolute—after all, Kotelyansky translated two of the most important philosophers in the symbolists' circle, Lev Shestov and Vasily Rozanov, and a major symbolist writer, Zinaida Gippius. Cournos had begun his translating career in Philadelphia by translating Andreev. Nevertheless, there is a difference in emphasis, and that emphasis is relevant to the role the two translators anticipated their translations would play in British literary culture.

In part, the difference between the two groups these translators brought to the British public was determined by their contacts within the Russian literary community: Kotelyansky obtained many of his books from Zinoviy Grzhebin, often via Mikhail Farbman (né Grigory Abramovich), who he met in 1915, the year Farbman moved to London as the correspondent for a Petrograd newspaper. Farbman was Grzhebin's brother-in-law and had been closely involved in Grzhebin's publishing ventures since the establishment of the latter's Panteon (Pantheon) publishing house (1907–1920). Grzhebin had known Gor'ky since 1905, first as his publisher, and in 1918 as technical director of *Vsemirnaya literatura* (World Literature), the publishing enterprise Gor'ky set up after the revolutions.¹ It is less clear how

¹ Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury*, pp. 78, 354 note 92: Diment quotes a 1967 unpublished interview with George Zytaruk, the editor of D. H. Lawrence's letters to Kotelyansky, in which Esther Salman told Zytaruk that 'Farbman was connected with a publishing house in Berlin and . . . Kot got all his Russian books there'. But at least in one instance, Farbman was not the only route: the Hogarth Press archive at the University of Reading holds a letter from Kotelyansky to Leonard Woolf, written on 24 October 1946, in which Kotelyansky states that Gor'ky's *Vospominaniya o L'Ve Nikolaevice Tolstom*, the first volume he published with the Hogarth Press (as *Reminiscences of Leo Nicolayevitch Tolstoi*) was sent to him 'through George Lansbury, by M. Gorky' with an inscription signed by the publisher, Z. I. Grzhebin, on 1 March 1920 giving permission to Kotelyansky to translate the book into English (UOR MS 2750, folder 130, Archives of the Hogarth Press, Reading). Lansbury had

Cournos chose and obtained his source materials, but unpublished letters at the Houghton Library, Harvard, suggest that an important role was played by Zinaida Vengerova, who appeared in chapter one as a friend of Constance Garnett's and Kravchinsky's, and in chapter two as the Russian translator of Conrad's *Secret Agent*. Vengerova was not only responsible for introducing British literature to Russia. Her writing about the French symbolist poets had been a major influence on the first generation of Russian symbolists, and she was an active participant in the symbolists' circles in St Petersburg.²

In addition to this difference between the literary milieus of their contacts, Kotelyansky and Cournos also undertook their translations with different aims. Both were driven by financial need, but beyond that, Kotelyansky had a primarily literary and educative aim, wanting to teach the British about Russian literature and culture. For this, he looked to those authors who saw themselves as working through the legacy of the nineteenth-century Russian realists. His approach was source culture oriented and, because the dissemination was routed through his close relationships in Britain with individual authors and translators, rather than a particular journal or publishing house, he did not shape his translations for specific British readerships—though his co-translators and publishers did. In contrast, Cournos was a poet and novelist himself, who, by the time he began publishing translations in Britain, had already established himself in early modernist groups quite distinct from those with which Kotelyansky's co-translators were aligned. Since moving to London from Philadelphia in June 1912, Cournos had become close to Edward Gordon Craig, Ezra Pound, H. D., and Richard Aldington, he attended T. E. Hulme's Tuesday night salon, his poetry appeared in the first imagist anthology, *Des Imagistes* (1914), and he published poetry and essays in *Poetry*, *Poetry and Drama*, and *The Egoist*.³ Unsurprisingly, then, it was the Russian writers who shared aspects of this group's symbolist genealogy that Cournos translated, and his translations were more attentive to the requirements of a specifically mod-

visited Soviet Russia that year. The volume containing the inscription is in Kotelyansky's library, now in the Taylor Bodleian Slavonic Library, University of Oxford. On Farbman, see 'Obituary: Mr. Michael Farbman', *Manchester Guardian* (29 May 1933), p. 10, and on Grzhebin, see E. A. Dinershtein, *Sinyaya ptitsa Zinoviya Grzhebina* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2014), pp. 104, 112–13, 118–25, 350–1, 357; Hélène Grjebine, 'The Publisher Zinovii Isaevich Grzhebin: A Documentary Memoir', ed. by Richard Davies, *Solanus*, NS 1 (1987), 4–40; Hilde Hardeman, 'The Publishing-House Z. I. Grzhebin, Petrograd-Moscow-Berlin, 1919–1923', *Solanus*, NS 1 (1987), 41–53.

² Anastasiya Chebotarevskaya, letter to Zinaida Vengerova, [1914?] and Fedor Teternikov [Sologub], letter to John Cournos, 8 October 1915 os, MS Russian 61, Papers Concerning *The Little Demon*, Houghton; Zinaida Vengerova, 'Poety simvolisty vo Frantsii', *Vestnik Evropy*, 9 (1892), 115–43; Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism*, pp. 67–8; Neginsky, *Zinaida Vengerova*, pp. 69–105.

³ Cournos, *Autobiography*, pp. 203, 197, 234–8, 268–71; Marilyn Schwinn Smith, 'The London Making of a Modernist: John Cournos in Babel', in Ferdâ Asya, ed., *American Writers in Europe, 1850 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 75–96; Helen Carr, *The Verse Revolutionaries: Ezra Pound, H. D. and The Imagists* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), pp. 526, 609–12. Though Lawrence published poetry in *The Egoist* on four occasions between 1914 and 1917, and appeared in Amy Lowell's three *Some Imagist Poets* anthologies (1915–1917), he had little sympathy with the journal and was friendly with, but not close to, the imagist poets: see *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, 11: 132, 154, 162, 232.

ernist British target culture.⁴ Indeed, while previous chapters have analysed the processes by which what we now call British modernism was being formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this chapter addresses the point where the contours of modernism were hardening. In the last years of the war and during its immediate aftermath, an identifiable Francophile modernism took shape, which galvanized some writers with different values to promote an explicitly Russophile alternative. Yet that essentially late nineteenth-century opposition begins to change its form in the first years of the nineteen twenties, as a different Russia emerges from the 1917 revolutions and the Civil War. This chapter explores how the model of Dostoevsky, promoted by Cournos and his close friend John Gould Fletcher, gives way to that of Chekhov, promoted by (among many others) William Gerhardie and W. Somerset Maugham, writers who played an active role in the military and diplomatic response to the October Revolution and the Civil War.

In one of his earliest articles on Russian literature, an essay on the symbolist novelist, Fedor Sologub, published in the *Fortnightly Review* in September 1915, Cournos describes the effect of industrialization and urbanization in Russia of the 1880s in terms his readers could easily relate to early British modernism:

During the 'eighties Russian literature passed through a period of gestation. The introduction of modern industries brought great changes in the social fabric of the country... Rapid transportation and intercommunication, the extreme restlessness, nervousness and 'artificiality' of our age, the hurried way of living, have affected the Russian writer in this wise: he ceased to see life broadly, in panoramic sweeps; he began to see it swiftly rather than thoroughly, as a series of impressions rather than as a whole; as a thing of fragments; with Balmont, a whole group of poets sprang up who sang the joy of the instant.⁵

Cournos here frames Konstantin Bal'mont and the symbolist poets in terms strongly reminiscent of statements on impressionism and imagism by Ford Madox Ford and Ezra Pound. 'Any piece of Impressionism', wrote Ford the previous year, 'is the record of the impression of a moment; it is not a sort of rounded, annotated

⁴ The correspondence between Russian symbolism and imagism was also underlined by the fact that Cournos's and Sologub's mediator, Vengerova, told Pound, much to his chagrin, that his poem 'Heather' was symbolist, and wrote an essay about imagism and vorticism in the avant-garde Petrograd journal, *Strelets*, in which she maintained that there was nothing innovative in the British groups's art: see Ezra Pound, 'Vorticism', *Fortnightly Review*, 96.573 (September 1914), 461–71 (p. 464) and Zinaida Vengerova, 'Angliiskie futuristy', *Strelets*, 1 (1915), 93–104. For discussion of imagism's reception in Russia and the debate over its relationship with Russian imazhinism, see Vladimir Markov, *Russian Imagism, 1919–1924* (Giessen: Wilhelm Schmitz, 1980), Nils Åke Nilsson, *The Russian Imaginists* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970), and Julia Trubikhina, 'Imagists Rejected: Vengerova, Pound and A Few Do's and Don'ts of Russian Imaginism', *Paideuma*, 27 (1998), 129–51. Despite the hostility of her essay, Vengerova may have maintained a relationship with the imagists: on 5 April 1915, two months after the appearance of *Strelets*, Aldington wrote to Amy Lowell about his efforts to publicize imagism abroad, including 'I have also a woman who will write about us & translate us into Russian': see Norman T. Gates, *Richard Aldington: An Autobiography in Letters* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p. 14.

⁵ John Cournos, 'Feodor Sologub', *Fortnightly Review*, 98 (1915), 480–90 (p. 480). At the beginning of his article, Cournos acknowledges the influence of Korney Chukovsky's book of essays on contemporary writers: see K. Chukovsky, *Ot Chekhova do nashikh dnei: Literaturnye portrety, kharakteristiki* (St Petersburg: Tovarishchestvo Izdatel'skoe byuro, 1908).

record of a set of circumstances'; 'An "Image" is that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time', wrote Pound the year before that.⁶ Cournos's emphasis on the connection between literary change and industrial and social progress in Russia also recalls and affirms the propaganda statements of J. W. Mackail, Gilbert Murray, and Pavel Vinogradov, who sought to underline the similarities between Russia and Britain by presenting Russia as at an earlier stage on the same path towards modern civilization. And like those propagandists, Cournos also asserts Russia's moral superiority by emphasizing the spirituality of its literature and the importance of Dostoevsky: 'there is no abatement of interest in Russia in Karamazovian questions, questions concerned with "the meaning of life," so called after Ivan Karamazov', concludes Cournos in the last section of his article. 'Gogol, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, and Sologub—a natural sequence in spite of the changes of vision and method that have come with the time. The externals are different, the soul is the same'.⁷ He had addressed the same points in a more overtly propagandist vein a few months earlier in an article for *Harper's Weekly*, 'Kultur and the Russian Conscience', where he argued that the Russian peasant was 'really an antidote to the *Kultur Mensch*', his mind essentially religious, where the German mind was materialist. The Russian 'strips the truth of everything that prevents it from being seen, instead of accumulating details and facts that serve to obscure it', he wrote. 'Judged by this German standard of thoroughness and mechanical efficiency the Russian is a barbarian'. To illustrate the simplicity and impetuosity of Russian spirituality, Cournos concluded his article by paraphrasing and quoting from 'The Tea Guest' ('Chaemyi gost', 1910) by the second-generation symbolist Aleksey Remizov.⁸

As Marilyn Schwinn Smith has noted, Remizov had been introduced to British readers in *Russia of the Russians*, an overview of Russian culture published a few months before the beginning of the war by the New Zealand journalist Harold Williams.⁹ In that book Williams, then Russian correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, had provided the first sustained discussion of the Russian symbolists, though British readers of the *Mercure de France* could have read Zinaida Vengerova's articles over a decade before.¹⁰ Writing a popular work before the war broke out, Williams's account was not shaped by wartime concerns, but, in hindsight, it

⁶ Hueffer [Ford], 'On Impressionism', p. 174; Pound, qtd in West, 'Imagisme', p. 87.

⁷ Cournos, 'Feodor Sologub', *Fortnightly Review*, pp. 489–90.

⁸ John Cournos, 'Kultur and the Russian Conscience', *Harper's Weekly* (24 July 1915), 81–2; Aleksey Remizov, 'Chaemyi gost', in *Dokuka i balagur'e: Russkie skazki* (St Petersburg: Sirin, 1914), 209–11.

⁹ Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, p. 217; Marilyn Schwinn Smith, 'Aleksei Remizov's English-language Translations: New Material', in Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude*, pp. 189–200 (p. 191).

¹⁰ Vengerova edited the 'Lettres russes' section of the *Mercure de France* between 1897 and 1899: see Neginsky, *Zinaida Vengerova*, pp. 83–6, 94–6, 193. She also published a review of Gippius's *Tret'ya kniga rasskazov* (1902) (*Third Book of Short Stories*) ('Russian Literature', *Saturday Review* (17 January 1903), 86), but it included no discussion of symbolism as a movement. The first discussion of Sologub appears to be Stephen Graham's 'The Short Tales of Sologub', *Times Literary Supplement*, 627 (22 January 1914), 37, which included translations but, again, no discussion of symbolism. On Williams's career, see Charlotte Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy? Harold Williams and the Russian Revolutions* (London: Tauris, 2007).

presented the symbolists as particularly appropriate wartime reading. The movement represented 'an attempt to regain intellectual touch with Europe, to reassert the intrinsic value of literature and art. It drew attention afresh to the treasures of Russian literature. It pointed out the greatness of Dostoevsky which had at best been grudgingly admitted by the critics of the 'eighties and the 'nineties', wrote Williams. 'All the distinguished names in Russian literature now are those of authors who have been affected more or less deeply' by the symbolist movement.¹¹

Cournos's dissemination of the symbolists' work makes some accommodation with the requirements of wartime propaganda. In the introductions to the translated volumes, Cournos consistently emphasizes the universality of the symbolist writers and their protagonists. In the first of his translations for a British publisher, a selection of Sologub's short stories published in 1915 as *The Old House and Other Tales*, Cournos quotes Sologub's foreword to his 1908 poetry collection, *Plamennyi krug* (*The Fiery Circle*), reprinted in Cournos's source, the 1913–14 *Collected Works*: 'I simply and calmly reveal my soul... in the hope that the intimate part of me shall become the universal'.¹² In the introduction to his second translation from Sologub's oeuvre, the novel *The Little Demon* (1916) (*Melkii bes*, 1907), Cournos stated, 'In spite of its "local colour" and its portrayal of small town life in Russia, this novel has the world for its stage, and its chief actor, Peredonov, is a universal character. He is a Russian—an American—an Englishman'.¹³ In this, Cournos appeared to have authorial support, since, in the introduction for Cournos's edition, Sologub wrote:

I should like to warn my readers against the temptation of seeing only Russian traits in this novel. The portrait of Peredonov is an expression of the all-human inclination towards evil, of the almost disinterested tendency of a perverse human soul to depart from the common course of universal life directed by one omnipotent Will; and, taking vengeance upon the world for its own grievous loneliness, to bring into the world evil and abomination, to mutilate the given reality and to defile the beautiful dreams of humanity.¹⁴

Sologub here, and in the next few sentences, implicitly suggests that the reader should interpret *The Little Demon* as an indictment of the current war. His introduction attempts to address what he describes as his 'apprehension' on hearing that Cournos was translating this novel, since 'in days of Anglo-Russian rapprochement, in days of great stress, when a common danger unites two great nations, it seemed to me perhaps unseasonable to acquaint England with this sombre picture. It occurred to me that there was a danger of my new readers accepting this novel

¹¹ Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, pp. 199, 203.

¹² John Cournos, 'Introduction', in Feodor Sologub, *The Old House and Other Tales*, trans. by John Cournos (London: Secker, 1915), pp. vii–xiii (p. viii); Feodor Sologub, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, 1 (St Petersburg: Sirin, 1913), p. [6].

¹³ John Cournos, 'Translators' Preface', in Feodor Sologub, *The Little Demon*, trans. by John Cournos and Richard Aldington, (London: Secker, 1916), pp. v–vii (p. v).

¹⁴ Feodor Sologub, 'Author's Introduction to the English Edition', in Sologub, *The Little Demon*, pp. xv–xvi (p. xv).

as a precise and characteristic portrayal of Russian life'.¹⁵ In fact, in what seems to be the first correspondence between the author and his translator, Sologub suggests that Cournos postpone translating the novel until after the war, given the risk that foreign readers might interpret it as a negative representation of their ally.¹⁶

The argument of these introductions leads us to expect that Cournos's text will bring a powerfully domesticating agenda to Sologub's novel in order to underline the similarities between Sologub's and the reader's worlds. To an extent, the translator's preface confirms this expectation. Cournos concludes it by commenting on the difficulty of translating Sologub's prose, particularly his use of contemporary Russian slang, puns, and rhymes: 'In every case the translators have striven to give the English equivalent', he writes—but he adds that 'where the difficulty was of a nature rendering this impossible, the translators have had to make use of absolutely unavoidable footnotes'.¹⁷ Footnotes inevitably undermine the domestication and fluency of a text, reminding the reader of the lack of equivalence between languages and cultures: they are a substantially foreignizing tool. Despite his apparent reluctance, Cournos uses them with marked frequency: they gloss historical and literary references, describe cultural traditions, and explain puns. In comparison with the four translations of *Melkii bes* that have succeeded Cournos's, his translation contains the most explanatory footnotes, retains the highest number of Russian words in the text, and overall is least satisfied with potential English 'equivalents'. In its domesticating introduction and foreignizing text, Cournos's translation highlights the tensions inherent in carrying a Russian pre-war text into the British wartime context.

These tensions are multiplied when that context identifies itself with modernism. As we saw in chapter two, under Ford Madox Ford's editorship, the *English Review* had set out the values for a British modernism, which drew on French models and the Francophilic American model of Henry James. During the war *The Egoist* developed the *English Review*'s legacy, especially under the assistant editorships of Richard Aldington and T. S. Eliot. French literature was reviewed, discussed, translated, and printed untranslated throughout the *Egoist*'s five-year run. Aldington's stated editorial model, like Ford's, was the *Mercure de France*.¹⁸ By contrast, Russian literature was not a substantial presence in *The Egoist*. Despite the fact that its years of publication (1914–19) coincided with the height of British interest in Russian culture, the journal reflects this popular enthusiasm only during a very limited period, between September 1915 and December 1916.

¹⁵ Sologub, 'Author's Introduction to the English Edition', in Sologub, *The Little Demon*, p. xv.

¹⁶ Fedor Teternikov [Sologub], letter to John Cournos, 8 October 1915 os, MS Russian 61, Papers Concerning *The Little Demon*, Houghton.

¹⁷ Cournos, 'Translators' Preface', in Sologub, *The Little Demon*, p. vii. Fedor Sologub, *The Little Demon*, trans. by Ronald Wilks (London: New English Library, 1962); Fyodor Sologub, *The Little Demon*, trans. by Ronald Wilks (London: Penguin, 1994); Fyodor Sologub, *The Petty Demon*, trans. by S. D. Cioran (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1983); Fyodor Sologub, *The Petty Demon*, trans. by Andrew Field (New York: Random House, 1962). For a comparison between these translations, see my 'Modernism's Translations', pp. 563–4.

¹⁸ Richard Aldington, *Life for Life's Sake: A Book of Reminiscences* (New York: Viking, 1941), p. 174. See Morrisson, 'The Myth of the Whole'.

The Egoist's coverage of Russian literature was prompted by Montagu Montagu-Nathan, author of the recent *History of Russian Music*, who published two articles on 'Translations of Russian Fiction', in the September and October 1915 issues of the journal. These argued that during the war, publishers of translations of Russian literature had a responsibility to publish 'the sort of literature calculated to improve the present slender intellectual reciprocity between Briton and Slav'. He deplored the contemporary vogue for 'the pessimism of Andreyev, the degeneracy of Kuprin, the salaciousness of Artzibashev', when other writers, such as Pushkin, Gogol', and Chekhov, remained relatively neglected.¹⁹ In the next issue, *The Egoist* published a translation of Chekhov's 'Zhivaya khronologiya' (1885) ('Living Chronology'), translated by Natal'ya Andronikova and the journalist and future industrial relations expert John Hilton, an old friend of Aldington's.²⁰ This was followed, in January 1916, by another Chekhov short story 'Drama' (1887) ('A Drama'), from the same translators, and six *skazochki* ('Little Tales') by Sologub, translated by Cournos, who also contributed a critical essay on Sologub. In February Cournos's translation of Remizov's 'Suzhenaya' (1910) ('The Betrothed') was published, also accompanied by an essay. In April Alec Randall reviewed Cournos's recently published translation of Sologub's *Melkii bes* (*The Little Demon*). In May Aldington's article on *The Little Demon* ran on the front page, and in November John Gould Fletcher reviewed Cournos's translation of the first volume of Sologub's *Tvorimaya legenda* (1906) (*The Created Legend*). In December, three more of Sologub's *skazochki* appeared in Cournos's translation. After that issue, apart from one more of Sologub's *skazochki* in May 1917 and T. S. Eliot's review of Edward Garnett's *Turgenev: A Study* in December 1917, Russian literature disappeared from the journal permanently.²¹

While this record suggests that *The Egoist* responded to Montagu-Nathan's challenge with some zeal, only the publication of the Chekhov translations followed the logic of his argument, which had advocated the publication of humourists and the authors of Russia's Golden Age. Sologub and Remizov were characteristic of precisely the trends Montagu-Nathan thought threatened to undermine the

¹⁹ M. Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (London: Reeves, 1914); M. Montagu-Nathan, 'Translations of Russian Fiction', *The Egoist*, 2.9 (September 1915), 142–3 (p. 142), 2.10 (October 1915), 152–3 (p. 152).

²⁰ A. L. Chekhov, 'Living Chronology', trans. by Natalia Andronikoff and John Hilton, *The Egoist*, 2.11 (November 1915), 174–5. Hilton had learned Russian, setting himself the task of translating Chekhov, when he lived in St Petersburg in 1907–1908 to recuperate from debilitating sciatica. He met the teenage Aldington when they lived near to each other near St Margaret's Bay, Kent in 1908 to 1909: see Edna Nixon, *John Hilton: The Story of his Life* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1946), pp. 40–3, 45. I have not been able to satisfactorily determine the identity of Andronikova.

²¹ A. P. Chekhov, 'A Drama', trans. by Natalie Andronikoff and John Hilton, Feodor Sologub, 'Little Tales', trans. by John Cournos, John Cournos, 'Feodor Sologub', *The Egoist*, 3.1 (January 1916), 12–13, 8–9, 4–5; Aleksei Remizov, 'The Betrothed', trans. by John Cournos, John Cournos, 'Aleksei Remizov', *The Egoist*, 3.2 (February 1916), 23, 28–9; Alec W. G. Randell, 'The Little Demon', *The Egoist*, 3.4 (April 1916), 52; Richard Aldington, 'The Little Demon', *The Egoist*, 3.5 (May 1916), 65–6; John Gould Fletcher, 'Sologub's "Created Legend"', *The Egoist*, 3.11 (November 1916), 167–8; Feodor Sologub, 'Little Tales', trans. by John Cournos, *The Egoist*, 3.12 (December 1916), 189–90; Feodor Sologub, 'Eyes, Eyelings, Stare-Eyes', trans. by John Cournos, *The Egoist*, 4.4 (May 1917), 54; T. S. E., 'Turgenev', review of Edward Garnett, *Turgenev: A Study*, *The Egoist*, 4.11 (December 1917), 167.

Anglo–Russian wartime alliance. What, then, could justify not only the translation and publication of Sologub and Remizov at this time, but what we might see as *The Egoist's* identification with and promotion of Sologub—translated by one long-time contributor, Cournos, and reviewed by one of its editors, Aldington, and two more valued contributors, Randall and Fletcher—in contradiction of wartime moral imperatives?

One might expect Cournos to address Montagu-Nathan's concerns by repeating the domestication of his introductions to the Sologub volumes. But in the anti-establishment *Egoist* the domesticating frame that made Sologub's work attractive to the general public had no value, and it was precisely its foreignness that made it potentially appropriate in a modernist journal. However, the foreign values of *The Egoist's* modernism were not indiscriminate, they were Francophile: the legacy of the Flaubertian tradition to which Russian literature was traditionally opposed in British literary culture. It should come as no surprise, then, to find that Sologub appears in *The Egoist* restyled—as French. He 'writes like no one else in Russia', Cournos informs *The Egoist's* readers, 'he is like a French mind combined with a Russian soul', whose poems 'are extraordinary distillations of mood and music', and whose 'translations of Verlaine have caused the admirers of both poets to say that had Verlaine written in Russian he could not have bettered them'.²² The following month, in his article on Remizov, Cournos extends his argument. Despite his previous month's assertion of Sologub's singularity, now he remarks that his characterization of Sologub as 'a Russian soul with a French mind' 'is as true of most of the finer Russian writers to-day', including Remizov. The key point is the 'changed attitude of the Russian writers since Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and Chekhov towards the technique of writing. The old Russian writers were great not because of their style, but in spite of their lack of it'. Drawing an extended simile between style and clothing, he concludes that 'the Russian wench, like any other, gets her dresses nowadays from Paris'.²³ While the political context of the war and the commercial context of the popularity of Russian writing creates a general readership in Britain for Sologub and Remizov as Russian, if they are to be read and admired by the modernist peers of his translators, they must be made legible by being framed as French. In *The Egoist*, Sologub's and Remizov's symbolism and Cournos's foreignizing translation are aligned, rather than in contradiction with, the target critical culture, because that culture's values, modernist values, are not domesticating but foreignizing. By the same token, however, in framing Sologub in terms of French literature and the critical values associated with it (most importantly, those of style and technique), Cournos's foreignizing of Sologub is simultaneously domesticating to a modernist cultural agenda. As Maria Tymoczko remarks,

²² Cournos, 'Feodor Sologub' (1916), p. 5. These remarks were prefigured by Aldington's brief note on Cournos's translation of *The Old House and Other Tales* in *The Egoist's* 'Some Books Received' column: 'Mr. Cournos, in his preface, speaks of the great influence which Chekhov has had on this writer. But it is obvious that he has been influenced by modern French writers—as indeed, who has not?' Richard Aldington, 'Some Books Received', *The Egoist*, 2.7 (1 July 1915), 114–15 (p. 114); Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism*, p. 53.

²³ Cournos, 'Alekssei Remizov', p. 28.

'any translation procedure can become a tool of cultural colonization, even foreignizing translation'.²⁴

This is not to say French symbolism was not an element in the formation of the Russian symbolist aesthetic, and Cournos's account is consistent with Harold Williams's, who remarked that 'French influence has made itself constantly felt in the movement down to the present moment'.²⁵ But English critics arguably over-emphasized the impact of French symbolism: as Avril Pyman has remarked, even for the first generation of symbolists like Bal'mont, Gippius, Nikolay Minsky, Merezhkovsky, and Sologub, who are usually seen as more influenced by French literature than the second generation, 'the French played a comparatively minor part along with many other influences from Europe and North America', and from Russia.²⁶ It is notable that in the *Fortnightly Review*, Cournos had placed Sologub in the Russian tradition of Gogol', Dostoevsky and Chekhov—'a natural sequence... the soul is the same', but in *The Egoist*, he distinguishes the symbolist movement as a whole from Tolstoy, Chekhov, and even Dostoevsky, who are now grouped as style-less realists.²⁷

The reviews of Cournos's translations in *The Egoist* supported his cultivation of the Russian symbolists for a Francophilic British modernism. Cournos's fellow imagist John Gould Fletcher praised *The Created Legend*, the third volume of Sologub's work his friend had translated, by challenging the literary values that had been assigned to French and Russian literature over the past two decades. 'It has recently become the fashion to declare publicly that Russian literature, since Chekhov, has lost its vitality and become decadent', he complained. As evidence, he quoted from 'a recent book of criticism' as follows: 'The French novelists used life to perfect their art—the Russian novelists used art to liberate their passion for life. That at this moment in Russia the novel has lost that zest, that the work of Kuprin, Artzibashev, Sologub, Merezhkovsky, Andreyev, shows exhaustion and sterility, means nothing; the stream will soon clear again'.²⁸ The quotation is from Hugh Walpole's short study of Joseph Conrad, which, as we saw at the end of chapter two, credits Conrad with transferring the 'zest of creation' he learned from the nineteenth-century Russian novelists into the English novel. Walpole implicitly relates the sterility of contemporary Russian writers to their imitation of what he sees as the French preference for 'art' over 'life'.²⁹ Fletcher's objection to this argument is twofold: first, that a concern with style is not synonymous with decadence ('we do not class novelists such as Flaubert and De Maupassant as decadents simply because they respected form in their work'), and second (somewhat changing Walpole's sense), that 'a passion for life' is not a reliable criterion with which to judge good literature. 'If art must liberate a passion for life in order to be healthy, then Dickens was a greater novelist than Henry James, Fielding and Walter Scott are preferable to Conrad and Hardy', he remarks, taking it for granted that it is

²⁴ Maria Tymoczko, 'Translation and Political Engagement', *The Translator*, 6.1 (2000), 23–47 (p. 35).

²⁵ Williams, *Russia of the Russians*, p. 198.

²⁶ Pyman, *A History of Russian Symbolism*, p. 226.

²⁷ Cournos, 'Feodor Sologub' (1915), pp. 489–90.

²⁸ Fletcher, 'Sologub's "Created Legend"', p. 167.

²⁹ Walpole, *Joseph Conrad*, p. 115.

obvious to an *Egoist* reader that James, Conrad, and Hardy are better novelists than Dickens, Fielding, and Scott.

Fletcher then appears to change tack, concluding, 'The function of criticism is not to set up these moral judgements, but to understand first of all what an artist has set out to do and then to ask oneself whether it is done ill or well'. It is a deft critical move, setting up a clear opposition between two genealogies in English literature, one linked to the Russian novel, one to the French, then disowning that construction as a moral judgment and introducing another, allegedly non-moral, form of judgment, the critical. Critical judgment 'asks... whether [the work] is done ill or well': it judges style. But critical judgement based on style is, of course, only one type of critical judgement and, as we have seen, it is a type firmly aligned to the Flaubertian, Jamesian, and Fordian critical tradition that promotes the French novel at the expense of the Russian. It is no surprise that Fletcher's article concludes by placing Sologub not in a Russian, but an American-French genealogy: 'No reader, satiated with over-"documented" novels, no lover of the beauty "which has a touch of strangeness," no admirer of Poe, Hawthorne, Hoffman, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, or Gérard de Nerval, ought to neglect reading this novel, in which the real and the inexplicable are so strangely wedded'.³⁰

But in insisting on 'whether it is done ill or well' as the only valid criterion of literary judgement, Fletcher creates a fundamental problem for his essay on Sologub. Judgments about the style of the author made on the basis of a translation can only be partial, and the non-Russian-reading Fletcher finds himself able to make only the briefest and most general remarks about the formal aspects of the novel. He has to conclude by asking his reader to accept his estimation on trust: 'I wish I could quote to show how well Mr. Cournos has done his work of translation,' he writes at the end of the review, 'but space will not allow it'.³¹ Aldington had had the same difficulty in his lead article, 'The Little Demon', the previous May. Like Fletcher, Aldington insisted that the reader approach the book as 'an artist' rather than 'a moralist', yet like Fletcher he could say little about the novel's style except that it was good: 'If you approach a work of art as an artist, I tell you that in 'The Little Demon' you have a tragic symbolist novel, original in thought and characters, with a personal method and a clear style;... it is as finely patterned, as ironic as a good Steinlen'.³²

Aldington's position was particularly problematic. He was credited as Cournos's co-translator on the title page of *The Little Demon*, but as he did not read Russian his assistance was limited to light revision of Cournos's prose; Cournos later recorded that, as he was working on *The Created Legend* at the same time, Aldington

³⁰ Fletcher, 'Sologub's "Created Legend"', pp. 167, 168. Fletcher here quotes Baudelaire (who in turn echoes Poe quoting Francis Bacon): 'Le beau est toujours bizarre... et que c'est cette bizarrerie que le fait être particulièrement le beau' (Charles Baudelaire, 'Exposition universelle: Beaux-arts, I: Méthode de critique. De l'idée moderne du progrès appliquée aux beaux-arts. Déplacement de la vitalité', *Le Pays* (26 May 1855), p. [2]).

³¹ Fletcher, 'Sologub's "Created Legend"', p. 168.

³² Aldington, 'The Little Demon', p. 66.

worked with him 'in order to get the book quickly done'.³³ The following December, just before leaving for the Front, Aldington wrote to Cournos that he had been 'reading your Sologub fables in the last *Egoist* & I think them admirable. Go on with yr. work. It is important', and when he and H.D. were planning an expansion of their Poets' Translation Series of pamphlets in 1918, they envisaged Cournos as their Russian editor, despite the fact that their close friendship had by then broken down.³⁴ Nevertheless, a letter to T. S. Eliot in 1920 suggests that at least by that date Aldington saw a fundamental incompatibility between the British interest in Russian literature and the literary values he had been promoting in *The Egoist*, based on the cultivation of style. He wrote:

Your letter quite delights me. I give a most hearty & gruff 'hear, hear' to your remarks on Dostoevsky's imitators & Laforgue's perversors. I remember an appalling evening spent at Jean de Bosschère's flat; a man called Atkinson was most offensive with loud-voiced boasting of the supremacy of Dostoevsky... Do you know what I say to these faux esprits when they swoon over the Russians? 'Ah! How I envy you—it must be delightful to read Russian fluently'. And when they confess they don't know Russian—I elevate my eyebrows! For, after all, how can we criticise style when we don't know the language a book is written in?³⁵

The characterization of what is to be rejected in modern letters—'Dostoevsky's imitators & Laforgue's perversors'—is instructive: one must not imitate the Russian Dostoevsky, but one could, as Eliot had, imitate the French Laforgue, as long as one's imitation did not turn into perversion. At issue here is the integrity of one's imitation, and the problem with Dostoevsky is that his imitators and his admirers, unlike Laforgue's, cannot read 'the language the book is written in'. If they cannot read the language, they cannot criticize style, and the implication of Aldington's argument is that style is the only legitimate subject for criticism.

It is relevant, of course, that it is Eliot who is the recipient of this letter. Fletcher's use of the phrase 'the function of criticism' in his essay on Sologub recalls more famous usages by Matthew Arnold in 1864 and Eliot in 1923, and reminds us that the values of British modernism, largely worked out between those dates, were also the values of the emerging discipline of English Literature, over which Eliot would have such influence.³⁶ British modernism's international interests and its principle of foreignization in literature and translation provided a receptive culture for translations and translators, but it simultaneously limited their impact. Emerging modernist critical values worked against the appreciation of literature in translation,

³³ Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 281.

³⁴ Richard Aldington, letter to John Cournos, 25 December 1916, MS Eng 998: John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 1, Houghton, © Estate of Richard Aldington; Richard Aldington, letter to H.D., 12, 13 December 1918, in *Richard Aldington & H.D.: Their Lives in Letters, 1918–61* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 140–2. The cause of the rift was Aldington's affair with Dorothea ('Arabella') Yorke, whom Cournos had courted for ten years.

³⁵ Richard Aldington, letter to T. S. Eliot, 'Weds' [1920], MS Am 1432 Thomas Stearns Eliot, Correspondence, Houghton, © Estate of Richard Aldington. Atkinson may have been Lawrence Atkinson, a signatory of the Vorticist manifesto.

³⁶ Arnold, 'Art. VIII. The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time'; T. S. Eliot, 'The Function of Criticism', *The Criterion*, 2.5 (October 1923), 31–42.

especially literature that claimed to be innovative in style, when the translation could not be tested against the source text. Therefore, despite their renowned interest in nineteenth-century Russian literature and culture, British modernist writers failed to respond to the importation of more contemporary Russian writing. It is symptomatic that even after *The Egoist's* year of promoting Sologub and Remizov, it was in a review of Edward Garnett's book on Turgenev—born in the same decade as Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot—that T. S. Eliot outlined his critical principles to *The Egoist's* readers.³⁷ Five years later, Eliot would fully elaborate Francophilic modernism in *The Criterion*, but his literary editorship of *The Egoist* underlines a continuity with this earlier phase of modernism, and this review, published in December 1917, demonstrates his active engagement in the debates over Russian and French literature at a very early point in his critical career.

Before turning to that review, however, I first want to examine a slightly earlier article by Eliot in *The Egoist*, the inaugural article of his short series 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry', published in the September 1917 issue. The article concludes with a review of *Strange Meetings*, a volume of poetry published by Harold Monro earlier that year.³⁸ But it begins, and is primarily taken up with, Eliot's categorization of 'tendencies' in contemporary poetry. He asserts that there are two ways in which poetry 'has tried to escape the rhetorical, the abstract, the moralizing, to recover (for that is its purpose) the accents of direct speech'. One is to focus on 'trivial objects', and he associates this tendency with English poetry, particularly that of Georgian poets such as Monro, and traces it to the influence of Wordsworth. The other tendency is to focus on 'accidental' objects, which Eliot associates with American poetry. Somewhat surprisingly, he traces it to the influence of 'the Russian novel, with its curious trick of fastening upon accidental properties of a critical situation, and letting these in turn fasten upon the attention to such an extent as to replace the emotion that gave them their importance'. But both these methods of contemporary poetry, which he names 'the Wordsworth and the Dostoevski', are different from 'another which is more universal', and clearly more admired by Eliot. Whereas 'with the Russian the emotion dissolves in a mass of sensational detail' and 'with Wordsworth the emotion is of the object and not of human life', there are 'certain poets' with whom 'the emotion is definitely human, merely seizing the object in order to express itself'. Eliot's single example of such poets is John Donne, and he quotes from 'The Funeral' and 'The Relic', drawing attention in particular to the line he would praise again, more influentially, four years later in 'The Metaphysical Poets', 'A bracelet of bright hair about the bone'. 'A poet of morbidly keen sensibilities but weak will [i.e. the Dostoevskian poet] might become absorbed in the hair to the exclusion of the original association which made it significant', writes Eliot, and 'a poet of imaginative or reflective power more than emotional power [i.e. the Wordsworthian poet]

³⁷ For further discussion of the significance of *The Egoist* in Eliot's career, see Jason Harding, 'T. S. Eliot and *The Egoist*', in Giovanni Cianci and Jason Harding, eds, *T. S. Eliot and the Concept of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 90–102.

³⁸ Harold Monro, *Strange Meetings* (London: Poetry Bookshop, 1917).

would endow the hair with ghostly or moralistic meaning'. However, 'Donne sees the thing as it is'.³⁹

If Monro is the example of the Wordsworthian English tendency towards focusing on trivial objects, and Donne the example of 'certain poets' who see 'the thing as it is', who is the example of the American Dostoevskian poet? Eliot gives no example, but he is surely referring to himself here. Several of the poems that made up his first volume of poetry, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock' in particular, showed the influence of Dostoevsky's fiction, as he confirmed in a letter of 1946: 'During the period of my stay in Paris [late September or early October 1910 to September 1911], Dostoevsky was very much a subject of interest amongst literary people and it was my friend and tutor, Alain Fournier, who introduced me to this author. Under his instigation, I read *Crime and Punishment*, *The Idiot*, and *The Brothers Karamazov* in the French translation during the course of that winter. These three novels made a very profound impression on me and I had read them all before Prufrock was completed'. Indeed, Eliot told the recipient of this letter, the Yale academic John C. Pope, who had published an article the year before arguing that Constance Garnett's translation of *Crime and Punishment* (1914) was a major source of 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', that 'I think you have established very conclusively the essentials of your case, and the only red herring that led you astray was that I could only have read *Crime and Punishment* in Mrs. Garnett's translation!'.⁴⁰ Though most of its contents had been written between 1909 and 1912, Eliot's Dostoevskian volume was not published in book form until 1917, just three months before 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' appeared in *The Egoist*.⁴¹ Dostoevsky was certainly still on Eliot's mind in this period: in a letter to Eleanor Hinkley in July he had characterized the strangeness of civilian life during the war as like 'living in one of Dostoevsky's novels, you see, not in one of Jane Austen's'.⁴²

By 1917, though, Eliot no longer looked to Dostoevsky's characters as models for the controlling consciousness of his poetry, as 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' makes clear. Though, as Ron Bush and John Morgenstern have argued, Dostoevsky remained important for Eliot in his portrayal of sin and suffering, as soon as *Prufrock and Other Observations* was published he took steps to distance

³⁹ T. S. E., 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry', *The Egoist*, 4.8 (September 1917), 118–19 (p. 118); [Eliot], 'The Metaphysical Poets', 669–70.

⁴⁰ John C. Pope, 'Prufrock and Raskolnikov Again: A Letter from Eliot', *American Literature*, 18.4 (January 1947), 319–21 (p. 319); John C. Pope, 'Prufrock and Raskolnikov', *American Literature*, 17.3 (November 1945), 213–30. For a more recent discussion, see Peter Lowe, 'Prufrock in St. Petersburg: The Presence of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* in "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock"', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 28.3 (Spring 2005), 1–24. As well as reading Dostoevsky's novels during his year in Paris, Eliot attended a performance of Jacques Copeau's and Jean Croué's adaptation, *Les Frères Karamazov*: see Nancy Duvall Hargrove, *T. S. Eliot's Parisian Year* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2009), pp. 111–14. The play was also performed in London by the Stage Society on 16 February 1913.

⁴¹ Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue, 'Commentary', in *The Poems of T. S. Eliot*, 1: *Collected and Uncollected Poems*, ed. by Christopher Ricks and Jim McCue (London: Faber and Faber, 2015), pp. 351–1226 (p. 363).

⁴² T. S. Eliot, letter to Eleanor Hinkley, 23 July 1917, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 1: 210.

himself from its inspirations and techniques.⁴³ In the second half of 1917 Eliot and Pound undertook their deliberately public rejection of free verse in favour of 'rhyme and regular strophes'.⁴⁴ One of the resulting poems, 'Whispers of Immortality', written in 1917 or 1918, enacts the categorizations of 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' to a striking degree.⁴⁵ Alluding in its title to Wordsworth's 'Ode. Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood', it replaces Wordsworth's celebration of innocence with a paean to knowledge, as represented by the writings of Donne and his contemporary John Webster. Eliot's favoured line from 'The Relic', 'A bracelet of bright hair about the bone', stands behind the imagery of skull, eye socket, marrow, and skeleton that in the first half of the poem represents seeing 'the thing as it is'. The second half of the poem, in which the reader is introduced to the curvaceous Grishkin, with 'her Russian eye/... underlined for emphasis' is usually understood to represent a negative contrast with the first half, contrasting the modern sensuality which dominates contemporary ideas with the deeper and more concrete knowledge of the Elizabethan and Jacobean poets and playwrights sought out by the poem's speaker. The poem concludes:

And even abstracter entities
Circumambulate her charm;
But our lot crawls between dry ribs
To keep its metaphysics warm.⁴⁶

Reading 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' alongside 'Whispers of Immortality' draws attention to the poem's allusions to the three ways of escaping 'the rhetorical, the abstract, the moralizing' to recover 'the accents of direct speech' Eliot had laid out in his essay: the Wordsworthian, the Dostoevskian, and that of Donne. Donne

⁴³ Ron Bush, *T. S. Eliot: A Study in Character and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 51–2; John D. Morgenstern, '“Making Up His Own Mind”: T. S. Eliot's Formative Year in 1910–11 Paris', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2011, pp. 213–23. As Bush points out, Dostoevsky is still an important point of reference in the Clark Lectures, which Eliot delivered in 1926: see T. S. Eliot, *The Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry: The Clark Lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1926 and The Turnbull Lectures at The Johns Hopkins University, 1933*, ed. by Ronald Schuchard (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), pp. 54, 79, 151–2.

⁴⁴ Ezra Pound, 'Harold Monro', *The Criterion*, 11.45 (July 1932), 581–92 (p. 590). Eliot appears to have completed *Ezra Pound: His Metric and Poetry* (New York: Knopf, 1917), with its strong argument for Pound's technical virtuosity, by September 1917: see Ezra Pound, letter to John Quinn, 9 September 1917, in *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn, 1915–1924*, ed. by Timothy Materer (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 128–30. In his reviews of *Prufrock and Other Observations* Pound firmly establishes the sources of Eliot's style as modern French and Elizabethan poetry: 'His practice has been a distinctive cadence, a personal modus of arrangement, remote origins in Elizabethan English and in the modern French masters': see Ezra Pound, 'Drunken Helots and Mr. Eliot', *The Egoist*, 4.5 (June 1917), 72–4 (p. 73), and also E. P., 'T. S. Eliot', *Poetry*, 10.5 (August 1917), 264–71.

⁴⁵ Ricks and McCue, 'Commentary', in *The Poems of T. S. Eliot*, 1: 529.

⁴⁶ T. S. Eliot, 'Whispers of Immortality', in *Poems* (Richmond: Hogarth Press, 1919), [n. pag]. The poem had been published first in the *Little Review*, 5.5 (September 1918), 11–12, and was included in *Ara Vos Prec*, published by John Rodker's Ovid Press in 1920, p. 21. When it appeared in the American *Poems* (1920), two changes were made to this stanza, which have been followed in subsequent editions: 'abstracter entities' is replaced with 'the Abstract Entities', and 'its' in the final line is replaced with 'our': see T. S. Eliot, 'Whispers of Immortality', in *Poems* (New York: Knopf, 1920), pp. 31–2 (p. 32).

and Wordsworth are invoked quite explicitly: Donne is actually named, and Wordsworth alluded to not only in the title, but the daffodils from his poem, 'I wandered lonely as a Cloud', which had appeared in Eliot's essay as the prime example of Wordsworth's misplaced emotion, reappear in this poem as part of Webster's macabre imagination: 'Daffodil bulbs instead of balls/ Stared from the sockets of the eyes!'.⁴⁷ However, it is harder to align Grishkin specifically with Dostoevsky. Olga Soboleva's and Angus Wrenn's recent reading of the poem may help here. They provide substantial information about the real life model for Grishkin, Pound's friend, Serafima Astaf'eva, a former member of the Ballets Russes. Of particular importance for this discussion is their suggestion that the name Grishkin may allude to Dostoevsky's character in *Brat'ya Karamazovy* (*The Brothers Karamazov*), Agrafena, who is also known by the diminutive Grushen'ka—Grushenka in Garnett's translation and Grouchenka in the 1906 French translation by Jean-Wladimir Bienstock and Charles Torquet, the only full French translation available during Eliot's year in Paris. Soboleva's and Wrenn's argument is supported by Pound's use of the variant 'Grushkin' in his description of introducing Eliot to Astaf'eva: 'I took Parson Elyot to see the Prima Ballerina and it evoked "Grushkin"; as you can see in that bewteeful poEM entytled "Whispers of Immortality"'.⁴⁸ Might Grishkin therefore represent not simply modern sensuality, but rather the sensual temptation to which Dostoevskian poetry typically succumbs? In 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' Eliot tells us that when Donne writes 'When my grave is broke up again... / And he that digs it, spies/ A bracelet of bright hair about the bone', the 'feeling and the material symbol preserve exactly their proper proportions', but the Dostoevskian poet 'of morbidly keen sensibilities but weak will might become absorbed in the hair to the exclusion of the original association which made it significant'.⁴⁹ Certainly, that was the temptation in which Eliot had allowed his Dostoevskian protagonist Prufrock to indulge:

And I have known the arms already, known them all—
Arms that are braceleted and white and bare
(But in the lamplight, downed with light brown hair!)'.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Eliot, *Poems*, [n. pag]. The proximity of 'Whispers of Immortality' to 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry' is underlined by the fact that this image of flower growing through the eye socket of a skull is taken from Monro's depiction of corpses on the battlefield in 'Strange Meetings', p. 9:

It is difficult to tell,
(Though we feel it well,)
 How the surface of the land
Budded into head and hand:
But it is a great surprise
How it blossomed into eyes.

⁴⁸ Olga Soboleva and Angus Wrenn, *From Orientalism to Cultural Capital: The Myth of Russia in British Literature of the 1920s* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017), pp. 280–8; Dostoievski, *Les Frères Karamazov*, 1879–1880, trans. by J.-W. Bienstock and Charles Torquet (Paris: Charpentier, 1906); Ezra Pound, 'A Matter of Modesty: A Tax on One Cent on Every 8 Couldn't Fall on Anybody Who Didn't Have the Dollar, Q. E. D.', *Esquire*, 3.5 (May 1935), 31, repr. in Ezra Pound, *Pavannes and Divagations* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions, 1958), pp. 159–63 (p. 161).

⁴⁹ T. S. E., 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry', p. 118.

⁵⁰ T. S. Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', in *Prufrock and Other Observations* (London: Egoist, 1917), pp. 9–16 (p. 12). The poem had been published first in *Poetry*, 6.3 (June 1915),

In light of these connections, we can see that 'Whispers of Immortality' sets aside both the 'English' Wordsworthian tendency typical of the Georgians and also Eliot's own earlier 'American' Dostoevskian tendency, in favour of the tendency of Donne.

With this trajectory in mind, we can turn from Eliot's redrawing of his personal literary history to his even more influential redrawing of European literary history and literary criticism, to which his *Egoist* review of Edward Garnett's *Turgenev* contributes later in 1917. Garnett's book collected his prefaces to Constance Garnett's translations, and added chapters on Turgenev's critics and his biography. Though the chapter on Turgenev's critics was seen as somewhat partisan by several reviewers, the book as a whole garnered substantial praise for both Turgenev and Garnett. In *The Bookman* George Sampson described the volume as a 'charmingly readable essay', in the *Review of Reviews*, Zinovy Preev praised 'Mr. Garnett's masterly and scholarly analysis of the secrets of Turgenev's genius and his literary technique', and the reviewer for the *English Review* called the book 'an admirable example of concise and discriminating criticism', commenting that there was 'no man living better qualified for the task' than Garnett.⁵¹ In his review, Eliot seemed, at first, to agree. Bar the chapter on Turgenev's critics, 'the book is very good', he writes in his first paragraph. In his second, though, he turns his attention from the book to Garnett's mode of criticism, and his remarks are far less favourable. He quotes Garnett as follows: 'The discussion of technical beauties is not only a thankless business, but tends to defeat its own object. It is better to seek to appreciate the spirit of a master, and to dwell on his human value rather than on his aesthetic originality'.⁵² Garnett is here setting out his belief that, as he expressed it earlier the same year,

the first object the literary critic should set himself, in dealing with a foreign literature, is to explain this strange people's life, their conception of life, the spirit of each age, the inevitability of the intellectual movements of the various generations, and he will look round in the literature for the chief types, among authors great or obscure, whose work best reflects all that is a national revelation and fundamentally significant of the people's life and their mental characteristics.⁵³

Eliot has a different view of the function of criticism. In true Francophile modernist fashion, he argues that 'a patient examination of an artist's method and form (not by haphazard detection of "technical beauties") is exactly the surest way to his "human value"; is exactly the business of the critic', and he turns to Henry James's essay on Turgenev as a Francophile corrective to Garnett's Russophile values. For Eliot, as for James, Turgenev should be read in the context of French literature:

130–5.

⁵¹ George Sampson, 'Russians, Pleasant and Unpleasant', review of Maxim Gorky, *In the World*, and Edward Garnett, *Turgenev: A Study*, *The Bookman*, 53.315 (1917), 112–13 (p. 113); Zinovy N. Preev, 'Turgenev, The Seer', review of Edward Garnett, *Turgenev: A Study*, *Review of Reviews*, 56.336 (December 1917), 469; 'Turgenev. By Edward Garnett' (review), *English Review*, 25.109 (December 1917), 572–3.

⁵² T. S. E., 'Turgenev', p. 167.

⁵³ [Edward Garnett], 'Russian Translations', *The Nation* (25 August 1917), 536–8 (p. 536). See Helen Smith, 'Edward Garnett: Interpreting the Russians', p. 302.

'Turgenev was, in fact, a perfect example of the benefits of transplantation', Eliot writes, 'there was nothing lost by it; he understood at once how to take Paris, how to make use of it'. Yet precisely in his accommodation of Frenchness, Turgenev transcends nationality, Eliot argues. Where Garnett takes the essentially romantic position that literature is a repository of national difference, Eliot represents Turgenev as 'an incarnation of European culture', whose literature reveals essential human truths: Turgenev 'combined in the highest degree the insight into the universal sameness of men and women with appreciation of the importance of their superficial variations. He saw these variations—the Russian variations—as the artist and not as the showman'.⁵⁴

Most interestingly, Eliot concludes his essay by presenting Turgenev's virtues as those of the critic, rather than the novelist: 'This grasp on the uniformity of human nature and the interest in its variations made Turgenev cosmopolitan and made him a critic', he writes. But Turgenev's virtues are immediately recognizable as the poetic virtues Eliot had praised three months earlier in Donne.

Turgenev's peculiarly critical genius made the *conte* [tale], not the novel, his proper form... Turgenev could not get lost in a character, could not become possessed by the illusion that any particular creation was, for the time being, the centre of the universe. His detail, therefore, is not that of exaggeration of the trivial in an abnormally stimulated consciousness, but is really a way of setting the balance right... I am not sure that the method of Turgenev—this perfect proportion, this vigilant but never theoretic intelligence, this austere art of omission—is not that which in the end proves most satisfying to the civilised mind.⁵⁵

Though Eliot uses 'trivial' rather than the word he had used in 'Reflections on Contemporary Poetry', 'accidental', to describe the focus of the details exaggerated by the 'abnormally stimulated consciousness', the comparison here is clearly with Dostoevsky. Eliot's essay exemplifies British modernism's efforts to inoculate itself against the influence of Russian literature. Turgenev's stylistic values are the only values this vein of British modernism admires in Russian literature, and they are values coded in *The Egoist* (and the *English Review*) as French, yet also—as we see Eliot ingeniously establishing here—universal. In 'The Metaphysical Poets', Eliot made a similar move, tracing his preferred sensibility from Donne and George Herbert to his own nineteenth-century French models Jules Laforgue and Tristan Corbière, who he described as 'nearer to the "school of Donne" than any modern English poet'.⁵⁶ But Eliot leaves room for himself in this tradition: Laforgue and Corbière were not nearer to Donne than any modern *American* poet.

⁵⁴ T. S. E., 'Turgenev', p. 167.

⁵⁵ T. S. E., 'Turgenev', p. 167.

⁵⁶ [Eliot], 'The Metaphysical Poets', p. 670. It is instructive that Ford Madox Ford's surprisingly positive review of Sologub's *The Old House and Other Tales* undertakes a similar move, establishing its critical parameters by admiring Turgenev's (Francophile) art and deploring Artsybashev's lack of it: see Ford Madox Hueffer, 'Sologub and Artzibashev', review of Feodor Sologub, *The Old House*, and Michale Artzibashev, *Sanine*, *The Outlook*, 35 (26 June 1915), 830–1.

4.2 DOSTOEVSKIAN AESTHETICS: COURNOS, FLETCHER, AND O'BRIEN

For all Cournos's accommodation of *The Egoist's* values in his essays on Russian modernism, his place in the magazine had become increasingly anomalous, as the difference between his aesthetic values and those of his colleagues became clear. His first contribution had been an article critical of Wyndham Lewis and the 'English cubists' in *The Egoist's* earlier incarnation, the *New Freewoman*, and when the journal, under Pound's influence, became a major proponent of vorticist art from January 1914, Cournos remained antagonistic.⁵⁷ In August 1915, his obituary for his close friend Henri Gaudier-Brzeska distinguished the sculptor from his vorticist colleagues—Gaudier was 'the only Vorticist with a vortex', Cournos wrote—and in January 1917 he pronounced the 'Death of Futurism', in which he included vorticism, joining the conservative press in aligning it to German militarism.⁵⁸

Cournos's criticism of vorticism turned on his antipathy towards its machine aesthetic. Like Lawrence and Murry, whose side he took against Pound in the bitter struggle over Gaudier's legacy in the *Westminster Gazette*, Cournos connected what he saw as the increasing mechanization of civilization with art that placed a high value on technique, at the expense of expression. Gaudier's art, unlike that of the Futurists and vorticists, he argued, was concerned 'with the very meaning of life, which in essence is always the same, without regard to culture or machinery'.⁵⁹ If cubism, which Cournos at this point admired, was 'based on mechanics' it was in the recognition that 'mechanics are merely a means to an end, and that end is some sort of emotion which the artist has felt and has wished to convey to the spectator'. Lewis's art, by contrast, 'looks very much as though the formula has mastered the artist. Convince his friends that it is lifeless and colourless and they will say to you: "But look at its construction, see its sense of design"'. The formalist defence of vorticism did not answer Cournos's expressionist critique.⁶⁰

Cournos believed Western civilization to be degenerating into a 'machine-civilisation'—his diagnosis of the cause of war was markedly similar to Lawrence's—and, like Lawrence and Murry, he found arguments for an alternative path in

⁵⁷ John Cournos, 'The Battle of the Cubes', *New Freewoman*, 1.11 (15 November 1913), 214–15.

⁵⁸ John Cournos, 'Henri Gaudier-Brzeska', *The Egoist*, 2.8 (2 August 1915), 121; John Cournos, 'The Death of Futurism', *The Egoist*, 4 (1917), 6–7 (p. 6), 'Junkerism in Art', p. 8, col. c.

⁵⁹ John Cournos, 'Henri Gaudier-Brzeska', *Westminster Gazette*, 6910 (2 August 1915), p. 2; John Cournos, 'Gaudier-Brzeska's Art', *The Egoist*, 2.9 (1 September 1915), 137–8 (p. 137).

⁶⁰ Cournos, 'The Battle of the Cubes', p. 214. In his *Autobiography*, Cournos revised his estimation of cubism in line with his aesthetics: 'There was, on the one hand, the art of men like Cézanne, Matisse, Van Gogh and Gauguin, which rebelled against the Machine and the culture it invoked; and, on the other, the chaotic art of the Futurists and the methodical, mechanical art of the school of Picasso, both whole-heartedly, in their own ways, accepting the Machine and what the Machine implies in the culture of our time. It is natural, considering my own anti-Machine attitude, expressed in so many of my writings, I have not had any inclination to like Picasso nor any of the other artists-mechanists. I had to take sides in this matter of art, just as I had to take sides in the matter of life; and the sides I have taken in art and in life are consistent with one another and have the same cause at stake' (p. 211).

Russian literature.⁶¹ During the latter years of the war, these ideas were developed in conversation and letters with John Gould Fletcher, who, like Cournos, had come from the United States and become associated with the imagists and *The Egoist*. They became close friends in the second half of 1916, when both were self-consciously marking their departure from the imagist aesthetic. 'It seems to me that I was', Fletcher wrote to Amy Lowell in June, 'too preoccupied with style, that is to say, with the way in which I say things, rather than in the thing said. Now I am the other way about'.⁶² Staying with H. D. and Aldington in Devon, Cournos put aside poetic projects and began his first novel, *The Mask*, with 'the desire, absurdly ambitious perhaps, of making of this calm prose a healing prose—a vehicle of persuasion... Beauty can save every bit as much as faith'. His model for this new form of prose was his 'favorite novelist' Dostoevsky: 'again and again my mind returns to Dostoevsky's dictum, "I philosophize like a poet"; and to his prophecy, 'Beauty will save the world'.⁶³

Cournos's and Fletcher's letters track the development of a modernism conceived in explicit opposition to the Francophile modernism of, in poetry, the imagists and, in prose, James and Ford. Fletcher had undertaken 'a careful reading of D. H. Lawrence' in the summer of 1916, which in turn led him to Thomas Hardy. Hardy's naturalism, 'the spirit of irony and of pity and the awful, impersonal, inhuman immensity of God', seemed to Fletcher 'the only line of development that now lay open to the European consciousness', and in a 1924 essay he classed him alongside the four writers he saw as the 'leading literary figures in Europe' of the nineteenth century: Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Ibsen, and Nietzsche.⁶⁴ Dostoevsky was also a model, though for his philosophy rather than his style. In his autobiography, Fletcher characterized the period of 1916–18 as the beginning of his 'new attempt to deal with man and with human life', taking as 'the chief tendency of humanity... man's continued and ever-renewed search for God'.

It still seemed to me, as it seemed to Dostoevski, that if "the Truth excluded the figure of Christ, I would rather abide with Christ, than with the Truth." But if the figure of Christ represented man's highest attempt towards perfection, no less valid as a part of man's nature was the figure that Dostoevski had symbolized by his "Parable of the

⁶¹ Murry, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 361; see Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 276: 'The modern world is a mechanical entity, or it is nothing. It is built on the idea of Profit—on the idea of Quantity translatable into Money, in turn translatable into Power, in turn translatable into exploitation of the many by the few. Worse still, it has rendered sterile all hands eager to create, has thwarted individual impulses, has created monotony and tedium. To put it simply, the civilized world was bored; unconsciously perhaps it responded to the idea of war as it might have to any idea which promised an outlet for banked-up repressions, which promised relief'. Fletcher's view was the same, see John Gould Fletcher, *Paul Gauguin, His Life and Art* (New York: Nicholas Brown, 1921), pp. 189–90.

⁶² John Gould Fletcher, letter to Amy Lowell (28 June 1916), in *Selected Letters of John Gould Fletcher*, ed. by Leighton Rudolph, Lucas Carpenter, and Ethel C. Simpson (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), p. 42.

⁶³ Cournos, *Autobiography*, pp. 287, 335.

⁶⁴ John Gould Fletcher, *Life is my Song: The Autobiography of John Gould Fletcher* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), pp. 245–6, John Gould Fletcher, 'The Spirit of Thomas Hardy', *Yale Review*, 13 (January 1924), 322–33 (p. 329).

Grand Inquisitor," the figure of the Antichrist: the skeptical, ironic, practical-minded ruler of the world, who had given man "not perfection, but contentment".⁶⁵

As these remarks indicate, Cournos and Fletcher look to Dostoevsky as a model for art conceived as a spiritual mission, a conception fostered by their reading from August 1918 of Élie Faure, the French art historian for whom Dostoevsky was one of the great 'constructeurs' of the age, and their friendship with the American poet, editor, and self-styled mystic Edward J. O'Brien.⁶⁶

O'Brien had met Fletcher in Boston in 1916; he moved to London in 1919 and renewed their friendship.⁶⁷ In 1921, he embarked on a religious mission first to Paris, then to Florence, in order to establish a neo-Franciscan order, that would live, in Fletcher's words, 'according to the dictates of poverty, chastity, and obedience, in the world and yet not of it, the new "holy fools," the landless and propertyless world scorners of Europe as the Treaty of Versailles had it. They would oppose bolshevism and capitalism alike with a new devotion to the Christ image, which O'Brien claimed to have seen in a vision as a child, and had recently seen again'. Though O'Brien was joined by neither Cournos nor Fletcher, Fletcher 'wished to heaven I could have gone with him, could have taken part in his "mission"', and when he read Cournos's autobiography in 1935, Fletcher remarked, 'I am sorry, though, that you say nothing in your book about the Cournos-O'Brien-Fletcher triple alliance. This, though of course it probably had little effect on the course of events after the war—the disintegration of Europe which has now reached its most tragic phase—was at least a symptom of the attempt then made in various ways by various people to find a common ground'.⁶⁸ Indeed, Cournos's autobiography makes barely any reference to O'Brien, despite the fact that his 1927 novel, *O'Flaherty the Great*, had taken O'Brien and his relationships with Fletcher and Cournos as its subject. In fact, Cournos had originally outlined the connection between his literary work and O'Brien's messianic mission in a discarded preface (c. 1924) to his autobiography, provisionally entitled 'Of My Time'. Explaining how he is a man 'of his time' in reacting against his time, Cournos writes that:

The much-vaunted progress has brought no happiness, has cured neither viciousness nor rapacity; and the demons of darkness gnaw at our souls. To be sure, it has found

⁶⁵ Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 294–6.

⁶⁶ John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 6 August [1918], MS Eng 998: John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 1, Houghton. The Houghton correspondence suggests that Cournos and Fletcher first encountered Faure through Havelock Ellis, 'Élie Faure', *New Statesman*, 11.278 (3 August 1918), 351–3; Élie Faure, *Les Constructeurs* (Paris: Georges Crès, 1914). See John Cournos, interviewed in Meredith Starr, ed., *The Future of the Novel: Famous Authors on their Methods* (London: Heath Cranton, 1921), pp. 160–2 (p. 161), John Gould Fletcher, 'On the Stones of the Road', review of Élie Faure, *History of Art*, *The Freeman*, 7 (25 April 1923), 161–3, and 'The Future of Art', review of Élie Faure, *History of Art*, *Yale Review*, 14 (July 1925), 805–9. O'Brien met Faure in Paris in December 1922: see Roy S. Simmonds, *Edward J. O'Brien and his Role in the Rise of the American Short Story in the 1920s and 1930s* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), p. 162.

⁶⁷ Ben F. Johnson III, *Fierce Solitude: A Life of John Gould Fletcher* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), pp. 93–5, 116–17, 127–8; Simmonds, *Edward J. O'Brien*, pp. 84–5, 123–46.

⁶⁸ Simmonds, *Edward J. O'Brien*, pp. 144–6, 157–58; Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 290–2; John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, October 1935, folder 9, Houghton.

cures for certain, physical diseases (creating in the process other ailments which are incurable); and has at best given us unhealthy minds in healthy bodies. Above all, it has invented repressed feelings, 'complexes' and detestable terminology suited to these nefarious moods and states. Dreams are no longer dreams; according to these up-to-date gentlemen, they express the 'libido'; and actions are no longer noble or ignoble but are the reactions of 'gland secretions'; man, in short, is a vile mechanism capable of being stimulated to mental actions by the cog and wheel processes of his clock-like body. (He is a bad clock, or a good clock. He tells good time, accurately or inaccurately. That is all.) Religion itself becomes an act devoid of all spiritual significance and having its sources not in 'possession' as we understand it, not in any mystic will latent in the individual, but in some purely, mechanical processes in the human body which might equally justify murder and rape. This in the Nth degree materialistic conception of existence has its inevitable accompaniment in a philosophy whose logical and ultimate exponents are to be found in types such as Leopold and Loeb. Ah, these 'little Napoleons,' with their superiority = inferiority 'complexes'—how well one man, and one man only, foresaw them; and has called 'morbid.' This was Dostoevsky. At all events, Dostoevsky's 'heroes,' impelled towards damnation by their intellect, like Raskolnikov, found redemption at last by self-abnegation, by a surrender of their assumption of 'superiority,' and a yielding of their will before the servants of humanity; but the mechanist corruptions of our time offer no similar consolation, and the ultimate damnation of their disciples leads them to a hell into which not the least ray of hope ever enters.⁶⁹

As well as repeating Cournos's now familiar characterization of modernity as materialistic and mechanistic, this passage indicates how O'Brien's messianic mission was seen by the triumvirate as a practical extension of Cournos's Dostoevskian aesthetics. For Cournos, Dostoevsky's 'healing prose' teaches the same lesson St Francis taught O'Brien: self-abnegation, a quality antithetical to modern life, in which there is no bulwark against the exertion of the individual will.⁷⁰ In 1924, the year the preface was probably written, Cournos wrote to Fletcher that he had 'just finished reading "Karamazoff Brothers"'. What a book! There is nothing left for us to say. He has forseen all, said all'.⁷¹

From 1922, Cournos edited with O'Brien *The Best British Short Stories*, a companion series to the American *Best Short Stories* series O'Brien had been editing since 1915. It is in his introductions to these volumes that Cournos set out his theory of the novel most clearly and influentially. In the first, Cournos wrote,

Roughly, then, there are two schools of creative literature, and round them there have grown up two schools of criticism. The one maintains that form is everything, that not only is perfect form essential, and interesting material non-essential, but that

⁶⁹ John Cournos, 'Of My Time: An Autobiography', MS Am 1580, Houghton, pp. 3–5. Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb were university students who murdered a fourteen-year-old boy in Chicago as a Nietzschean experiment in 1924. The other evidence for dating this document 1924 is the dedication to 'My one and only wife, with every expectation that she shall remain so': Cournos had married the author Helen Kestner Satterthwaite earlier that year.

⁷⁰ Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 287.

⁷¹ John Cournos, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 26 April 1924, series 3, box 44, folder 248, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

actually interesting material is a deterrent to perfect expression, inasmuch as material from life, inherently imaginative, fantastic or romantic, is likely to make an author lazy, negligent and cause him to throw his whole dependence on objective facts rather than on his ingenuity in creating an individual atmosphere and vibrant patterns of his own making. The other school maintains with equal emphasis that form is not enough, that it wants a real and exciting story, that where a man's materials are rich and 'big' the necessity for perfection is obviated; indeed, 'rough edges' are a virtue...

It seems to me that both theories are equally fallacious. I do not see how either can be wholly satisfying. There is no reason at all why a story should not contain both form and matter, a form, I should say, suited to the matter. Among the painters Vermeer is admittedly perfect; has then Rembrandt no art? Among the writers Turgenev is perfect. George Moore has compared his perfection to that of the Greeks; is it then justifiable to call Dostoevsky journalese, as some have called him?⁷²

The year before, Fletcher had set out the same opposition in more personal terms in a letter to Cournos. Though Fletcher is characteristically factionalist in his summary, the letter is nevertheless helpful in describing the debates about British modernism that stand behind Cournos's introduction, and in demonstrating the opposition between Francophile and Russophile models in those debates. Fletcher was responding to a letter from Cournos, which gave an account of a conversation Cournos had had with Ford Madox Ford, in which Ford had argued that 'no man can write English who does not know French' and had said that he preferred Latin words to English 'or "Teutonic", as he calls them'. 'I have come to the conclusion that the abyss that separates us from the other side is unbridgeable', Cournos told Fletcher, 'I could not help but find consolation in the fact that Thomas Hardy, the Hardy of the novels, is among the damned'.⁷³ Fletcher responded as follows (the letter is given in its entirety):

P.S. Above all, don't get discouraged. You are doing a big job, and one well worth doing—that is the main point. Let *The Dial* yap, if it pleases.

Sept 25/21

My dear John,

Your extremely interesting letter about Ford Madox Hueffer arrived yesterday. You have made it quite clear that he opposes you, and have also made clear the reason. My opinion about the controversy is as follows:

There are two schools of opinion in literature today (apart from those who simply repeat the past, and who don't matter). The first school lays its stress on technique, exclusively. Ezra is the extreme example of this tendency; the same tendency is to be found in Joyce, in Dorothy Richardson, May Sinclair (probably), Eliot, and a good many others. This school is always talking about the French writers, and about the beauty of form. They incline to rate Conrad higher than Hardy, and probably James higher than Conrad. They are all for objectivity, detail, the clear 'image' (the Imagist

⁷² John Cournos, 'Introduction', in Edward J. O'Brien and John Cournos, eds, *The Best British Short Stories of 1922* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1922), pp. xii–xviii (pp. xiii–xiv).

⁷³ John Cournos, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 23 September 1921, series 3, box 44, folder 247, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

business derived from them), etc. etc. They favor experiment in form, but argue that subject-matter is unimportant.

The second group lays less stress on technique than on covering new ground, acquiring new subject-matter. Dostoevsky was the great precursor of this school—his subject matter was profoundly original (and abstract, because it was an attempt to show the real souls of people working under their skins). This school aims at getting behind realism to something that I can only call dynamism (the exposure of the generalized springs of action and conduct—I hope I make myself clear). You belong to this school, at bottom. So, by the way, does [Sherwood] Anderson (Ezra to him is an 'empty writer', and this crowd hates empty writers). [Jakob] Wasserman's book is an interesting attempt in the same direction—despite its obvious sensationalism. [Élie] Faure has written on the philosophy of this movement—a philosophy which is a compound of Nietzsche and Dostoevsky—a sort of creative pessimism. The tendency of this whole group (if you can call it a group when it is still loose, floating, and vague) is to exalt 'expression' over 'description', to be, if you will, anarchic—to conquer chaos not through form, but through perpetual passionate application of new means of expression.

As regards myself, as you know well, I began largely with the first group of writers (I held that technique was everything)—and you converted me to the opposite point of view. But I see as immense, the overwhelming difficulties of the 'expressionist' point of view. I am not sure that I agree entirely with either side, now. I am merely stating a case, impersonally.

It seems to me that Hueffer is largely mistaken in supposing that a knowledge of French is essential to the writer of English. I have studied French for years, and have come to the conclusion that the two languages are so different in their structure that it is next to impossible to learn anything about English by studying French. French is terse, concise, clear, just where English is often more involved, vague, and shadowy, and when English is more simple, French is more idiomatic and complex. In translating French into English one has to paraphrase continually; a literal rendering usually sounds awkward, bald, abrupt. (Pound, by the way, translates French better than Flint just for this reason; where Flint is literal, Pound has an uncanny ability for finding an approximate equivalent). French is a poor language for poetry, tragedy, epic—a fine language for the essay, for the short story, for satire; English is just the reverse. Most French poets envy English poets like Keats, Shelley, or Poe for their very vagueness and magical quality of suggestion. To suggest anything, to leave a statement imprecise, is almost impossible in French. In short the difference seems to me to be the difference between music for a string quartet or a piano, and music for a full orchestra, with organ thrown in.

I also disagree totally with Hueffer's idea that there is such a thing as 'style'. This is where I part company absolutely with Ezra & Co. Every writer to me has his own style, and he learns it by mastering his material, never by imitating others' ways of expression. 'Style is thought itself' was said by Rémy de Gourmont, and it completely knocks in the head the idea that style can be taught or acquired by following any model.

Finally the idea about Teutonic words is nothing but sheer prejudice. There is nothing easier to abuse in English than Latinisms. The very best and most direct words in English are Anglo-Saxon.

That is all I can say against Hueffer's contentions. As for the rest, the future must settle. It is quite obvious that one idea of Ezra now is to transplant Paris to New York

or New York to Paris (it doesn't matter which so long as *The Dial* is made Parisian). But I disagree. America will never become exclusively French, and *The Dial* is merely spreading a thin veneer of cosmopolitanism over an enormous barbaric continent—most Americans regard *The Dial* as a huge joke, I am quite certain. So Hueffer is wrong on one point. And as for the novel, whether it follows the road of the new form or makes experiments in new subject-matter, I don't mind. I am quite sure your new novel will appeal to me (at all events), and I think there are plenty of others who will prefer it to anything by James Joyce. I don't see why we should quarrel with Hueffer, but I see no reason for agreeing with him.

Yours
John

Please turn over.

P.P.S. Monday. Your other letter has come—forgive my not answering it—I am frightfully busy. Don't come to town unless you can afford it. Don't worry about the future. I am quite sure that your work will be recognized and appreciated by the people whom matter—

J.G.F.⁷⁴

To Cournos and Fletcher it was quite obvious that there were two 'schools of opinion' or 'sides' in contemporary literature. One privileged 'form' or 'technique', which they characterized as self-indulgent and associated with Conrad, Eliot, Ford, James, Joyce, Pound, Richardson, Sinclair, Turgenev, and French literature. The other privileged 'material from life' and 'new subject-matter', which led to a higher valorization of plot, 'rough edges' and richness, and they associated it with Sherwood Anderson, Dostoevsky, Hardy, themselves, and (here) English literature. They also associated it with Russian literature. A few months earlier, Cournos had written to Fletcher about his admiration for Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's novel, *Gospoda Golovlevy* (1880) (*The Golovlyev Family*), and commented, 'I am now prepared to go further than I have ever gone before, even so far as to formulate the axiom: 'Where material is, there art is'... Undoubtedly the young unindustrial Russia of the Nineteenth Century was as rich in the material of life (of its kind) as young unindustrial Elizabethan England'.⁷⁵

H. D., with whom Cournos shared a voluminous correspondence during this period, also saw a strong distinction between Ford's and Cournos's conceptions of the novel. In July 1918 she told Cournos that she had begun a novel, though 'you would not call it a novel in the ordinary Hueffer or Hunt sense, but it is a rambling philosophy more or less modelled on the lines of yours... What I mean is your courage and desire to grapple with three countries and layers of impressions has

⁷⁴ John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 25 September 1921, in *Selected Letters of John Gould Fletcher*, pp. 88–90. Neither Fletcher nor Cournos made clear which of Wasserman's novels was interesting. See also Fletcher's remark earlier in the year that he 'would rather be classed as a crude raw barbarian with Whitman, Dostoevsky, Lincoln than to be ranked as perfect with Turgenev, George Moore, Cabell or Joseph Hergesheimer' (John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 1 February 1921, folder 7, Houghton).

⁷⁵ John Cournos, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 17 May 1920, series 3, box 44, folder 247, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

helped me'.⁷⁶ If Cournos's introduction to *The Best British Short Stories of 1922* suggests he saw his approach to the novel as synthesizing a Turgenevian (or Jamesian or Fordian) cultivation of style with a Dostoevskian interest in subject, Fletcher and H. D. considered his approach far closer to the latter. After reading Cournos's second novel, *The Wall*, for the third time, Fletcher told Cournos, 'I have never read a novel in my life which contained so much—except Dostoevsky's, and his are far longer and more diffuse'.⁷⁷

The connections Cournos and Fletcher were drawing in their letters and essays between the need for a new subject matter for literature and the model of Russian literature are substantiated by the literary work of the triumvirate during the early nineteen twenties, in which the contours of their philosophy emerge through a shared stream of imagery and argument. During his first mission in 1921, O'Brien sent back to his friends a series of 'Hard Sayings', some of which were published as a volume of verse of that title in 1926. Before O'Brien left on a second mission to France and Italy in autumn 1922, Fletcher had discussed with him his plan for a long poem modelled on *Paradise Lost* and Blake's prophetic books, eventually published as *Branches of Adam* in 1926. Fletcher explained that his delay in completing the poem was a response to O'Brien's mission: taken aback by his friend's practical working out of the philosophy they had discussed—'Here was I, planning to conclude my long and unfinished poem with the Crucifixion of man, while my friend was already embarked on a project which touched not only literature but life itself, and which would conclude not with the Crucifixion, but with the Resurrection'—he put the poem aside, unfinished, and wrote a series of parables about the post-war situation, 'The Parable to the Nations', which he revised and published as *Parables* in 1925.⁷⁸ Cournos planned a related volume of poetry. In May 1922, he wrote to a 'delighted' Fletcher that he had 'got an idea for a series of prose poems dealing with our idea to fill in the moments when I feel need of an outlet; have in fact, already written a longish prologue which Edward thinks well of'.⁷⁹ The poems did not appear, but *Babel*, the novel Cournos wrote while living in O'Brien's house near Oxford during 1921, is clearly a product of the triumvirate's discussions about the war and Western civilization.

Babel is a *roman-à-clef* about the modern artist's experience of the increasingly globalized modern world, recounting the aesthetic debates of early modernism, and ending with the First World War. The protagonist, a young Russian-American journalist named John Gombarov, leaves Philadelphia for London, where he mixes with the avant-garde, while engaging in an on-off love affair with his changeable

⁷⁶ H. D., letter to John Cournos, 17 July 1918, MS Eng 998: John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 1, Houghton.

⁷⁷ John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 26 January 1921, MS Eng 998: John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 7, Houghton.

⁷⁸ Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 287–8, 292, Simmonds, *Edward O'Brien*, p. 156.

⁷⁹ John Cournos, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 20 May 1922, series 3, box 44, folder 247, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas; see also Fletcher's reply, letter to John Cournos, 22 May 1922, folder 7, Houghton. Though Cournos's only volume of poetry, *In Exile*, was published the following year, the poems it contained had been written and published in periodicals between 1915 and 1920.

fiancée Winifred. Gombarov takes us to the poetry salon of Hugh Rodd, 'a big brawny fellow' 'holding forth to a little circle on Bergsonism' (T. E. Hulme), he meets Mr and Mrs Hector Cowley, 'known as Heracles and Hylas, because of the Greekishness of their poetry' (Aldington and H. D.), and Tobias Bagg, who preaches 'a European culture for America', and proposes to start a new journal called 'I' or 'Myself' to 'encourage everyone to express himself in his own way, and to discourage schools and academies' (Pound and *The Egoist*). Fletcher appears in the guise of 'Roy Christopher of Chiptaw, Arizona', who astonishes Gombarov at their first meeting with his knowledge of contemporary Russian literature: 'I should like to read Biely, Blok and Sologub in the original', Christopher remarks.⁸⁰

As the novel's title suggests, the major metaphor through which the novel interrogates the conditions of modern life is that of language. The first chapter's epigraph is from Genesis 11—'And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech'—and the novel opens on Gombarov waking up from a nightmare in a hotel room, looking round the room to establish where he is, his gaze falling on some engravings. Cournos writes, 'These, however, were sufficiently cosmopolitan to reveal no clue as to his whereabouts... He had seen the same pictures—and furniture, for that matter—at the American hotels and at his own home in Philadelphia'. But though the images are familiar, the text beneath them is not: 'His eyes strayed to the inscriptions under the pictures: *L'Affaire d'Honneur* and *L'Aube de Septembre*. That was strange: the pictures at home were inscribed in English'. He realizes he is in Paris. At the very beginning of the novel, then, the reader is instructed that art no longer has national or cultural specificity, but language remains a repository of difference. A few pages later, Gombarov recalls a conversation with an American on the steamer he took from Philadelphia to Naples, who tells him not to worry about how to communicate in Italy, 'You don't want to know the language. You don't want to know any language. You want to show the colour of your money... Other people can have Esperanto and Volapük, which won't buy you your car fare. As for me, I am all for the simoleons as an international lingo'. Gombarov responds: 'I quite agree with you about Esperanto and Volapük, though for different reasons. A people's soul is in its language, and a neutral language would kill that'. Gombarov—and Cournos—are linguistic optimists, with a Herderian confidence in the relationship between language and national culture.⁸¹

Babel is a manifesto against what Cournos sees as a superficial and undesirable global unity based on mechanization and commerce in place of a more profound moral unity within and between nations. 'Machines and products manufactured by machines obtruded themselves and dislodged the old things, which were essentially national and characterised by the quality called "local colour"', he has Gombarov muse, 'Civilisation, it seemed to him, was moving, all but in its architecture, towards a standardisation of life'. In art, Cournos sees this as producing

⁸⁰ John Cournos, *Babel* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), pp. 251, 256, 240, 238, 248.

⁸¹ Cournos, *Babel*, pp. 13, 14–15, 20–1. For discussion of *Babel* as a critique of contemporary linguistic theories, see North, *Reading 1922*, pp. 58–62.

both a tendency towards mechanization (a reflection of contemporary life) and primitivism (a reaction against it), worked out in a range of individual responses replacing a unified national culture. (Like Murry, in *Still Life*, Cournos has a painter based on John Duncan Fergusson represent the formalist art of the machine age.) Gombarov believes these innovations to signal not the birth of a new world, but the death throes of the Western empires. He has his diagnosis spoken by Jan Maczishiek, a Polish-French sculptor, clearly modelled on Gaudier-Brzeska, whose art is a synthesis of the two tendencies:

England is ancient Rome all over again. The arts of Rome in her decadence were to a great extent produced by foreigners. Don't you see, it's like this. When a body is young and lusty, it's egotistic. When it is old and about to fall apart, it has less resistance and admits all sorts of alien microbes. And an Empire is very much like a human body. It is a condition that applies to the whole Western world, in particular to France, Germany and England... All these countries compose, in a sense, one machine, one Empire. If one part breaks, the whole machine goes out of order. So we have no wars; nevertheless, these countries may be just decaying, dying of old age, wearing out just as human limbs or parts of machines wear out. We, modern artists, are the first to see this, and so we may be performing a useful function in injecting new life into old bodies! We may be the barbarians, the saviours of decaying humanity!

The novel ends with the beginning of the First World War, seen as the inevitable consequence of the Western world's deification of commerce and the machine. We are told that, as in the biblical Babel, 'The proud tower was tottering, tottering. The prophecies of the artists and soothsayers were coming to pass'.⁸²

Like Lawrence and Murry, then, Cournos aligns his artist protagonists not with Western 'civilization', but with the 'barbarians', the term associated with Russia during the First World War. And like Lawrence and Murry, Cournos conceived the opposition not as restricted to aesthetics but as having fundamental importance to the future of the world: he shares Lawrence's apocalyptic vision. When the O'Brien character in *Babel*, Michael O'Connor, hears that Gombarov has moved to London to become a writer, he praises him for acting on his 'GREAT IDEA'. That idea, never clearly defined, appears to refer to Gombarov's role as an artist-prophet who is able to interpret the signs of civilization's demise, but whose art will also contribute to its passing, and enable a new culture to develop.⁸³ In the final chapter, as the war begins, Cournos writes that 'the historian would be making a profound mistake if he should derive his conclusions from diplomatic documents; diplomats are the instruments of fate, not its arbiters... Not in diplomatic documents, then, but in the social conditions, above all, in the arts of the time, the real secret of Armageddon is to be found'. The artists' works are 'the handwriting on the wall of Babel', and 'not only the handwriting but also the first fissure in the wall'.⁸⁴

⁸² Cournos, *Babel*, pp. 36, 29–32, 350, 422.

⁸³ This interpretation corresponds to statements in a letter from O'Brien to John Gould Fletcher in November 1922, which sets out the contributions of their circle to the spiritual transformation of civilization O'Brien believed was imminent: Edward O'Brien, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 11 November 1922, series 3, box 59, folder 848, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

⁸⁴ Cournos, *Babel*, pp. 284, 424.

Fletcher works through the same arguments using almost identical vocabulary in his unpublished essay 'The Meaning of Civilization', written soon after the armistice. 'The diplomatists of to-day are but the instruments in the hands of that destiny which we have brought upon ourselves' in mistaking civilization as 'improvement in the material conditions of our life' rather than 'an attitude of mind', Fletcher writes. For the corrective, he looks to Ruskin, strategically misquoting from *Unto This Last*: "there is no art but life." In that phrase is to be found the secret of all civilization... it is simply because our art is purposeless and our life even more so, that we see civilization crumbling into chaos about us'.⁸⁵

Hard Sayings and *Parables* are very different in tone from *Babel*: these are above all religious volumes, though hardly orthodox—but they are also reflections on the war and its aftermath. Both volumes view the West as spiritually impoverished, and see the East as a source of spiritual rejuvenation. Both describe the period 1914 to 1921 (the year they were begun) as a seven-year catharsis, and in both the fall of the West and the dissolution of nations are presented in images of crumbling walls and falling towers, particularly the Tower of Babel. In both a new unity of nations is envisaged.

In his autobiography Fletcher describes *Parables* and *Branches of Adam* as presenting 'a highly unpopular point of view to bring forward after the War, because at the root of it lay an uncompromising acceptance not of realism, but of idealism'. These volumes were, he wrote, a 'counterblast' to *Ulysses*, which he described to Cournos in 1922 as 'astonishingly good', but came to see as the representative product of the cynical and individualist post-war generation, in which Joyce 'carried the technique of naturalistic realism one step further than Flaubert and Zola, to the point where man's unconscious life, expressed in his dreams and his secret desires, had joined with the efforts of his unconscious will'.⁸⁶ The turn to myth in *Branches of Adam* underlines its contemporaneity with *Ulysses*, and also *The Waste Land* and *The Cantos*, but as Ben F. Johnson remarks, it 'diverge[s] from the era's monuments in its Romantic sources and its radical hope for a peaceable kingdom'.⁸⁷ *Babel* can be viewed similarly: Cournos's allusions to the Tower of Babel and the fall of Babylon portray the end of Western civilization, but also suggest the birth of a new international or even post-national culture. When he was interviewed about the 'future of the novel' in 1920, Cournos said, 'The future is full of promise. An art which is destroying itself is making a place for a new art, just as the life which is destroying itself is making place for a new life'.⁸⁸

In their argument that Western civilization was in sharp decline, the literary works of Cournos, Fletcher and O'Brien were representative of what Richard Overly has termed 'the morbid age' following the First World War. During the nineteen twenties, an avalanche of books was published on the crisis of civilization,

⁸⁵ John Gould Fletcher, 'The Meaning of Civilization', series 1, box 23, file 38, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas. Ruskin wrote 'There is no Wealth but Life': see John Ruskin, *Unto this Last: Four Essays on the First Principles of Political Economy* (London: Smith, Elder, 1862), p. 156.

⁸⁶ Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 296–7; John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 30 October 1922, John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 7, Houghton.

⁸⁷ Johnson, *Fierce Solitude*, p. 133.

⁸⁸ Starr, ed., *The Future of the Novel*, p. 161.

including in 1926 the English translation of the first volume of Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (translated as *The Decline of the West*), which Fletcher reviewed for the *New Age*.⁸⁹ But they were less representative in their response to that supposed decline. In his 1927 novel *O'Flaherty the Great*, Cournos has his alter ego, Eric Saxty, respond to the philosophy set out by Seumus O'Flaherty (the O'Brien figure) with the remark 'You've been reading Spengler... And that will lead us nowhere. He prophesies the end of the Christian world, and the beginning of a new religion, the worship of Big Business and the Machine. If I mistake it not, the new religion has already begun—in America'. O'Flaherty's response is, 'I've been reading Spengler... But I agree only with his premises, not his deductions!'. In contrast to Spengler's pessimism, O'Flaherty argues that the machine age is 'only an interlude', and that 'Corrupt as we Europeans are, steeped as we are in decay, shattered as we are in atomic fragments which follow on Babel's fall, there is still hope for us'. That hope lies in 'conflict, eternal conflict, repeatedly resolving itself' into something 'new, quite another thing', as Christianity was born of the conflict between Hellenism and Judaism.⁹⁰ It is unlikely the triumvirate were reading Spengler as early as 1923, when this conversation ostensibly took place—there is no mention of him in their letters of this period—but they certainly had read the major philosopher behind *The Decline of the West*, Friedrich Nietzsche, and, as we saw in Fletcher's letter above, Fletcher's interest in Faure's philosophy was as 'a compound of Nietzsche and Dostoevsky—a sort of creative pessimism'.⁹¹ In a letter sent to Fletcher the previous year, which this passage of Cournos's novel follows closely, O'Brien wrote that he had 'been through the whole cycle of the modern man. I have avoided nothing. Elie Faure, Unamuno, Nietzsche, Blake, Dostoevski, Lawrence, John [Cournos], & all the proud Lucifers of despair have been my companions, and joining this choir I have murmured "Non serviam"'.⁹² The triumvirate's writings make clear that they had hoped a new international unity might be the 'new... thing' born from the war, but they were disappointed by the Treaty of Versailles and the principles upon which the League of Nations was formed. 'I am going to Versailles to be crucified again./You have sold me for thirty pieces of silver,' wrote O'Brien in *Hard Sayings*. 'No League of Nations or any other chimera can "save" mankind from the

⁸⁹ Richard Overly, *The Morbid Age: Britain Between the Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), pp. 9–49; John Gould Fletcher, 'The Decline of the West' (review), *New Age*, NS 39 (2 September 1926), 203–4.

⁹⁰ John Cournos, *O'Flaherty the Great: A Tragi-Comedy* (New York: Knopf, 1927), pp. 200–3.

⁹¹ Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 25 September 1921, in *Selected Letters of John Gould Fletcher*, pp. 88–9, see also his letter to Scott Greer, 14 March 1947, p. 233: 'He [Nietzsche], or rather his ghost, controlled very much of my own thinking from the time I was at college in 1903–04 (when I first read him) up to the time of World War I'; Cournos stages a discussion of Nietzsche's views on war in *Babel*, p. 77, and mentions Nietzsche's significance for Leonid Andreev in the introductions to his first translations: see 'Foreword', in Leonidas Andreiyeff, *Silence*, trans. by John Cournos (Philadelphia, PA: Brown Brothers, 1908), pp. iii–v (p. iv); 'Foreword', in Leonidas Andreiyeff, *A Dilemma: A Story of Mental Perplexity*, trans. by John Cournos (Philadelphia, PA: Brown Brothers, 1910), pp. iii–vii (p. iii).

⁹² Edward J. O'Brien, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 25 December 1926, series 3, box 59, folder 888, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

inevitable consequences of what has already happened', wrote Fletcher to Cournos in December 1920.⁹³

Spengler had defined civilization as 'the inevitable *destiny* of the Culture... [Civilizations] are a conclusion, the thing-become succeeding the thing-becoming, death following life, rigidity following expansion, intellectual age and the stone-built, petrifying world-city following mother-earth and the spiritual childhood of Doric and Gothic'. In the life-span of western culture, the deathly 'Civilization' had, Spengler argued, replaced the vital 'Culture' in the nineteenth century. His opposition of *Kultur* to *Zivilisation* mirrors the use of the same terms in German war propaganda: the concept of the materialist 'civilization-man' 'appears in the middle of the 18th Century, along with the rise of civilized, economic-megalopolitan politics, and England is therefore its birthplace', he wrote. And where Germany might be in decline, England and France had already declined:

In place of a true-type people, born of and grown on the soil, there is a new sort of nomad, cohering unstably in fluid masses, the parasitical city dweller, traditionless, utterly matter-of-fact, religionless, clever, unfruitful, deeply contemptuous of the countryman and especially that highest form of countryman, the country gentleman. This is a very great stride towards the inorganic, towards the end—what does it signify? France and England have already taken the step and Germany is beginning to do so.⁹⁴

One response to this narrative of Western decline was to look east to Russia. For some, including Cournos and Fletcher, Russia presented some hope, precisely because it was not as 'civilized' as Western Europe. Defending O'Brien's mission in his autobiography, Fletcher remarked that 'in a world where the European nations had long since gone mad only some such major insanity could save the world'; the war had proved that 'man was not a rational animal', and

Now the Renaissance itself stood condemned, not only for the slaughter of the War, but for the shame and horror of the peace. Russia had escaped, had restored an unworldly faith, a faith no longer Christian, but combining the extremes of unworldly asceticism, and messianic belief, and fatalistic, militant Mohammedanlike obedience to the state. Europe had no reply to Russia, unless she too could restore the faith of the Middle Ages. And if Europe was doomed, America, too, must fall.⁹⁵

Fletcher refers here, of course, not to the Dostoevskian Russia popularized during the war, but specifically to Soviet Russia. In January 1918, he had put this view even more strongly. Writing to Cournos that the war was being prolonged by politicians, financiers, and munitions makers for their own prosperity, he remarked that the only hope lay in Russia: 'unless Russia can save the world, not only Europe, but America will be destroyed, in a few years, without hope of redemption. We are

⁹³ Edward J. O'Brien, 'XCV', in *Hard Sayings* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1926), p. 97; John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 12 December 1920, John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 6, Houghton. See also John Gould Fletcher, 'A League of Nations', series 1, box 23, folder 38, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas..

⁹⁴ Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West: Form and Actuality*, trans. by Charles Francis Atkinson (London: George Allen & Unwin, [1926]), pp. 31, 29, 32.

⁹⁵ Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 291–2.

on the brink of universal famine and ruin. Russia stands on Golgotha, and again the crowd surrounds the Saviour, jeering and mocking and crying out "If thou art the Messiah, save thyself." Russia is again crucified between two thieves—Germany and Austria. Russia is bundled into the tomb, and forgotten. But perhaps Russia will yet arise from the tomb'.⁹⁶

Post-revolutionary Russia appears in both O'Brien's *Hard Sayings* and Fletcher's *Parables*. In a remarkable letter to Fletcher from February 1921, O'Brien discusses his view that they are entering the Biblical apocalypse, one of the signs of which is the Bolshevik regime. He debates which of their own circle might be the Messiah and remarks, 'Antichrist has come, born as Lenin, and he'll give us our strength and something to measure ourselves by'.⁹⁷ In *Hard Sayings*, he twice refers to those calling for a 'soviet' (*sovet* in Russian means council), and suggests this may be closer to their 'dream' than the 'emperors and republics' of the past. While he argues that this system of governance will not bring happiness in itself, O'Brien does seem to imply that it may be proximate to discovering Christ:

You cry for a soviet
but will you work for yourselves or work for each other?
I think you will never be happy
till all of you work in peace by the sweat of your brows.
And your reward will not be money and pleasure,
nor fame nor splendour nor power,
but to gaze in the eyes of your comrades
and see my Eyes enthroned there
in the common love you will have for one another.⁹⁸

Fletcher was more positive: in 1918 he had published a poem entitled 'Russia', pointedly dating it 'March 16, 1917', the day British newspapers reported the February Revolution. It concluded with the figure of Liberty riding west from Russia to 'grant us all we longed for, could not find,/ The peace surpassing human understanding'.⁹⁹ In *Parables*, Fletcher extends this idea to present Russia's revolutions as heralding Christ's second coming. In the prose poem 'To Europe', he writes,

Christ arose in the East and bade the nations of the world to the great sacrifice.
Without the cross he arose in strange guise. Again his people flocked to his feet; but
in Europe no one saw, no one heeded. Now he waits at the border of the great abyss,
stretching out longing hands to the future.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ John Gould Fletcher, letter to John Cournos, 27 January [1918], John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 5, Houghton. Fletcher had also defended Spengler against the charge of 'pessimistic fatalism' by remarking that he predicted the decline of the West only, 'he does not say that the East or that Russia will take this path in any of his pages': see Fletcher, 'The Decline of the West' (review), pp. 203–4.

⁹⁷ Edward O'Brien, letter to John Gould Fletcher, 22 February 1921, series 3, box 59, folder 888, John Gould Fletcher Papers (MS F63), Arkansas.

⁹⁸ O'Brien, 'LXXIII', in *Hard Sayings*, p. 75.

⁹⁹ John Gould Fletcher, 'Russia', *Poetry*, 12.1 (1918), 22–9 (p. 29).

¹⁰⁰ John Gould Fletcher, 'XV: To Europe', in *Parables* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1925), pp. 31–2.

It is only when this passage is read in conjunction with the 1921 manuscript 'The Parable to the Nations' that it is clear this refers to the Russian revolutions. Much of that manuscript, including 'To Europe', was included in *Parables* as published in 1925. But the earlier version included a prose poem entitled 'To Russia', which was excised before publication, along with several other poems about individual nations. In that poem, Fletcher makes the positive potential of the Russian revolutions explicit: 'Russia, risen from the grave on the third day, Russia without the cross,—in you is Christ. Lenin may slay your body but he can never slay your spirit. You are the Saviour of the World'. In the context of the poem, the 'third day' clearly corresponds to 1917, the third year of the war, and the revolutions are presented as a sign to Western Europe of the opportunity the war has provided for reconstruction in line with Christ's teachings. Europe 'without a soul' is summoned to 'find a new body', as Russia has done.¹⁰¹

In his introduction to *The Best British Short Stories of 1923*, edited with O'Brien, Cournos also looked to Russia as a positive example. Repeating the argument of *Babel*, that individualism in art, driven by commercialism, has resulted in the detachment of art from national culture, he wrote:

In but one great modern literature, the Russian,—possibly because Russia is the one country which has not wholly surrendered to industrialism—is this moral or social purpose evident, giving it a kind of unity... The difference between the methods employed by Tolstoy and Garshine, Korolenko and Chekhov, Gorky and Andreyev, Kuprin and Sologub, is not so great that it could not be bridged by some common principle. But how, in heaven's name, is one to apply the same principles to the short stories of Henry James and O. Henry, Rudyard Kipling and Katherine Mansfield, Walter De La Mare and Neil Lyons, George Moore and Ernest Bramah, Jack London and Nathaniel Hawthorne?¹⁰²

It seems remarkable that Cournos could describe Soviet Russia in 1923 as 'the one country which has not wholly surrendered to industrialism', in light of the importance of industrialization to its revolutionary programme, and his list of Russian authors is markedly out-of-date. Yet Cournos was hardly unaware of the changes the October Revolution had wrought. Unlike his friends, he had witnessed it.

4.3 THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN COMMISSION

When the February Revolution was announced in British newspapers on 16 March 1917 (3 March OS), it enabled commentators to dispense with the wartime fiction of a Russia in which state and people were unified, and to endorse their newly

¹⁰¹ John Gould Fletcher, 'The Parable to the Nations' (1921), John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 10, Houghton, pp. 30, 24–5. See also Fletcher, *Life is my Song*, pp. 288–90.

¹⁰² John Cournos, 'Introduction', in Edward J. O'Brien and John Cournos, eds, *The Best British Short Stories of 1923 and Yearbook of the British Short Story* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1923), pp. xiii–xvii (pp. xvi–xvii).

enfranchised ally without reservation: 'the lovers of freedom in every country can rejoice unfeignedly with the Russian people and face the future with a surer faith', commented the *Manchester Guardian*, 'The Alliance is now, as it was not before, a league of democratic nations'.¹⁰³ Almost immediately, however, British celebration of Russia's revolution was tempered by division over its implications for the war. The mainstream, pro-war press argued that the revolution would strengthen Russia's commitment, as the tsarist regime was widely considered to have had pro-German sympathies that had undermined the nation's contribution to the Allied cause: 'The event has illuminated the war like a flash of lightening', wrote a *Times* columnist on 19 March, 'For what were the reactionaries and enemies of liberty who have been so suddenly overthrown? They were pacifist intriguers and secret friends of Germany. Their intention was to betray Russia and her allies into the hands of the reactionary gang who rule the Central Powers, by making peace'.¹⁰⁴ But several socialist papers—the *Daily Herald*, the *Labour Leader*, *The Call*, *The Socialist*, and *The Woman's Dreadnought*—expressed the hope that the revolution would bring an end to the war.¹⁰⁵ Though the two centres of authority born of the revolution, the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, initially supported the continuation of the war, the Soviet had from the beginning distinguished between defensive motives for fighting, which it supported, and imperialist motives, which it did not. Its appeal, 'K narodam vsego mira' ('To the peoples of the world'), quoted in the *Manchester Guardian* on 30 March, admitted the necessity of defending Russia's 'liberty from all reactionary onslaughts within and without', but advocated 'decisive struggle against the conquest aspirations of the Governments of all countries'.¹⁰⁶ Under pressure from the Soviet, the Provisional Government's statement of new war aims, reported in the British press on 11 April, stated that 'Free Russia does not aim at dominating other nations, at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territories; but that its object is to establish a durable peace on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny', both statements showing the influence of the manifesto adopted by the international conference of socialists at Zimmerwald in September 1915, which sought a peace with 'no annexations and no indemnities'.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, only a week after the revolution, *The Times* had reported that a 'small minority' of 'maximalists' (Bolsheviks) were 'exhorting the troops to lay down their arms' but the media did not yet view them as significant.

¹⁰³ 'England to Russia', *Manchester Guardian* (23 March 1917), p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ 'The Russian Revolution', *The Times* (16 March 1917), p. 7; 'British Labour and the Russian Revolution', *The Times* (19 March 1917), p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ R. Page Arnot, *The Impact of the Russian Revolution in Britain* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1967), p. 23. For further information on the socialist response to the revolutions, see also Burke, *Russia and the British Left*, pp. 110–30.

¹⁰⁶ "'Down with William': Russian Workmen to Germans", *Manchester Guardian* (30 March 1917), p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Francis King, 'Dilemmas of a "democratic peace": World War One, the Zimmerwald Manifesto and the Russian Revolution', *Socialist History*, 48 (2015), 8–33 (pp. 10, 14–15); 'Stirring Call to Free Russia: Not Conquest but Deliverance', *The Times* (11 April 1917), p. 6; 'Free Russia's War Aim: Conquest & Domination Disclaimed', *Manchester Guardian* (11 April 1917), p. 5.

Though Lenin's arrival in Petrograd on 16 April (3 April 0s) in a sealed train provided by the Germans was widely reported, he was consistently described as lacking influence and being mocked by his compatriots for his pacifism.¹⁰⁸ At the end of April, Kotelyansky's friend, Mikhail Farbman, went to Petrograd as a second correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, joining Morgan Philips Price. His first piece, published on 1 May, concluded that the 'great driving force of the revolution is beyond the influence of Lenin or any other attempt at a counter-revolution from the Left'. Farbman did note, however, that popular sentiment in Russia towards their British ally had deteriorated:

Russia was deeply wounded by the sympathy which was expressed for the fallen dynasty, even by Ministers of the Crown and in Parliament, by the doubts expressed by the loyalty of the Russian democracy, by the sharp criticism of the authors of the revolution in leading English journals, a criticism which did not stop short of insinuating that free Russia would mean disorder and anarchy... But what hurt most of all was the tendency to judge of the revolution mainly from the standpoint of its possible influence on the issue of the war, and not to judge it from the point of view of Russia itself, and the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world.¹⁰⁹

The truth of Farbman's final point had been evident in the self-interested phrasing of the House of Commons' greeting to the Duma, which had offered 'heartfelt congratulations upon the establishment among them of free institutions, in full confidence that they will lead not only to the rapid and happy progress of the Russian nation, but to the prosecution with renewed steadfastness and vigour of the war against the stronghold of an autocratic militarism which threatens the liberty of Europe'.¹¹⁰

The left, radical, and socialist Members of Parliament sought to affirm Britain's support for the revolution in more altruistic terms at the beginning of May, when they sent messages of support to the Provisional Government and the Soviet expressing agreement with their policy of no annexation and their disapproval of British press criticism of the Soviet.¹¹¹ But it was just at this point that Russia's division over the war erupted into the April Crisis. On 1 May (18 April 0s), the Foreign Minister, Pavel Milyukov, the leader of the liberal Constitutional Democratic Party (the Kadets), which dominated the Provisional Government, attached to the Government's statement of its war aims a 'Note' to the Allied governments, stating that Russia's new democracy entailed no 'slackening on the part of Russia in the common struggle of all the Allies', but on the contrary had accentuated 'the nation's determination to bring the world war to a decisive victory'. The

¹⁰⁸ 'Russia and the War', *The Times* (26 March 1917), p. 9; 'Russia's Uprising', *Daily Telegraph* (20 April 1917), p. 5; 'Anti-Pacifist Meeting', *Daily Telegraph* (30 April 1917), p. 9. On the extent of the British government's knowledge of Bolshevism during this period, see Michael Hughes, *Inside the Enigma: British Officials in Russia, 1900–1939* (London: Hambledon Press, 1997), pp. 103–5.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Farbman, 'Revolutionary Russia: The Truth About Some Illusory Dangers', *The Times* (1 May 1917), p. 5.

¹¹⁰ 'Commons and Russia: Greetings to the Duma', *Manchester Guardian* (23 March 1917), p. 8.

¹¹¹ 'England and the New Russia: Greeting from Members of Parliament', *Manchester Guardian* (2 May 1917), p. 4.

note was understood by the Russian left as a return to the imperialism of the tsarist regime and a betrayal of the Provisional Government's policy against annexation.¹¹² It brought Milyukov into conflict with other members of the Provisional Government and the Soviet, and resulted in major demonstrations calling for his resignation, which he and the Minister for War, Aleksandr Guchkov, tendered on 17 (4 May os) and 13 May (30 April os) respectively.¹¹³ On 15 May (2 May os) the Soviet issued an appeal 'to the socialists of all countries', calling for them to force their governments to agree a peace 'without annexations or indemnities, based on the right of peoples to settle their destinies', and to join them at an international conference to be held in Stockholm.¹¹⁴

Over the summer of 1917, events in Russia moved quickly and the British press struggled to stay informed, 'quite unable to give a true or understandable picture during that summer and early autumn of the events moving to the highest peak of revolution', as Robin Page Arnot remarks.¹¹⁵ On 18 May (5 May os), as a result of the April Crisis, the first Provisional Government reformed into a coalition government with increased representation from the socialist parties; Aleksandr Kerensky, of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, became Minister of War. On 15 July (2 July os) the Kadet members of the Provisional Government resigned, followed by the Prime Minister, Georgy L'vov, on 20 July (7 July os). During this period ('the July Days') mass demonstrations erupted across Petrograd, fostered by Bolshevik propaganda against the Provisional Government. A new coalition government was eventually formed under Kerensky on 6 August (24 July os); Ford Madox Ford's brother-in-law, David Soskis, who had replaced Farbman as *The Guardian's* second correspondent in June, became one of Kerensky's secretaries in August.¹¹⁶

It was at this point that Hugh Walpole invited John Cournos to join the Anglo-Russian Commission, the Foreign Office's propaganda bureau in Petrograd he led. Cournos's task in Petrograd would be, Walpole told him, 'to inform the Russians of English democratic institutions and English culture, the object, of course, being to bring friendliness between the two peoples'. Cournos accepted: 'there was never any question in my own mind of not going', he later wrote, 'I had not the least doubt of the rightness of my action'.¹¹⁷

¹¹² 'Russia's War Aims: Note to the Entente Powers', *Manchester Guardian* (4 May 1917), p. 5; 'The Russian Declaration', *Daily Telegraph* (5 May 1917), p. 5.

¹¹³ 'Great Demonstrations', *Daily Telegraph* (5 May 1917), p. 5; 'Russian Socialists: Demand for Ministers Resignations', *Manchester Guardian* (5 May 1917), p. 5; 'New Russian Diplomacy: Position of Workmen's Council', *Manchester Guardian* (8 May 1917), p. 5; 'M. Miliukoff Resigns', *Daily Telegraph* (17 May 1917), p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Robert Paul Browder and Alexander F. Kerensky, *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917: Documents*, 3 vols (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), II: 1092, 1096–8, III: 1197, 1267–75 (dates throughout this section are derived from Browder and Kerensky); 'Express edition: Russia and a General Peace: Manifesto to Socialists of all Countries', *Manchester Guardian* (16 May 1917), p. 8.

¹¹⁵ Arnot, *The Impact of the Russian Revolution in Britain*, p. 79.

¹¹⁶ Browder and Kerensky, *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917*, III: 1197, 1276–8, 1331–33, 1383–5, 1427–30; Hollingsworth, 'David Soskice in Russia in 1917', pp. 82–4.

¹¹⁷ Hugh Walpole, telegram to George Buchanan, 6 September 1917, FO 395/106 Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1917, TNA; Cournos, *Autobiography*, pp. 294, 295–6.

Cournos recalled that though some friends tried to dissuade him from going to a city where, as Walpole himself apparently said, 'robberies were frequent, subversive elements were about, armed deserters roamed the streets. Danger was ever-present. And not even the British Government could guarantee safety, ultimate escape with life and limb', Fletcher 'alone... understood me'.¹¹⁸ Fletcher's first letter to Cournos on the topic advises, 'I can only say that if I were you, I should accept it. It is true, Walpole is a fool, and you will have to keep most of your revolutionary opinions strictly to yourself. Also you may run a chance of finding a bullet in you, in some riot or other... But it will give you magnificent material—a sort of climax, as it were, to all your life—and by the time you are forty, you will be able to settle down (I hope in England) and give the world a great many things'. On 13 September, with Cournos's departure imminent and Russia's political instability much discussed in the British press, he was less encouraging. Lavr Kornilov, Supreme Commander of the Russian armed forces, had attempted a coup a few days before, and though it was unsuccessful, Fletcher feared that Kerensky's Provisional Government was still in danger: 'I am afraid that very soon nine-tenths of the same crowd that applauded the Revolution, will be grovelling in the dust before a new tyrant', he wrote. 'And then the old regime will recommence, and what hope will there be for you, my dear friend?'. Kornilov surrendered the day after Fletcher wrote his letter, but the affair had seriously weakened Kerensky's authority: Fletcher's anxiety for Cournos's safety was well-founded.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, two weeks later, on 2 October, Cournos left London for Petrograd, travelling via Aberdeen, Norway, and Sweden. But why had Cournos been chosen by the Commission? He spoke Russian, of course, and since 1916 he had been working for the Marconi Company's press agency, the Wireless Press, translating the Russian Government wireless. He was, therefore, particularly well informed, and later recalled that he had 'enjoyed the singular pleasure of being the first person in England to receive certain news about Russia... I remember the details of the Korniloff affair and of the revolutionary outbreaks came first over the wireless'.¹²⁰ The Commission had recently set up a press agency, and it was as an 'assistant for journalistic work' in that agency that Cournos was employed. But these were not the primary reasons Cournos remembered Walpole citing in his invitation. Rather, Walpole 'had heard about me from friends we had in common in Petrograd; he was also familiar with my articles. They suggested that, with my knowledge of Russian and the Russians, I might make a fitting member of this Commission'.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Cournos, *Autobiography*, pp. 295, 296.

¹¹⁹ John Gould Fletcher, letters to John Cournos, 16 August [1917], 13 September [1917], John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 5, Houghton; Jonathan D. Smele, *The "Russian" Civil Wars, 1916–1926: Ten Years That Shook the World* (London: Hurst, 2015), pp. 25–7; Geoffrey Swain, *The Origins of the Russian Civil War* (London: Longman, 1996), James D. White, 'The Kornilov Affair: A Study in Counter-Revolution', *Soviet Studies*, 20.2 (October 1968), 187–205.

¹²⁰ Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 290; W. J. Baker, *A History of the Marconi Company* (London: Methuen, 1970); Jill Hills, *The Struggle for Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century* (Urbana-Champaign, Chicago, Springfield, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 121–2.

¹²¹ 'The Anglo-Russian Commission Petrograd [report]', date illegible [November? 1917], FO 395/106, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1917, TNA; Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 294.

It was Courno's writing on art and literature—he had written no political articles, and the 'friends... in common' were surely Remizov and Sologub—that made him a 'fitting member' of the Commission.¹²²

The Anglo-Russian Commission was a remarkably literary institution. The research of Charlotte Alston and Michael Palmer in the Foreign Office archives has demonstrated how deliberate its literariness was. The Commission had come about when the Foreign Office became aware in 1915 of Russia's negative perception of their British ally. Officials consulted with various individuals, including the British Ambassador in Petrograd, George Buchanan, and the travel writer, John Foster Fraser, who had recently returned from Russia. Foster argued that a 'first class experienced journalist should be engaged, one who knows international politics' to write articles on Britain's war effort for the Russian press. Harold Williams, the Russian correspondent for the *Daily Chronicle* was proposed, but Buchanan—to the disapproval of the War Propaganda Bureau—strongly resisted the appointment.¹²³ In January 1916 Arthur Ransome, the Russian correspondent for the *Daily News*, had consulted Williams and Bruce Lockhart, the Acting Consul General in Moscow, on a plan for 'a strictly unofficial news agency' that 'might do good work by giving the Russian newspapers information about the western front'. Ransome had suggested it could be run by his friend Mikhail Likiardopulo (Michael Lykiardopoulos) the well-connected secretary of the Moscow Art Theatre (and the former Russian correspondent of Mansfield and Murry's *Rhythm*). But though Ransome's plan was approved by the Foreign Office, Buchanan had told him that 'he thought an English literary man should be at the head of it'.¹²⁴ Simultaneously, Buchanan was arranging with the Foreign Office to appoint a Petrograd-based co-ordinator for the diverse propaganda activities that he was being asked to oversee—publications, films, lectures, and visits. Maurice Baring was his first choice, but when he turned out to be unavailable (and unwilling), Buchanan suggested Cudbert Thornhill, the military attaché in charge of the intel-

¹²² Courno's finally met Remizov and Sologub in Petrograd, probably through Williams: see Courno's, *Autobiography*, pp. 304–5; it was Williams who introduced Remizov to Ransome in 1915: see Roland Chambers, *The Last Englishman: The Double Life of Arthur Ransome* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), p. 97.

¹²³ John Foster Fraser, letter to Gilbert Parker, 4 August 1915, Robert Cecil, telegram to George Buchanan, 6 August 1915, George Buchanan, telegram to Foreign Office, 9 August 1915, Claud Schuster, letter to Hubert Montgomery, 13 August 1915, George Buchanan, letter to Robert Cecil, 10 September 1915, FO 371/2566, Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence 1915, TNA. Buchanan's objection was that 'it will be waste of money sending out Harold Williams or indeed any one else as I do not see how he can possibly influence the press. Williams moreover is married to a Russian lady of very advanced views and... he may possibly be viewed with suspicion. It will be much more practical to spend our money on good weekly articles and to have them translated here'. These articles were produced by Arnold Bennett and John Buchan—Buchan's proving more useful, according to Buchanan: see Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 97–8.

¹²⁴ Arthur Ransome, *The Autobiography of Arthur Ransome*, ed. by Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), pp. 189–90; George Buchanan, letter to Edward Grey, 3 February 1916, Bruce Lockhart, 'Copy of memorandum by Acting Consul General Moscow on Mr Ransome's scheme for the establishment of a British News Agency at Moscow', FO 371/2566, Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence 1915, TNA; Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, p. 99; Michael R. Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals, 1905–1917', PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen, 2000, pp. 199–200.

ligence mission in Russia, and Walpole, whom he had met in Petrograd the previous year. Walpole had moved to Russia in September 1914, where he worked for the Russian Red Cross, after failing to find work as a journalist.¹²⁵

Walpole was well established as a novelist by 1914: as we saw in chapter two, he was included in Henry James's summary of 'The Younger Generation' that year alongside Gilbert Cannan, D. H. Lawrence, and Compton Mackenzie.¹²⁶ Williams and Ransome were professional news journalists, but Ransome's pre-war career had been in literary journalism and literary biography: he had first come to Russia in 1913 to collect and translate folk tales, and of course it is for his later children's fiction that he is remembered. Williams was a former Tolstoyan and Methodist minister, with a doctorate in philology, who translated Russian poetry in his spare time and had introduced British readers to Russian symbolism in *Russia of the Russians*. Bernard Pares, not initially on the staff of the Commission, but a close collaborator, was Professor of Russian History, Language, and Literature at the University of Liverpool.¹²⁷

The Anglo-Russian Bureau (as it was initially called before being renamed the Anglo-Russian Commission in November 1916) pursued a predominantly print-based and often literary course under Walpole's organization, which in hindsight appears absurdly insufficient to the demands of the situation.¹²⁸ In the first months of the Bureau's existence, Thornhill, Walpole, and Williams (sometimes helped by Ransome) organized the translation and publication of material sent from London, including memoranda on military activities prepared by John Buchan (another novelist working for the Foreign Office, then in their News Department, but from February 1917 as Director of his own Department of Information), the photo-journal *War Pictorial*, and popular accounts of the British war experience. But they also agreed the material they required from London should include 'Literature, Art &c &c and the varied aspects of English life', and that they should develop a

¹²⁵ Robert Cecil, telegrams to George Buchanan, 17, 26 January 1916, George Buchanan, telegrams to Robert Cecil, 19, 23, 30 January 1916, John Buchan, letter to Robert Cecil, 18 January 1916, FO 371/2566, Foreign Office: Political Departments: General Correspondence 1916, TNA; Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, p. 99; Rupert Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1952), pp. 117, 124, 134, 135.

¹²⁶ James, 'The Younger Generation [I]', pp. 133–4.

¹²⁷ Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, *Cheerful Giver: The Life of Harold Williams* (London: Peter Davies, 1935), p. 94; see also Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 24–7, 31–4, and Irene Zohrab, 'Leo Tolstoy from the Perspective of the New Zealand-born Linguist and Writer Harold W. Williams', *Melbourne Slavonic Studies*, 19 (1985), 14–48, and 'From New Zealand to Russia to Britain: A comment on the work of Harold W. Williams and his relations with English writers', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal* (1985), 3–15; Pares, *A Wandering Student*, pp. 98–9; Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii*, pp. 99–104.

¹²⁸ Hugh Walpole, 'Report on British Propaganda Work in Russia, January–July 1916', 25 July 1916, p. 1, FO 395/25, Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Anglo-Russian Bureau, 14, 22 November 1916, FO 395/25, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1916, TNA; see Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, p. 104; Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals', p. 212. David Ayers notes that, even as late as June 1918, Cournoos 'does not yet reckon with the notion that Russian culture might now change in its very nature, and he optimistically urges such initiatives as sending over [Edward Gordon] Craig, a set of Epstein sculptures and "a library of British and American authors"': see Ayers, *Modernism, Internationalism and the Russian Revolution*, p. 174, and John Cournoos, 'Cultural Propaganda in its Russian Aspect', *New Europe*, 7.89 (17 June 1918), 251–5.

library 'of carefully selected books on general subjects connected with England, literary, economic, social and so forth', which was duly advertised as open daily from three to six. Walpole later recalled 'that I had thought it would be nice for the Russians to read Stevenson and Thomas Hardy. I had complete new sets of them in the office', but a 1917 report notes that in twelve months only five Russians had applied for library cards.¹²⁹ Walpole and Ransome continued with their own literary work during this period. During his first year in Russia, Walpole had completed *The Golden Scarecrow* (1915), *The Dark Forest* (1916), *The Green Mirror* (1918), and the 1916 study of Conrad that Fletcher criticized in the *Egoist* for its negative portrayal of the symbolist writers.¹³⁰ During the same period, Ransome had written *Old Peter's Russian Tales* (1916) and, inspired by Walpole's productivity, his first novel, *The Elixir of Life* (1915).¹³¹ During his tenure at the Commission, despite feeling 'pulled immensely' between the demands of art and war, Walpole wrote his children's book *Jeremy* (1919) and began *The Secret City* (1919); Ransome worked on several manuscripts that were not finished nor published, including two historical novels, *Lord Novgorod the Great* and *Piscator and his Phillida*, and a collection of Russian soldiers' songs.¹³² They socialized with the symbolist writers, painters, and composers, including Merezhkovsky, Remizov, Aleksandr Skryabin (Scriabin), Sologub, and Konstantin Somov, with whom Walpole lived from 1915.¹³³ This continuity between literary activity and propaganda work in the Petrograd office was in contrast to the approach of the Anglo-Russian Press Bureau run by Mikhail Likiardopulo and Bruce Lockhart in Moscow separately from the official Commission. The Moscow office restricted itself to unobtrusively 'giving the Russian newspapers information about the western front', as Ransome had first suggested.¹³⁴ But in December 1916, following a proposal from Walpole, who

¹²⁹ Walpole, 'Report on British Propaganda Work in Russia, January–July 1916', pp. 1–2, FO 395/25, Edward Grey, letter to Arthur Henderson, 10 June 1916, FO 395/25, Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Anglo-Russian Bureau, 24 October 1916, 14 November 1916, 28 November, FO 395/25, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1916, TNA; 'The Anglo-Russian Commission [report]', 15 October 1917, FO 395/106, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1917, TNA; Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals', pp. 202, 203, 209; Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 100–1, 104; Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965), pp. 197–206; M. L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914–18* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 49, 62–76; Hugh Walpole, 'Dennis Garstin and the Russian Revolution: A Brief Word in Memory', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 17.51 (April 1939), 587–605 (p. 587). The first office of the Bureau was on the Morskaia, and Ted Alexander and Tatiana Verizhnikova write that it was 'thought to have been above the English Bookshop at 38 Morskaya... but it is an address which has proved impossible to confirm', see their *Ransome in Russia: Arthur's Adventures in Eastern Europe* (Fareham: Porchester Publishing, 2003), p. 65.

¹³⁰ Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole*, pp. 131, 136, 144, 146–8.

¹³¹ Hugh Brogan, *The Life of Arthur Ransome* (London: Cape, 1984), pp. 99–104.

¹³² Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole*, pp. 152, 157, 162; Brogan, *The Life of Arthur Ransome*, pp. 105, 111; Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, p. 117.

¹³³ Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole*, pp. 135, 143, 152; Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, p. 97.

¹³⁴ Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals', p. 213; R. H. B. Lockhart, letter to George Buchanan, 11 October 1916, FO 395/25, M. Lykiardopulos, 'Report on the Anglo-Russian Press Bureau in Moscow', October 1916, FO 395/25, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1916, TNA; George Buchanan, letter to Hubert Montgomery, 17 January 1917, FO 395/105, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1917, TNA.

wanted the office run by an English staff, the office was closed and its work transferred to the Petrograd Commission.¹³⁵

The British approach to propaganda in Russia was to target the intelligentsia, and in particular the liberal intelligentsia, with whom the Bureau/Commission's staff and associates had social connections.¹³⁶ In November, the Commission decided to arrange weekly informal lunches, and teas or 'at homes' every three weeks. Walpole even proposed that the Bureau could act as a model for a post-war British college or club in Petrograd: 'such a bureau makes a meeting place for the type of Russian and the type of Englishman who have most at heart a true *entente* between the two countries'.¹³⁷ But the revolutions of 1917 transformed the situation. The staff at the Commission responded overwhelmingly positively to the February Revolution: Walpole's report to the British government, commissioned by Buchanan and written with the assistance of Williams, concluded that 'the reserve, restraint, and discipline shown by the Russian people', the lack of violence and greed, 'must always remain one of the great records of history'.¹³⁸ The Commission had strong links with the new Provisional Government: Williams had known many of the new ministers since the beginning of his journalistic career, and his wife Ariadna Tyrkova was elected to the Petrograd Committee of the Kadets. Lockhart wrote that he was 'in almost daily contact with the men who ... formed the first provisional government', and Bernard Pares later remarked, 'These were my friends. Of the twelve new ministers, seven were actually collaborators of my *Russian Review* in Liverpool'.¹³⁹

But over the course of 1917 the colleagues' opinions on the revolution's progress diverged, and their perspectives shaped the journalism that was, in turn, forming public opinion in Britain. Bolshevism gained in popularity, but Alston notes that

¹³⁵ Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Anglo-Russian Bureau, 27 September 1916, FO 395/25, Hugh Walpole, letter to Hubert Montgomery, 19 October 1916, George Buchanan, letter to Hubert Montgomery, 2 December 1916, FO 395/25, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1916, TNA; Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals', pp. 215–16, Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 104–6.

¹³⁶ See Sanders and Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War*, p. 101, Keith Neilson, 'Joy Rides': British Intelligence and Propaganda in Russia, 1914–1917', *Historical Journal*, 24.4 (December 1981), 885–906. Among the four Russian delegations to Britain in 1916 was a 'Russian Writers' delegation in February, consisting of six representatives of Russian papers: Aleksandr Bashmakov, Korney Chukovsky, Efim Egorov, Vladimir Nabokov (father of the novelist), Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, and Aleksey Tolstoy. See V. D. Nabokov, *Iz voyuyushchei Anglii: Putevye ocherki* (Petrograd: Khudozhestvenno-graficheskoe zavedenie 'Union', 1916), and Palmer, 'The British Nexus and the Russian Liberals', pp. 228–37.

¹³⁷ Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Anglo-Russian Bureau, 14, 28 November 1916, FO 395/25, Walpole, 'Report on British Propaganda Work in Russia, January–July 1916', p. 2, FO 395/25, Foreign Office: News Department: General Correspondence 1916, TNA.

¹³⁸ Hart-Davis, *Hugh Walpole*, pp. 159–61, 469.

¹³⁹ Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 114–15; Tyrkova-Williams, *Cheerful Giver*, p. 188; R. H. Bruce Lockhart, *Memoirs of a British Agent: Being an Account of the Author's Early Life in Many Lands and of his Official Mission to Moscow in 1918* (London: Putnam, 1932), p. 159; Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, p. 413. Helen Rappaport's recent *Caught in the Revolution: Petrograd 1917* (London: Hutchinson, 2016) paints a vivid portrait of life in Petrograd for the Anglo-Russian, British, and American communities in 1917.

Williams, with his strong connections to the Kadets and the first Provisional Government they dominated, appears to have deliberately chosen not to investigate or report on Lenin's political programme, and that it is striking that Williams, 'usually among the first to secure an important interview... never actually met Lenin or saw him address a meeting'. By the end of September, with Kerensky's power substantially diminished, the consolidation of Bolshevik support, and months of violence, Williams wrote that 'the bright hopes of the revolution are being darkened'.¹⁴⁰ Ransome, however, had been attending the meetings of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies almost from the beginning, and saw himself as therefore having a 'better chance of knowing what was happening than most of the foreign correspondents who for a long time took no interest in any Russian politicians Left of the Cadets'. Following the April Crisis, Ransome's telegrams to the *Daily News* asserted the shortcomings of the Kadets, especially of Milyukov. He stressed the importance of Britain supporting Kerensky's second Provisional Government, and argued for Britain's attendance at the Stockholm peace conference.¹⁴¹ But his views brought him into conflict with one of his employers: on 6 June, he told his mother that he was 'in trouble with Garvin', the editor of *The Observer*, over his articles about the Russian socialists' disagreement with Allied policy. While the left-wing *Daily News* sent him a financial bonus as a mark of their appreciation of his articles, Ransome thought he might have to resign from *The Observer*: 'I shall be very sorry if so, because though he may easily get a less well-informed correspondent to write him more cheerful telegrams from his point of view, the result will only be that he himself will get a false notion of what to expect'.¹⁴² Ransome did not resign, but his articles drew the Foreign Office's attention: as Roland Chambers has discussed, the 'earliest significant entry' in Ransome's MI5 file was a letter Ransome wrote to his mother in July, in which he related his inability to explain to members of the Soviet's Executive Committee Britain's refusal to participate in the Stockholm conference, and to work towards peace. The members of the Executive Committee

realized clearly what separate peace would mean in German domination of Russia, and further in German use of Russia against us (these particular men were very pro-English) and they said 'If we can keep things going until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly (October), and if, when the Assembly meets peace negotiations have not begun a separate peace will be inevitable. No power on Earth will keep the Russian army in the trenches this winter. They further said 'If England cares twopence for Russia, if England does not want to see the whole of Europe and the whole of Central Asia up to Afghanistan and the Indian borders under the moral dominion of Germany, she will conclude peace this year on the lines of Wilson's note.' The horrible thing is that these were not irresponsible people, nor convinced pacifists. They were the people

¹⁴⁰ Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 123, 126.

¹⁴¹ Brogan, *The Life of Arthur Ransome*, pp. 126, 128, 137, 140, Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, pp. 156–7.

¹⁴² Arthur Ransome, letters to Edith R. Ransome, 23 July 1917, 6 June 1917, in *Signalling from Mars: The Letters of Arthur Ransome*, ed. by Hugh Brogan (London: Jonathan Cape, 1997), pp. 48, 46.

who have been backing Kerensky in his effort to get the army into going order again, the people who have been fighting German influence for all they are worth.¹⁴³

In an attempt to keep Russia in the war, the Secret Intelligence Service, via their American branch, sent W. Somerset Maugham to Petrograd in early September 1917. Maugham, who had previously worked as one of the Intelligence Service's agents in Switzerland, was given instructions to facilitate pro-Allied and anti-German propaganda and report back on the political situation. Ostensibly in Russia as a journalist—even Buchanan was not informed of the precise nature of his work—Maugham was to cultivate anti-Bolshevik socialist groups (notably the Edinstvo (Unity) group led by Plekhanov, the Popular Socialists, and the Socialist Revolutionaries) and lead a group of Czech activists who were to establish a Slav Press Bureau that would disseminate propaganda for Czech, Polish, and Yugoslav nationalists, whose armies it was hoped might revive the Russian army. He also took Russian lessons every morning, read much Russian literature, and spent time with old friends including Walpole, whom he had known in London before the war, and Kropotkin's daughter, Aleksandra Lebedeva (Sasha Kropotkin), with whom he had had a brief but intense affair six years earlier.¹⁴⁴ Lebedeva provided access to several political figures, including Kerensky and, according to Keith Jeffery, Maugham's reports 'were among the very few accurately to assess the weakness of Alexander Kerensky's administration and the strength of the Bolshevik movement'. Looking back on the period in 1938, Maugham remarked that he had been sent too late to help the Provisional Government, but 'it seems to me at least possible that if I had been sent six months before I might well have succeeded'.¹⁴⁵ By mid October it had become clear the Bolsheviks would soon be in power and Maugham was recalled. He left on 4 November (22 October OS), two days before the beginning of the October Revolution.¹⁴⁶

When the October Revolution was reported in Britain on 9 November, the press, though alarmed, argued that Kerensky's government would surely have

¹⁴³ Arthur Ransome, letter to Edith R. Ransome, 1 July 1917 [os?], The Security Service: Personal (PF Series) Files: Arthur Mitchell Ransome, KV 2/1903, TNA, © Arthur Ransome Literary Estate 2019; see also Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, p. 157.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Lorin Calder, 'Appendix B: Maugham's Role in Allied Espionage in Russia in 1917', in *W. Somerset Maugham and the Quest for Freedom* (London: Heinemann, 1972), pp. 273–89; Selina Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham* (London: John Murray, 2009), pp. 225, 228, 230, 160, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, 'W. Somerset Maugham: Anglo-American Agent in Revolutionary Russia', *American Quarterly*, 28 (1976), 90–106; Swain, *The Origins of the Russian Civil War*, pp. 102–16.

¹⁴⁵ Keith Jeffery, *MI6: The History of the Secret Intelligence Service, 1909–1949* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p. 118; W. Somerset Maugham, *The Summing Up* (London: Heinemann, 1938), p. 204. In a letter to Gerald Kelly written on 18 January 1918 that summarized his time in Russia, Maugham wrote 'I saw a great deal of Sasha. She was charming & you cannot imagine how useful. She knows everyone of any consequence, if I was able to do any good it was very largely through her help. Her impudence is only equaled by her energy. It is a strange turn of fortune to find her almost a power in the land, on terms of intimacy with all the ministers, when you think of the shabby, [dead] life she led in London. Of course, she wants to stay in Russia always, but Boris, oddly enough, hankers after London, & when things are settled down a bit will probably insist on some job over here. If Sasha makes up her mind on it I am convinced she will get him made ambassador' (Maugham, letter to Gerald Kelly, 18 January [1918], RP 2505, BL).

¹⁴⁶ Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham*, p. 232.

the resources to regain power, and that the Bolsheviks did not command the authority of the people or the army: as late as January 1918, the *Daily Telegraph* was still reporting that the Soviet Government 'may be swept out of existence at any hour, and no sane man would give them as much as a month to live'.¹⁴⁷ The October Revolution appeared, then, not as a concluding event, but as a stage—to many, a setback—in the on-going revolutionary process that had begun in March. Comment on the revolution by literary figures is accordingly scarce. By chance, several of the Commission staff were away from Petrograd during the critical period, too: Walpole was in Britain from the middle of June to the beginning of October, and left Russia permanently on 8 November (26 October os), the day the Provisional Government surrendered power to the Soviets. Neither Williams nor Ransome were in Petrograd during the revolution: Ransome was on holiday in Britain, and he commented on the revolution from London until December, when he returned to Petrograd. Williams and Tyrkova were in the Caucasus, travelling home as the revolution spread.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in which Soviet Russia agreed peace terms with the Central Powers, was signed on 3 March 1918, by which time Allied officials had begun to leave Petrograd. Williams and Tyrkova left Petrograd on 18 March, fearing for Tyrkova's safety and hoping to generate Allied support for the anti-Bolshevik armies from London.¹⁴⁸ By the time of their departure, their relationship with Ransome had broken down irrevocably. Ransome spent most of the next six years in Russia, developing close relationships with Nikolay Bukharin, the editor of *Pravda*, Karl Radek, the Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Lev Trotsky (whose secretary Ransome married in 1924), and Georgy Chicherin, the successive Commissars of Foreign Affairs. He reported for the *Daily News* and, from 1919, the *Manchester Guardian*—and also, from 1918, the Secret Intelligence Service.¹⁴⁹ Cournos's propaganda work had become impossible: 'As the Menshevik papers were one by one being "liquidated," there was less and less chance of placing a reasoned-out essay demonstrating the virtue of saving the world for democracy over the signature of "Englishman," "American," "Fair Play," or just plain John Cournos', he wrote.¹⁵⁰ In any case, only a month after arriving in Petrograd, his 'revolutionary opinions' had changed, and he wrote to Fletcher that he 'had discovered [he was] a bourgeois'. He arrived back in Britain, after travelling for over a month, on 29 March 1918. Like Walpole, he took a job under John Buchan in the Ministry of Information (as the Department of Information had been renamed).

¹⁴⁷ 'Russia and the Allies', *Daily Telegraph* (5 January 1918), p. 4..

¹⁴⁸ Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 127–30; Tyrkova-Williams, *Cheerful Giver*, pp. 194–5, 201–5; Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii*, pp. 71–2; Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, pp. 164–5;

¹⁴⁹ Alston, *Russia's Greatest Enemy?*, pp. 143–52; Ransome, *The Autobiography of Arthur Ransome*, pp. 227–30, 247–58, 265; Chambers, *The Last Englishman*, pp. 182–90, 247–51. Chambers debates whether Ransome was in fact a double agent, reporting to both the Secret Intelligence Service and the Cheka: he notes 'there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence to support such a view', but stops short of making that claim (p. 349). See also Jeffrey, *MI6*, pp. 173–4.

¹⁵⁰ Cournos, *Autobiography*, p. 313–14.

His task was, he later wrote, 'to keep informed of the Russian situation as it developed by reading the Russian papers and such documents as came my way'.¹⁵¹

The following year, Cournos published a fictionalized account of his experiences following the October Revolution, 'A Londoner's Dream on Returning from Petrograd'. The narrator dreams that London is under Bolshevik rule: 'MacLenin' and 'Trotsman' have overturned Ramsay MacDonald's Provisional Government, Grey, Asquith, Lloyd George and H. G. Wells have been imprisoned as counter-revolutionaries, and even *The Herald* and the *Labour Leader* (let alone *The Times*, *Morning Post*, *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Daily News*) have been suppressed. Walking along the Strand, the narrator finds that 'bright, cheery' Londoners are now 'shabbily dressed, hungry-looking', 'sullen', and hostile. The streets and the Thames are filled with rubbish. A tank rolls past, firing indiscriminately, a man lashes his emaciated horse almost to death, two men execute a third while he begs for his life, and the Red Guards fire at a peaceful demonstration. Cigarettes have become prohibitively expensive, there is no alcohol, and the coffee is undrinkable. The narrative culminates in the narrator's visit to his old friend, the 'great literary celebrity' Mr. Thornton, living in fear and penury in Karl Marx Flats (formerly Queen Alexandra Chambers). Thornton tells the narrator a secret: the Bolsheviks, he says, 'hate the artist and the man of intellect far more than they do the capitalist. For they can take away the wealth of the rich man, as in fact they already have done, but they cannot take away for their own use from the inexhaustible capital that is in a man's brain: they can only shoot me, which they probably will do, but they cannot *confiscate* my intellect'. The narrator is arrested, imprisoned in the Tower of London, and finally faces a firing squad before waking up to find himself in London as he had left it, and ordering a breakfast of bacon and eggs.¹⁵²

It is significant that it is a 'literary celebrity' who speaks the story's 'secret', because, as we have seen throughout this study, it was Russia's writers who had been the primary representatives of Russia's liberal and revolutionary traditions to three generations of British readers. In reflecting on the relationship between Russia's literature and its current events, the literary journals still turned to the interpretative framework they had been taught by the *chaikovtsy*, which allowed them to read the revolutions as the fulfilment of arguments made by nineteenth-century literature. Reviewing Tomáš Masaryk's *The Spirit of Russia* in *The Athenaeum* in 1919, J. W. N. Sullivan echoed Kravchinsky's argument of thirty years before that Russian literature was 'in the first place, an incitement to action', and 'nearly every Russian writer was also something of a prophet; his admirers and his detractors estimated his work primarily in its possible relation to action'.¹⁵³ So, once again, Turgenev's novels were read as sowing 'the seeds of revolution' that 'brought

¹⁵¹ John Gould Fletcher, letters to John Cournos, 16 August [1917], 1 January 1918, John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 5, Houghton; Cournos, *Autobiography*, pp. 316–26, 328.

¹⁵² John Cournos, 'A Londoner's Dream on Returning from Petrograd', *Nineteenth Century and After*, 85 (February 1919), 383–94 (pp. 383, 393).

¹⁵³ J. W. N. S., 'Credo, Ergo Sum', *The Athenaeum*, 4659 (1919), 749–50 (p. 749).

forth shoots' currently 'choked by tares', yet promising 'ultimate harvest'; Dostoevsky was quoted as exemplifying 'a literature that as a whole may be said literally to exalt the humble', to have drawn wisdom from the people, and 'infused into the people their own culture of kindness and pity', and from Chekhov's characters one could 'collect a varying but vital criticism of modern life'.¹⁵⁴ In the *English Review*, Austin Harrison went so far as to connect Bolshevism itself to Russia's literary tradition: 'the new Russia' was 'the Russia of her literature and her long sorrow' and Bolshevism 'the natural expression of her awakening in the travail of spiritual anarchy', he wrote in April 1918.¹⁵⁵ David Garnett, living with Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant at their farm, Charleston, sent excited letters about the revolutions to his mother Constance, who had been so instrumental in creating the literary conduit to Russian politics. What is so striking about Garnett's correspondence is its intermingling of Russian literary and political news. One letter begins, 'I am delighted with Gontcharov but haven't had time to get very far', and concludes 'Oh Mr Kerensky! Quel coup de theatre! Bravo! Bravo! et alors?', another starts with a discussion of Tolstoy's recently translated diary ('it is execrably translated—in fact the English is so bad one can't always follow the sense'), and ends with an excited, 'Bravo Bolsheviki! I only hope they & the Social Revolutionaries in combination have a really tremendous majority in the elections'.¹⁵⁶ The close connections between literary intellectuals and socialists also produced the 1917 Club, conceived by Leonard Woolf and Oliver Strachey in April 1917 to celebrate the February Revolution, and meeting for the first time on 19 December 1917 at 4 Gerrard Street, Soho. According to Douglas Goldring, Ford's former secretary, and editor of the *Tramp* and the 'Plays for a People's Theatre' series, it was filled with 'men and women who had endured persecution for the opposition to the war and to the peace, with labour M. P.s, with future Cabinet Ministers, novelists, actors, trade union officials, journalists, class conscious "comrades," revolutionary aristocrats—in fact with every description of "left-winger"'.¹⁵⁷ The Club enabled W. C. Anderson, H. N. Brailsford, J. A. Hobson, Joseph King, Mary Macarthur, Ramsay MacDonald, Henry Nevins, and E. D. Morel to occupy the same space as Huntly Carter, Aldous Huxley, E. M. Forster, the Sitwells, the Stracheys, H. G. Wells, and the Woolfs. On 17 January 1918 Virginia Woolf wrote to her sister, 'The centre of life I should say; is now undoubtedly the 17 Club. I'm going

¹⁵⁴ 'A Great Russian', review of Edward Garnett, *Turgenev: A Study*, *Saturday Review*, 124.3239 (24 November 1917), 420–2 (p. 420); J. A. T. Lloyd, 'The Russian Novelists of the Nineteenth Century', *Fortnightly Review*, 108.647 (November 1920), 854–64 (p. 864); George Sampson, 'The Reader: Some Russian Novelists', *The Bookman*, 53.313 (October 1917), 8–14 (p. 13).

¹⁵⁵ Austin Harrison, "'For the Duration'!", *English Review*, 26 (April 1918), 368–79 (p. 370).

¹⁵⁶ David Garnett, letters to Constance Garnett, [1917–18], David Garnett Collection, MS 1540, box 9, folder 1, HRC. The diary was translated by Aleksandr Sirnis, a member of Chertkov's Tolstoyan community in Tuckton, Christchurch, and corrected by C. J. Hogarth and Charles Hagberg Wright: see *The Diaries of Leo Tolstoy: Youth, 1847–1852*, trans. by C. J. Hogarth & A. Sirnis (London: Dent, 1917), and 'L. N. Tolstoi, Diaries... 1847–1852 (London 1917)', folders 472–89, Tuckton House Papers, MS 1381, Leeds.

¹⁵⁷ Douglas Goldring, *Odd Man Out: The Autobiography of a "Propaganda Novelist"* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1935), p. 267, Beasley, 'Russia and the Invention of the Modernist Intelligentsia', pp. 27–9.

to give you tea there; and you may write a letter on stamped paper, and they have nibs, and real ink—the sort that runs, I mean’.¹⁵⁸

Anti-Bolshevik émigrés endeavoured to combat the idea that the October Revolution was the fruition of the revolutionary aspirations British readers had encountered in nineteenth-century Russian literature. According to them, Bolshevism was a perversion of their revolutionary tradition. This was a point repeatedly made in the pamphlets published by the Russian Liberation Committee, the anti-Bolshevik propaganda group set up in London in the first months of 1919 by the ancient historian Mikhail Rostovtzev, with an executive committee that included Pavel Milyukov, Petr Struve, Harold Williams, and Ariadna Tyrkova.¹⁵⁹ Cournos’s story was reprinted as number four in their pamphlet series, with a new foreword in which Cournos described it as ‘a true and precise picture of Petrograd during the first few months of the Bolshevik Revolution’, its scenes merely transferred to London ‘to emphasise the realities of the Bolshevik nightmare’.¹⁶⁰ The first pamphlet, *Russia under the Bolsheviks* by Isaak Shklovsky (‘Dioneo’), the London-based correspondent of *Russkoe bogatstvo* (*Russian Wealth*) and *Russkie vedomosti* (*Russian News*), surveyed everyday life under the Bolsheviks, drawing on Russian periodicals and accounts by anti-Bolshevik friends. Like several of the Committee’s authors, Shklovsky based his authority on his and his sources’ history in the revolutionary movement: ‘It would be easy to understand if Russia were called a hell on earth only by Russian “capitalists,” “bourgeois,” or “counter-revolutionaries,”’ he wrote, ‘but the matter becomes more complicated when the average English reader finds that such famous and well-known revolutionaries as Tchaikovsky or Kropotkin are irreconcilable enemies of Bolshevism’. Indeed, Chaikovsky, who had returned to Russia in 1907, played an active part in the attempts to set up an anti-Bolshevik government, working with the White movement and the Allied intervention. Kropotkin, who returned with great enthusiasm after the February Revolution, had become increasingly critical of the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks, but did not support the Allied intervention. Shklovsky argued that the Bolsheviks were not the inheritors of the Western liberal tradition, and far from ‘the embodiment in actual life of the ideals of liberty as understood by Sir Thomas More, Cabet and William Morris’. They represented tyranny, destroying industries, producing famine, mismanaging the economy, censoring the press, ruining the universities, and extinguishing culture:

In some districts there were beautiful model estates, with large gardens, dairy farms, studs, etc. The peasants burnt down the buildings, cut down all the fruit trees, and

¹⁵⁸ Virginia Woolf, letter to Vanessa Bell, 17 January 1918, in *The Question of Things Happening: The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, 11: 1912–1922, ed. by Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann (London: Hogarth Press, 1976), p. 210.

¹⁵⁹ See Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii*, pp. 36–42, 72–4, Charlotte Alston, ‘The Work of the Russian Liberation Committee in London, 1919–1924’, *Slavonica*, 14.1 (2008), 6–17 (p. 6); Marinus A. Wes, *Michael Rostovtzeff. Historian in Exile: Russian Roots in an American Context* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), p. 25.

¹⁶⁰ John Cournos, *London Under the Bolsheviks: A Londoner’s Dream on Returning from Petrograd* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919), p. [2]. The new title was presumably suggested by Shklovsky’s earlier pamphlet.

killed the pedigree cows and horses, if these could not be divided among them. In the provinces of Moscow, Tver, Tambov, etc., there were estates which were centres of culture. These 'old nests' bred eagles—famous Russian writers and fighters against autocracy. Pushkin, Lermontov, Tourgueniev and Tolstoy were country gentlemen. Herzen, Bakounin, Kropotkin, Tchaikovsky and many other revolutionaries whose names are known in England, were eaglets from these 'old nests.' In such estates there were large libraries, museums, precious family archives and other relics. Now all this has been either looted or destroyed. Thus many a page will be missing from the history of Russian culture.¹⁶¹

Shklovsky's roll call of names effectively conveys the loss of the conditions that produced the Russian culture familiar to his British readers. But in this passage he also involuntarily underlines the fact that nineteenth-century Russian culture was the preserve of a wealthy elite—hardly the ideal of More, Cabet, and Morris. Other contributions to the Committee's pamphlet series reveal the same blind spot. Rostovtsev's *Proletarian Culture* refuses to recognize that class may affect literary opportunity: 'None of the creators of culture ever thought even for a moment that they worked, or could work, only for one particular part of Humanity, for one special class... Art, Science, and Instruction took for their object not a "proletarian" but a "human being," he writes. 'Culture and cultural work have always been free'.¹⁶² Even more striking is Milyukov's introduction to an essay by Leonid Andreev, in which he compares the anti-Bolshevik Andreev with Gor'ky, who was working with the Bolsheviks. While Gor'ky was 'born in a tradesman's family', his education 'meagre and chiefly based on a desultory course of reading', Andreev is middle class, 'with the fine face of an artist and a highly refined personality'.¹⁶³

According to the Russian Liberation Committee and their associates, the Bolsheviks were not the culmination of the revolutionary tradition British readers had learned to admire through their reading of Russian literature, but a foreign import. Harold Williams's pamphlet, *The Spirit of the Revolution*, argued that Bolshevism was 'a relapse from that toilsome, liberating achievement which is the essence of true civilization, into a reign of violence and primitive materialistic impulses' influenced by German social democracy: Lenin, wrote Williams, was 'actually a pawn in the Germans' hands'.¹⁶⁴ The Civil War, from this perspective, was not internal to Russia, but a continuation of the World War, fought on Russian territory, in which the Allies should undoubtedly engage. Milyukov put this bluntly: after the armistice, he wrote, 'we had not the slightest idea that the very existence of a loyal Russia, engaged in war against the Bolshevik ally of

¹⁶¹ Dioneo (I. V. Shklovsky), *Russia Under the Bolsheviks* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919), pp. 3, [2], 4, 13; V. I. Goldin, 'Nikolai Chaikovskii in Revolution and Counter-Revolution', trans. by Paul Dukes, *Revolutionary Russia*, 14.1 (2001), 22–42 (pp. 26–37); Woodcock and Avakumović, *The Anarchist Prince*, pp. 388–430.

¹⁶² M. I. Rostovtsev, *Proletarian Culture* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919), p. 8.

¹⁶³ P. N. Miliukov, 'Introduction', in Leonid Andreev, *Save Our Souls: An Appeal to the Allies* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919), pp. 2–13 (pp. 3–4).

¹⁶⁴ Harold Williams, *The Spirit of the Russian Revolution* (London: Russian Liberation Committee, 1919), pp. ii, 11, 24.

Germany, could be a matter for doubt, and that the legal recognition of this loyal and allied Russia could meet with difficulties, owing to the strange idea, that recognition of an allied government may mean "interference in the internal affairs" of Russia'.¹⁶⁵

The Russian Liberation Committee was, as Charlotte Alston has discussed, an influential anti-Bolshevik 'clearing house' for news on Russia and the Civil War between 1919 and 1924.¹⁶⁶ Information from a pro-Bolshevik perspective was co-ordinated by Maksim Litvinov, the unofficial representative of the Soviet government in Britain (the recognized *chargé d'affaires* at the Russian Embassy was Konstantin Nabokov, Vladimir Nabokov's uncle).¹⁶⁷ Litvinov had lived in London since 1908, and in 1916 he had married the novelist Ivy Low, a friend of Lawrence and Kotelyansky, and the niece of Dorothy Richardson's and John Rodker's friend, the psychoanalyst and former secretary of the Freewoman Discussion Circle, Barbara Low.¹⁶⁸ After Litvinov was expelled in October 1918, his unofficial position was assumed by Fedor Rotshtein, the former editor of the *chaikovtsy's* *Free Russia*, who had become a friend of Lenin's in London in 1902.¹⁶⁹ In 1923 the Soviet government established the *Ob"edinennoe Byuro Informatsii* (United Information Bureau) to develop propaganda abroad, and co-ordinate information for foreign visitors. Rotshtein and Litvinov continued to use their knowledge of Britain and of propaganda after they returned to Russia. In 1925 Rotshtein became the director of the Press Section of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, whose Commissar was Chicherin and whose deputy was Litvinov. In 1930 Litvinov himself became Commissar.¹⁷⁰

Alongside these forms of pro- and anti-Bolshevik propaganda, eye-witness accounts of the 'new Russia' began to be published in Britain from 1917. In 1917–18 these primarily focused on the experience of the revolutions and the Civil War, but from 1919 many set out to evaluate the Soviet regime, including its development of a Soviet culture. Their authors ranged from former officials of the Imperial government (Roman Rozen),¹⁷¹ officials and allies of the Provisional Government

¹⁶⁵ P. N. Miliukov, 'Introduction', in Andreiev, *Save Our Souls*, p. 9. For further information about Anglo-Russian groups founded in Britain in response to the revolutions, see Kaznina, *Russkie v Anglii*, pp. 20–42.

¹⁶⁶ Alston, 'The Work of the Russian Liberation Committee in London', p. 6.

¹⁶⁷ Hugh D. Phillips, *Between the Revolution and the West: A Political Biography of Maxim M. Litvinov* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 20–1, 24–5; Maisky, *Puteshestvie v proshloe*, pp. 70–8; Maisky, *Journey into the Past*, pp. 62–8; C. Nabokoff, *The Ordeal of a Diplomat* (London: Duckworth, 1921), pp. 107, 196–7, 208–27.

¹⁶⁸ Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury*, pp. 105–6; John Carswell, *The Exile: A Life of Ivy Litvinov* (London: Faber, 1983), pp. 72–4, 96.

¹⁶⁹ David Burke, 'Theodore Rothstein, Russian Emigré and British Socialist', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2.3 (1983), 80–99 (p. 94); Burke, *Russia and the British Left*, pp. 127–32.

¹⁷⁰ Maisky, *Puteshestvie v proshloe*, p. 96; Maisky, *Journey into the Past*, pp. 82–3; Michael David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 34–5.

¹⁷¹ Baron Rosen, *Forty Years of Diplomacy*, 2 vols (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922). Rosen was a member of the State Council until its dissolution following the February Revolution.

(Pitirim Sorokin, Tyrkova),¹⁷² ambassadors (Buchanan),¹⁷³ and members of the British military and Secret Intelligence Service (Paul Dukes, Alfred Knox),¹⁷⁴ to journalists (Brailsford, Philips Price, Ransome, Edwin Wilcox, Robert Wilton),¹⁷⁵ those who were working for the Red Cross (Pavel Biryukov, John Pollock),¹⁷⁶ those who visited as a delegate to the Second Comintern Congress in July to August 1920 (Sylvia Pankhurst),¹⁷⁷ or as part of the Labour Delegation in May to June 1920 (Charles Roden Buxton, Leslie Haden Guest, Bertrand Russell, Ethel Snowden),¹⁷⁸ or the Trades Union Delegation of November 1924 (Ben Tillett),¹⁷⁹ or as private individuals (Huntly Carter, W. T. Goode, J. M. Keynes, George Lansbury, Clare Sheridan, H. G. Wells).¹⁸⁰ Many included interviews with key Bolshevik figures ('the set piece Lenin interview became a staple of travel reports during 1919–20', remarks F. M. Leventhal), and most described visits to a variety of Soviet institutions, especially factories, hospitals, prisons, theatres, and schools.¹⁸¹

¹⁷² Pitirim Sorokin, *Leaves from a Russian Diary* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1925); Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, *From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk: The First Year of the Russian Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1919). Subsequently a renowned sociologist in the United States, before his exile Sorokin was a member of the Social Revolutionary party, and secretary to Kerensky in the Provisional Government: see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *A Long Journey* (New Haven, CT: College and University Press, 1963), p. 132.

¹⁷³ George Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia and Other Diplomatic Memories*, 2 vols (London: Cassell, 1923). Also relevant, though not eye-witness accounts of Soviet Russia, are the memoirs of the French ambassador to Imperial Russia and the Provisional Government's Chargé d'Affaires in London in 1917: see Maurice Paléologue, *An Ambassador's Memoirs*, trans. by F. A. Holt, 3 vols (London: Hutchinson, 1923–25) and Nabokoff, *The Ordeal of a Diplomat*.

¹⁷⁴ Paul Dukes, *Red Dusk and the Morrow: Adventures and Investigations in Red Russia* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1922); Alfred Knox, *With the Russian Army, 1914–1917: Being Chiefly Extracts from the Diary of a Military Attaché* (London: Hutchinson, 1921).

¹⁷⁵ Henry Noel Brailsford, *The Russian Workers' Republic* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1921); M. Philips Price, *My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1921); Arthur Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1919), *The Crisis in Russia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1921), *The Truth about Russia* (London: Workers' Socialist Federation, 1919); E. H. Wilcox, *Russia's Ruin* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1919); Robert Wilton, *Russia's Agony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1918). Price, Wilcox and Wilton were correspondents for the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times* respectively.

¹⁷⁶ Paul Birukoff, *The New Russia* (London: The Independent Labour Party, [1919]); John Pollock, *The Bolshevik Adventure* (London: Constable, 1919).

¹⁷⁷ Sylvia Pankhurst, *Soviet Russia As I Saw It* (London: Workers' Dreadnought, 1921).

¹⁷⁸ *British Labour Delegation to Russia, 1920: Report* (London: Trade Union Congress/Labour Party, 1920); Charles Roden Buxton, *In a Russian Village* (London: Labour Publishing Company, 1922); L. Haden Guest, *The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917–1921: An Outline Economic and Political Survey of the Central States and Russia* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921); Bertrand Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1920); Mrs Philip Snowden [Ethel Snowden], *Through Bolshevik Russia* (London: Cassell, 1920).

¹⁷⁹ *Russia: The Official Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia and Caucasia, Nov. and Dec., 1924* (London: Trades Union Congress General Council, 1925); Ben Tillett, *Some Russian Impressions* (London: Labour Research Department, 1925).

¹⁸⁰ Carter, *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*; Wm. T. Goode, *Bolshevism at Work* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920); John Maynard Keynes, *A Short View of Russia* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925); George Lansbury, *What I Saw in Russia* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1920); Clare Sheridan, *Russian Portraits* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1921); Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*.

¹⁸¹ F. M. Leventhal, 'Seeing the Future: British Left-Wing Travellers to the Soviet Union, 1919–32', in J. M. W. Bean, ed., *The Political Culture of Modern Britain: Studies in Memory of Stephen Koss* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), pp. 209–27 (p. 212).

Opinions about the Soviet regime differed very substantially, as Vera Brittain discovered when she was asked to give a lecture on 'the Russian Revolution'. 'In 1921 the entire resources of the [British] Museum Library seemed unable to yield one document which gave an unbiased account of developments in Russia since 1917', she wrote in 1933, '"The Russian Revolution is almost driving me mad," I complained gloomily to Winifred. "Each book one picks up flatly contradicts the last. No one writes about it sanely—in one the Bolsheviks can do no right and in the others no wrong... I look wildly for facts and I can only find arguments"''.¹⁸² Indeed: according to Paul Dukes, Bolshevism was 'politically a despotism, economically a folly, and as a democracy a stupendous delusion, which will never guide the proletarian ship to the harbour of communistic felicity'; for Emma Goldman—whose book was published by Charles Daniel—it was 'crushing every constructive revolutionary effort, suppressing, debasing, and disintegrating everything'; and Bertrand Russell, though arguing that 'Communism is necessary to the world', wrote that 'the present holders of power are evil men, and the present manner of life is doomed'.¹⁸³ Yet George Lansbury considered that 'no set of men and women responsible for a revolution of the magnitude of the Russian Revolution ever made fewer mistakes or carried their revolution through with less interference with the rights of individuals, or with less terrorism and destruction, than the men in control in Russia'; W. T. Goode (Soskis's former collaborator on the English Review Company) found that 'abuses which were the plague spot of Russia are beginning to disappear; while the efforts of the Government for the uplifting of the people, physically, morally, and intellectually, are surprising in character, extent, and success'; and Sylvia Pankhurst reported that 'a happy contentment and buoyant, confident enthusiasm is radiating from the active makers of the revolution and builders of the proletarian State, to wider and wider sections of people'.¹⁸⁴ The Labour Delegation was impressed by advances in 'social equalisation', education, and industrial organization, but they deplored the lack of personal freedom, widespread illness, and lack of food. Nevertheless, their conclusion did not blame the Soviet government:

The Russian Revolution has not had a fair chance. We cannot say whether, in normal conditions, this particular Socialist experiment would have been a success or a failure. The conditions have been such as would have rendered the task of social transformation extraordinarily difficult, whoever had attempted it and whatever had been the means adopted. We cannot forget that the responsibility for these conditions resulting from foreign interference rests not upon the revolutionaries of Russia, but upon the Capitalist Governments of other countries, including our own.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900–1925* (London: Gollancz, 1933), p. 541.

¹⁸³ Dukes, *Red Dusk and the Morrow*, p. 301; Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1925), p. xi; Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, pp. 6, 9.

¹⁸⁴ Lansbury, *What I Saw in Russia*, p. xii; Goode, *Bolshevism at Work*, pp. 139–40; Pankhurst, *Soviet Russia As I Saw It*, p. 170.

¹⁸⁵ *British Labour Delegation to Russia*, p. 27.

Wells also cited the Civil War and the blockade as the main source of Soviet Russia's problems: 'If London had had to endure four more years of war, much the same sort of thing would be happening in London', he wrote. 'Bolshevik government in Russia is neither responsible for the causation nor for the continuance of these miseries'. Moreover it is 'the only possible backbone now to a renascent Russia. The recivilizing of Russia must be done with the Soviet Government as the starting phase'. Wells poured scorn on the testimony of Russian refugees, they are 'politically contemptible', he remarked, rehearsing 'endless stories of "Bolshevik outrages"', without a coherent alternative political system to propose.¹⁸⁶ One refugee, Pitirim Sorokin, who had met Wells in Russia before going into exile, wrote in his devastating account of the regime that Wells had been prevented from hearing or seeing the real situation because he 'was placed under the constant guardianship of Gorky', and commented bitterly that the Labour Delegation 'simply swallowed what ever bait the Soviet leaders offered them'.¹⁸⁷

British visitors to the Soviet Union were sensitive to such charges: prefaces and introductions claimed varying degrees of independence from Soviet guidance. Wells recounted how he made an unscheduled visit to a school, after he realized children in the first school he was shown had been coached: when his guide asked the children their favourite English writer 'one name dominated all others. My own. Such comparatively trivial figures as Milton, Dickens, Shakespeare ran about intermittently between the feet of that literary colossus'. Yet the second school was even better than the first—though it did expose 'the extraordinary vogue of H. G. Wells among the young people of Russia' as fiction.¹⁸⁸

Even if Wells was not its lodestar, cultural life in Soviet Russia impressed British visitors, for whom it was an important measure of the government's success and civilization. W. T. Goode was relieved to find that the Tret'yakov Gallery 'is not only maintained, it has been extended from private collections and by buying'.¹⁸⁹ Unsurprisingly, visitors were taken to the theatre and the ballet, and most were relieved to find familiar plays, operas, and ballets performed to the standard they had come to expect from Russian companies—now in front of a more representative audience. Ethel Snowden reported that the Labour delegation was taken 'several times to the most wonderful performances of plays and operas it has been the lot of most of them to see', where the audiences of 'quiet working folk and professional men and women', who were 'very attentive and most appreciative'.¹⁹⁰ Wells went to at least five performances, including hearing Shalyapin (Chaliapin) in Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* and Musorgsky's *Khovanshchina*: 'when one faced the stage, it was as if nothing had changed in Russia; but when the curtain fell and on turned to the audience one realised the revolution'.¹⁹¹ H. N. Brailsford heard 'a superb performance of Rimsky-Kórsakov's *Sadko*' at the 'glorious Marinsky

¹⁸⁶ Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, pp. 87–90.

¹⁸⁷ Sorokin, *Leaves from a Russian Diary*, pp. 243–4. See also Patrick Wright, *Iron Curtain: From Stage to Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 140–9.

¹⁸⁸ Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, pp. 99–100.

¹⁹⁰ Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, pp. 71, 73.

¹⁹¹ Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, pp. 35–6.

¹⁸⁹ Goode, *Bolshevism at Work*, p. 137.

Theatre'. Beside him was 'a group who looked like London charwomen, rapt and delighted all the time. "I didn't understand it all," said one, "but I *did* enjoy it."' ¹⁹² While for some visitors, these performances demonstrated the Soviet government's respect for Russia's pre-revolutionary cultural heritage—the Tolstoyan Pavel Biryukov noted with approval that 'the works of Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Tolstoi, Tchekoff, and other masters are frequently produced'—to others it seemed out of step with the political and social transformations. ¹⁹³ Dora Black, who wrote the chapter on 'Art and Education' in Russell's *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, found it strange that the theatres continued to stage 'the old classics in tragedy or comedy, and the old-style operette... As one sits in the theatre, one is so acutely conscious of the discrepancy between the daily life of the audience and that depicted in the play that the latter seems utterly dead and meaningless'. ¹⁹⁴ Even Chekhov's plays were out-of-date now: attending the Moscow Art Theatre's production of *Dyadya Vanya* (*Uncle Vanya*) in 1919, Ransome commented that 'the play had become a play of historical interest; the life it represented had gone for ever... Such people no longer exist'. ¹⁹⁵

There is little detail about post-revolutionary creative work in most of these accounts. In February 1919 Ransome noted that 'there is much excited controversy both in magazine and pamphlet form as to the distinguishing marks of the new proletarian art which is expected to come out of the revolution and no doubt will come, though not in the form expected'. ¹⁹⁶ Visiting in the autumn of the following year, Brailsford gave a tentative report: 'the output of new and experimental verse is surprisingly active', he wrote, 'it seemed to me powerful, somewhat violent in expression, realistic, cynical and unhappy in mood, and it was using various new experimental forms. I thought it rather French than Russian in its inspiration'. ¹⁹⁷ In May Ethel Snowden and some of her fellow Labour delegates had visited a theatre in Moscow and 'saw a perfect riot of extravagant colour and design on Futurist lines. It was a mad story, madly told'. ¹⁹⁸ The Trades Union Delegation described the painting and sculpture produced by the workers' art colleges it visited in 1924 as 'vivid' but 'crude', rejecting 'any form of aesthetic art or colouring as typical of the hated bourgeois refinement'. ¹⁹⁹ For these commentators, post-revolutionary art is not evidence of Soviet Russia's civilization, but its primitivism—at best, its will to civilization. Black, Brailsford, and Wells all drew attention to the lack of infrastructure for cultural development: while the theatre was well attended, 'the paper shortage is so acute that very few books can be published, and the printers happen to be the most disaffected and the most depressed of all the trades... The

¹⁹² Brailsford, *The Russian Workers' Republic*, p. 93.

¹⁹³ Biryukoff, *The New Russia*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁴ Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, p. 45.

¹⁹⁵ Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, p. 93.

¹⁹⁶ Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, p. 122.

¹⁹⁷ Brailsford, *The Russian Workers' Republic*, p. 88.

¹⁹⁸ Snowden, *Through Bolshevik Russia*, p. 78. It has not been possible to identify the theatre or the performance.

¹⁹⁹ *Russia: The Official Report of the British Trades Union Delegation*, p. 113.

painters, who used to work for private patrons, are depressed and indolent for lack of the accustomed encouragement', wrote Brailsford. 'There remained no one to buy books or pictures', commented Wells.²⁰⁰ But Black and Brailsford, at least, envisioned a future, wealthier Russia as a haven for artists: 'A prosperous Communist State would probably be a patron as generous as the Italian cities and churches of the Renaissance', commented Brailsford, and Black suggested that 'Communist artists of the future may erect public buildings surpassing in beauty the mediæval churches, they may paint frescoes, organize pageants, make Homeric songs about their heroes'.²⁰¹

Though these comments may seem somewhat anachronistic, finding their points of reference in Ruskin and Morris, rather than Bogdanov, Proletkul't's early theorist, or Lunacharsky, whose Commissariat for Education had initial responsibility for post-revolutionary culture, Black and Brailsford are more accurate in identifying the questions debated in Soviet Russia than many subsequent critics. In the introduction to his revisionist history of art and literature under the Bolsheviks, Brandon Taylor has argued that, beginning with Louis Lozowick's *Modern Russian Art* (1925), art historians propagated a 'myth that the "revolutionary" art and the revolutionary politics of the Bolshevik period are in all essentials the same thing', reading Soviet art through a Western conception of avant-garde art which led them to focus almost exclusively on Futurism and Constructivism at the expense of other groups and styles.²⁰² In practice, the early Soviet period generated a range of conflicting arguments about the appropriate sources, styles, and progenitors of proletarian art. As Sheila Fitzpatrick has discussed, Bogdanov recommended that proletarian poets should find their models not in the ostentatious Futurism of Mayakovsky, nor the decadence of the symbolists Andreev, Bal'mont or Blok, but in the 'simplicity, clarity and purity of forms' of Gogol', Lermontov, Nekrasov, Pushkin, and Tolstoy. Yet readings at the Moscow Poets' Café by Mayakovsky and Bal'mont were nevertheless well attended, and Bely's lectures at the Moscow Proletkul't's literary studio were particularly popular.²⁰³ The response of Brailsford's fellow audience members to *Sadko* raised a host of questions for early Soviet artists and critics: must art be comprehensible to all, and immediately? Was proletarian culture to be produced by the proletariat, or for it, or more loosely simply with the aims of the revolution in mind? And what was its relation to pre-revolutionary art? Did it turn to the great works of the past for instruction, as Lunacharsky and

²⁰⁰ Wells, *Russia in the Shadows*, pp. 35, 38.

²⁰¹ Brailsford, *The Russian Workers' Republic*, p. 91; Russell, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, p. 49.

²⁰² Brandon Taylor, *Art and Literature Under the Bolsheviks*, 1: *The Crisis of Renewal, 1917–24* (London: Pluto, 1991), p. x; Louis Lozowick, *Modern Russian Art* (New York: Société Anonyme, 1925). For a recent discussion of the impact of Lozowick's work on the American avant-garde, see Barnaby Haran, *Watching the Red Dawn: The American Avant-Garde and the Soviet Union* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 14–46.

²⁰³ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 99.

Bogdanov argued, or reject them as bourgeois, as Platon Kerzhentsev, the theoretician of the Petrograd Proletkul't, maintained:²⁰⁴

Brailsford's reference to the 'new and experimental verse' he had heard recited in Moscow cafés in 1920 was a rare and regrettably unspecific comment on the literary responses generated by the revolutions.²⁰⁵ Though literary experimentalism was at its height during this first wave of tourism to Soviet Russia, it does not seem to have been of great interest to these first visitors: they were interested in culture primarily in so far as it revealed the government's changes to the social and political infrastructure. They also tended to be conservative in their aesthetic taste: even Brailsford was unable to find praise for the new works he heard and saw, confessing that his 'attitude to most recent art is unappreciative'.²⁰⁶ Nor did British Labour, socialist, and communist periodicals contain much information about cultural events in Russia, and even the articles by Lunacharsky on 'Working-Class Culture' in *The Plebs* in 1920, and Bogdanov on 'Proletarian Poetry' and 'The Criticism of Proletarian Art' in *Labour Monthly* in 1923 were mainly restricted to theoretical outlines.²⁰⁷ The promisingly-titled study *Proletcult* (1921) by the prolific socialist authors and translators Eden Paul and Cedar Paul was similarly disappointing on this front: its main subject was the British workers' education movement, its chapter on 'Proletcult in Russia' largely restricted to a summary of educational theory, and its brief comments on 'Proletarian art' devoted to defence of the concept, rather than examples of its practice. After 1921, more detailed information was provided in a journal published from 1921 to 1924 by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation, *Russian Information and Review*, and in D. S. Mirsky's well-informed articles for mainstream British periodicals.²⁰⁸ In 1925 Trotsky's *Literatura i revoliutsiya (Literature and Revolution)* (1923), was published in English, providing a comprehensive survey of contemporary literature,

²⁰⁴ Lynn Mally, *Culture of the Future: The Proletkult Movement in Revolutionary Russia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1990), p. 144.

²⁰⁵ For discussion of the variety of poetic activity in Moscow in 1920, see Mark D. Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity, and the Sacred in Russia, 1910–1925* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 52–6.

²⁰⁶ Brailsford, *The Russian Workers' Republic*, p. 92.

²⁰⁷ A. Lunacharsky, 'Working-Class Culture', trans. by E. Bernstein, *The Plebs*, 12.10 (Oct 1920), 157–62; A. Lunacharsky, 'Working-Class Culture [concluded]', trans. by E. Bernstein, *The Plebs*, 12.11 (Nov 1920), 189–92; A. Bogdanov, 'Proletarian Poetry—I', *Labour Monthly*, 4.5 (May 1923), 276–85; A. Bogdanov, 'Proletarian Poetry—II', *Labour Monthly*, 4.6 (June 1923), 357–62; A. Bogdanov, 'The Criticism of Proletarian Art', *Labour Monthly*, 5.6 (December 1923), 344–56. See Ludmilla Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union, 1920–40: From Red Square to the Left Bank* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 12–17 for a summary of the early reception of Soviet culture.

²⁰⁸ It is difficult to ascertain the extent of this journal's readership. British journals clearly drew on its information for their own articles, and the *Communist Review* recommended it to its readers as an affordable way of finding out about Soviet Russia: it cost 6d. when first published, but had halved its price by 1923, and could be ordered through newsagents or bought direct from the Russian Trade Delegation's office in Soviet House on Moorgate Street (see *Communist Review*, 4.1 (May 1923), p. 29). *Russian Information and Review* became the *Soviet Union Review* in 1925. On the Russian Trade Delegation, and the role played by commercial interests in the British government's rapprochement with Soviet Russia more generally, see Christine A. White, *British and American Commercial Relations with Soviet Russia, 1918–1924* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 109–41. On Mirsky's literary criticism in Britain, see Smith, *D. S. Mirsky*, pp. 91–124, D. S. Mirsky, *Uncollected Writings on Russian Literature*, ed. by G. S. Smith (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Slavic Specialities, 1989), and Ayers, *Modernism, Internationalism and the Russian Revolution*, pp. 177–9.

but Trotsky considered none of it 'revolutionary art', still less 'socialist art', the development of which he placed firmly in the future.²⁰⁹ But the Pauls did refer to one notably early report in English on proletarian literature in Russia, published in the *New Europe*, the journal edited by Robert Seton-Watson, Pares's colleague at the School of Slavonic Studies. The author, they wrote, 'empties the vials of his scorn upon proletarian culture in theory and practice, upon Bolshevik poetry and the Bolshevik theatre'. However, since the author was 'himself an artist, there breathes through his admirable translations, a spirit which the conscious anti-bolshevik is himself unable to understand, and which may encourage those whose proletarian outlooks has led them to expect a new surge of artistic impulse in Soviet Russia'.²¹⁰ The author was John Cournos.

Cournos's four articles on 'Proletarian Culture'—'The Theory', 'Bolševik Poetry', 'The Bolševik Theatre', and 'A Factory of Literature'—were published between 30 October and 20 November 1919. They set out in the clearest possible terms how Soviet culture was anathema to the Dostoevskian symbolist aesthetic Cournos and Fletcher had been developing during the war, and would continue to promote during the nineteen twenties. Proletarian culture is 'nothing less than the subjection of all culture and artistic relation to the philosophy of economics, to what is material, even mechanical, in life', Cournos wrote.²¹¹ The second article, though highly critical, is extremely valuable in providing a rare early response to Soviet poetry. Cournos discusses and quotes from pre- and post-revolution poems by Aleksey Gastev, Mikhail Gerasimov, Vladimir Kirillov, and Ivan Loginov. But his argument throughout is that the form and content of 'Bolshevik' poetry is modelled on the machine and structured against individual expression, the triumph of the pre-war futurist and vorticist aesthetic: 'every country had its group of artists who worshipped the Machine'. Not only is this anathema to Cournos, but, he concludes, to 'English' national culture itself, a culture he defines in terms of the natural, the pastoral, and the romantic: 'Such is Bolševik poetry in theory and practice. The unprejudiced, nature-loving Englishman, even though he be a proletarian, must decide for himself whether he will exchange his old love for the fields and the flower for the new love of the factory and the machines'.²¹²

4.4 LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTIONS

The Russian revolutions generated not only substantial documentary and propaganda material in Britain, but literary responses too. A few celebrations of the February Revolution appeared, such as John Gould Fletcher's poem 'Russia'

²⁰⁹ Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, trans. by Rose Strunsky (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1925), p. 229; L. Trotsky, *Literatura i revoliutsiya* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Krasnaya nov', 1923), p. 170. See [Hugh l'Anson Fausset], 'Literature and Revolution', *Times Literary Supplement*, 1230 (13 August 1925), p. 530.

²¹⁰ Paul, *Proletcult (Proletarian Culture)*, pp. 102–3. On the Pauls, see Ayers, *Modernism, Internationalism and the Russian Revolution*, pp. 156–72.

²¹¹ John Cournos, 'Proletarian Culture: (I) The Theory', *New Europe*, 13.159 (1919), 61–4 (p. 63).

²¹² John Cournos, 'Proletarian Culture: (II) Bolševik Poetry', *New Europe*, 13.160 (1919), 110–16 (pp. 111, 116).

discussed above, and John Galsworthy's 'Russia—America', published in the *New York Times*. Bessie Marchant's children's story, *A Dangerous Mission: A Tale of Russia in Revolution* concluded by celebrating the February Revolution, and the tsar's abdication as showing he was 'decent at bottom'.²¹³ But following the October Revolution, hostile and sensationalist responses were far more numerous. Steve Nicholson has discussed how opportunities to present Russia and communism on the stage were limited by censorship, theatrical conventions that shaped material to either melodrama or naturalism, and a general resistance to the portrayal of contemporary history. Plays such as R. Grahame's *The Bolshevik Peril*, performed in Tredegar in March 1919 and Clement Dane's *The Terror*, performed at the Liverpool Playhouse in September 1921, both worked in the tradition of melodrama to represent Bolshevism as a barbarous dissolution of civilized values.²¹⁴ Tony Shaw has detailed similar responses in the cinema, which was constrained by the ideological affinity between much of the film industry and the government, and official influence in the filmmaking process that was a legacy of film's role in wartime propaganda. He notes that, though the twenties were dominated by films that presented Germany rather than the Soviet Union as the primary threat to British stability, the decade produced a variety of films that depicted revolution, celebrating 'counter-revolutionary virtues... thus giving attentive audiences more than a hint of where they should stand in relation to events in Russia in 1917'. *The Blackguard*, directed by Graham Cutts in 1925, depicted a Russian princess rescued from revolutionaries by a violinist hero; *Bolshevism: A Message of Its Evils* (1919) depicted a communist plot to foster class war in Britain.²¹⁵

Shaw remarks that *Bolshevism* appears to have been the only film to create its plot around communist subversion in Britain during this period, and that it was shown only briefly after it caused a violent confrontation between ILP protestors, the police, and members of the Discharged Sailors' and Soldiers' Federation during a showing at the Clapham Majestic Cinema.²¹⁶ By contrast, popular fiction of the period frequently depicted the coming of communism and Bolshevism to Britain, as Keith Neilson, Michael Hughes, and Harry Wood have discussed.²¹⁷ Most of these novels were set in the near future: *The Red To-Morrow* (1920) by George

²¹³ Fletcher, 'Russia', pp. 22–9; John Galsworthy, 'Russia-America', *New York Times* (8 April 1917), p. 16; Bessie Marchant, *A Dangerous Mission: A Tale of Russia in Revolution* (London: Blackie, [1918]), p. 224. For discussion of this novel, and also the small body of children's literature about Russia as a wartime ally, see Michael Paris, *Over the Top: The Great War and Juvenile Literature in Britain* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 117–23.

²¹⁴ Steve Nicholson, 'Responses to Revolution: The Soviet Union Portrayed in the British Theatre, 1917–29', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 8.29 (1992), 62–9 (pp. 68–9, 63). See also Steve Nicholson, *British Theatre and the Red Peril: The Portrayal of Communism, 1917–1945* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999).

²¹⁵ Tony Shaw, 'Early Warnings of the Red Peril: A Pre-History of Cold War British Cinema, 1917–1939', *Film History*, 14.3/4 (2002), 354–68 (pp. 355, 356, 360).

²¹⁶ Shaw, 'Early Warnings of the Red Peril', p. 360; 'Cinema Siege: Free Fight Over Anti-Bolshevik Film at Clapham', *Daily Mirror* (17 September 1919), p. 2.

²¹⁷ Keith Neilson, 'Tsars and Commissars: W. Somerset Maugham, *Ashenden* and Images of Russia in British Adventure Fiction, 1890–1930', *Canadian Journal of History*, 27 (1992), 475–500; Michael Hughes and Harry Wood, 'Crimson Nightmares: Tales of Invasion and Fears of Revolution in Early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 28.3 (2014), 294–317.

Makgill, writing under the pseudonym Emerson C. Hambrook, imagines a world after a 1942 war with Germany, where Jews and immigrants foment revolution with misguided British socialists; Edward Shanks' *The People of the Ruins* (1920) describes Europe 150 years after the October Revolution, returned to a pre-industrial state by class war; in *The Flying Submarine* (1922) by 'E. Van Pedroe-Savidge' (Ivan Petrushevich, then secretary of the diplomatic mission of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic in London), it is just a few years after the Armistice, but only 'Australia, Japan, and, to some extent England remained unconquered' by the Bolshevik Universal People's Republic; Robert Hadfield's and Frank Farncome's *Red Radio* (1927) portrays a near-contemporary Britain on the brink of invasion by the Bolshevik dictator of the 'Red Republic'.²¹⁸

Some novels—J. D. Beresford's *Revolution* (1921), H. G. Wells's *Men Like Gods* (1923), and J. C. Welsh's *The Morlocks* (1924)—represented the October Revolution negatively to make the case for socialist gradualism. When the gradualist arguments of Beresford's socialist hero are disregarded, a disorganized revolution results in a counter-revolution and the restoration of a reactionary Government; in Wells's novel, the protagonist notes 'the narrowness of the Marxist formulæ. He had seen it sacrifice its constructive power for militant intensity. In Russia he had marked its ability to overthrow and its inability to plan or build'. In *The Morlocks* the Scottish Labour MP and former miner James Welsh tells the story of a mining community destroyed by a revolutionary organization, the Morlocks of the title, just as it is coming to political consciousness through trade unionism: 'My heart cries for revolution, and I'd die in such a cause to-night', comments the main character, 'but my head tells me that it is work, and organization, and educative propaganda that is needed for years to come'.²¹⁹ *The Land of Mystery* (1920), a film based on a story by Basil Thomson, Director of Intelligence in the Home Office, made a related argument: it portrayed a version of recent Russian history, featuring a fictionalized Lenin, and emphasized the progress of the Provisional Government before the October Revolution.²²⁰ In this category of works that engaged with socialism, we might also place Austin Page's play, *The Beating at the Door*, performed at the St. James's Theatre in November 1922, which presented the aims behind the revolution positively, while deploring the Bolshevik actuality.²²¹

²¹⁸ Emerson C. Hambrook [George Makgill], *The Red To-Morrow* (London: The Proletarian Press, 1920); Edward Shanks, *The People of the Ruins: A Story of the English Revolution and After* (London: Collins, 1920); E. Van Pedroe-Savidge [Ivan Petrushevich], *The Flying Submarine* (London: Stockwell, 1922), p. ii; R. L. Hadfield and Frank E. Farncombe, *Red Radio* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1927). Other relevant works, discussed by Hughes and Wood, include Hugh Addison [Harry Collinson Owen], *The Battle of London* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924); Martin Hussingtree [Oliver Baldwin], *Konyetz* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1924]); and Charles Ross, *The Fly-by-Nights* (London: John Murray [1921]).

²¹⁹ J. D. Beresford, *Revolution: A Novel* (London: Collins, 1921), pp. 238–9; H. G. Wells, *Men Like Gods* (London: Cassell, 1923), p. 290; J. C. Welsh, *The Morlocks* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1924), p. 160. See John Lucas, *The Radical Twenties: Writing, Politics and Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), pp. 160–6.

²²⁰ Shaw, 'Early Warnings of the Red Peril', pp. 357–8.

²²¹ Nicholson, 'Responses to Revolution', pp. 64–5.

A small number of works represented Russia's revolutions positively, but they too stopped short of supporting Bolshevism outright. Charles Daniel published two such works in 1922: *Ya Brot!*, by David Lawrence David, tells the story of an aristocrat, converted to Bolshevism by Lenin and Trotsky, who marries Lenin's sister and takes part in the October Revolution, only to discover through his wife's accidental death that he is not a Bolshevik but a pacifist Christian.²²² H. R. Barbor's *Against the Red Sky* depicts a successful socialist revolution in Britain in the near future, in which a young writer and dilettante becomes President of the Central Tribunal of the Commission of the Consolidation, but its ostensible pro-revolutionary argument is undercut by the jocular tone of much of the book.²²³ Douglas Goldring's *The Black Curtain* (1920), dedicated to D. H. Lawrence, concludes by affirming the October Revolution, but—as in *Ya Brot!*—as a means to international peace rather than regime change. 'The Revolution must in every country be accomplished before there can be peace', the communist Ivan Smirnoff tells Goldring's pacifist hero at the end of the book.²²⁴ Even George Bernard Shaw, who would align himself with the Bolsheviks in 1919, is far less confident in the brief farce he wrote within days of the October Revolution, *Annajanska: The Wild Grand Duchess*, retitled *Annajanska: the Bolshevik Empress* when published the following year. As Olga Soboleva and Angus Wrenn remark, 'the fact that he chose a young female member of the deposed royal family as a mouthpiece to comment on the advent of the first socialist revolution perhaps suggests an equivocal attitude to the proceedings'.²²⁵

Few of these authors had first-hand experience of recent events in Russia, and barely any Russian literature about the October Revolution and the Civil War was available in Britain until the end of the nineteen twenties.²²⁶ Three exceptions were C. E. Bechhofer's translation of Aleksandr Blok's *Dvenadtsat'* (1918), *The Twelve*, published with illustrations by Mikhail Larionov in 1920, Ransome's translation of Yuri Libedinsky's *Nedelya* (1922), *A Week*, his novel about provincial communist

²²² David Lawrence David: *Ya Brot! A Story of the Russian Revolution* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1922).

²²³ H. R. Barbor, *Against the Red Sky: Silhouettes of Revolution* (London: C. W. Daniel, 1922), p. 265; H. Gustav Klaus, 'Silhouettes of Revolution: Some Neglected Novels of the Early 1920s', in H. Gustav Klaus, ed., *The Socialist Novel in Britain: Towards the Recovery of a Tradition* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982), pp. 89–109 (p. 98).

²²⁴ Douglas Goldring, *The Black Curtain* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1920), pp. 236, 239; for further discussion, see Lucas, *The Radical Twenties*, pp. 44–54.

²²⁵ Bernard Shaw, 'Annajanska: The Bolshevik Empress', in *Heartbreak House, Great Catherine, and Playlets of the War* (London: Constable, 1919), pp. 247–66; for further discussion, see Soboleva and Wrenn, *The Only Hope of the World*, pp. 101–33.

²²⁶ The only exceptions, to my knowledge, are H. G. Wells and Oliver Baldwin. On Wells's visit in 1920, the second of his three visits, see *Russia in the Shadows*, Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie, *The Life of H. G. Wells: Time Traveller*, rev. edn (London: Hogarth Press, 1987), pp. 325–8, and David C. Smith, *H. G. Wells: Desperately Mortal* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 270–4. Oliver Baldwin, the socialist son of Stanley Baldwin, and author, as 'Martin Hussingtree', of *Konyetz*, worked briefly as an infantry instructor in Armenia in 1920 before being imprisoned by 11th Red Army: see Oliver Baldwin, *Six Prisons and Two Revolutions: Adventures in Trans-Caucasia and Anatolia, 1920–1921* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1925]), and Christopher J. Walker, *Oliver Baldwin: A Life of Dissent* (London: Arcadia Books, 2003), pp. 40–62. See also Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the Soviet Union*, pp. 14–17.

life during the Civil War, which was published in 1923, and Paul Dukes's translation of Boris Savinkov's *Kon' voronoi* (1923), *The Black Horse*, a fictionalized account of Savinkov's Civil War experiences, which was published in 1924. It was not until four years later that the next novels began appearing: Boris Pil'nyak's *Golyi god* (1922) was translated by Alec Brown as *The Naked Year* and published in 1928, and Aleksandr Fadeev's *Razgrom* (1927) was translated by R. D. Charques as *The Nineteen* and published by the Communist Party press Martin Lawrence in 1929. Cournos published *Short Stories out of Soviet Russia* the same year.²²⁷ Evgeny Zamyatin's *My (We)* (1921) was published in English in New York in 1924, but almost impossible to obtain in Britain until the French translation, *Nous Autres*, appeared in 1929.²²⁸ Only in 1929 was the first Soviet play performed in London: Vladimir Kirshon's and Andrey Uspensky's *Konstantin Terekhin* (1926), adapted by Virginia Vernon and Frank Vernon as *Red Rust* was performed at the Little Theatre in February and March.²²⁹ By the end of the nineteen twenties, Soviet films about the revolutions and Civil War—Eizenshtein's *Oktyabr'* (1928) (*October*), Vsevolod Pudovkin's trilogy, *Mat'* (1926) (*Mother*), *Konets Sankt-Peterburga* (1927) (*The End of St Petersburg*), and *Potomok Chingiskhana* (1928) (*The Heir to Ghengis Khan*, known in Britain as *Storm over Asia*)—were also becoming known through screenings at London film societies and in Berlin, which had become, as Huntly Carter wrote in 1930, 'the Mecca of the aesthete in search of adventures among revolutionary films, and of evidence by which he may slay the British censor'.²³⁰

In the early nineteen twenties, several of the writers employed by the Foreign Office published literary works about the revolutions and civil war and their early appearance ensured they had substantial interest and authority. John Gould Fletcher had told Cournos that the main argument for taking the post with the Anglo-Russian Commission was that 'it will give you magnificent material'; 'May the birth-throes of the new Russia give you the power to produce something splen-

²²⁷ Alexander Blok, *The Twelve*, trans. by C. E. Bechhofer (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920); Iury Libedinsky, *A Week*, trans. by Arthur Ransome (London: Allen & Unwin, 1923); Boris Savinkoff (Ropshin), *The Black Horse: A Novel*, trans. by Paul Dukes (London: Williams and Norgate, 1924) (Savinkov's novel about the 1905 revolution was published in 1919, having been published first in 1917 in the United States: see 'Ropshin' [Boris Savinkov], *What Never Happened: A Novel of the Revolution*, trans. by Thomas Seltzer (London: Allen & Unwin, 1919); Boris Pilnyak, *The Naked Year*, trans. by Alec Brown (New York: Brewer and Warren, 1928); A. Fadeev, *The Nineteen*, trans. by R. D. Charques (London: Martin Lawrence, 1929); John Cournos, ed. and trans., *Short Stories out of Soviet Russia* (London: Dent, 1929).

²²⁸ Eugene Zamiatin, *We*, trans. by Gregory Zilboorg (New York: Dutton, 1924); E. Zamiatine, *Nous Autres*, trans. by B. Cauvet-Duhamel (Paris: Gallimard, 1929). See George Orwell, 'Freedom and Happiness', review of Evgeny Zamyatin, *We*, *The Tribune*, 471 (4 January 1946), 15–16 (p. 15): 'The English translation was published in the United States, and I have never been able to procure a copy; but copies of the French translation (the title is *Nous Autres*) do exist, and I have at last succeeded in borrowing one'.

²²⁹ Nicholson, 'Responses to Revolution', p. 66. See also Young, 'Non-Chekhov Russian and Soviet Drama on the British Stage', p. 104.

²³⁰ Carter, *The New Spirit in the Cinema*, p. 284. On the early reception of Soviet film in Britain, see Laura Marcus, 'The Tempo of Revolution: British Film Culture and Soviet Cinema in the 1920s', in Beasley and Bullock, eds, *Russia in Britain*, pp. 225–40.

did in the way of literature', he wrote on 22 September 1917.²³¹ In fact, Cournos did not draw substantially on his four months in Petrograd. In *In Exile*, the volume of poems he published in 1923, he identified three poems as written in Petrograd and one written in Murmansk, but, as David Ayers has discussed, though the poems register his disillusionment that the 'mother' he sought in Russia turned into the 'old hag' of 'Terror', they do not reflect on his experience in any detail or depth. His novel *The New Candide* (1924) contains a brief portrayal of Soviet Russia in a highly satiric vein.²³² Ransome's experience of the revolutions and Civil War found its outlet in his journalism and his two books of reportage, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919* (1919) and *The Crisis in Russia* (1921), but not in literary work. However, several other of the Foreign Office's employees and associates recorded their experiences of the war and revolutions in fiction. Walpole published *The Secret City* in 1919, Tyrkova's and Williams's *Hosts of Darkness*, their sole venture into fiction, appeared in 1921, and Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden, or the British Agent* was published in 1928, though it was written earlier. William Gerhardie, who had worked in the British Embassy as assistant to the Military Attaché, Alfred Knox, during 1917 and 1918, and was a member of Knox's staff at the British Military Mission's headquarters in Vladivostok from 1918 to 1920, published *Futility* and *The Polyglots* in 1922 and 1925 respectively.

The most distinctive shared feature of this mini-genre of revolution fiction is the narrative perspective. Walpole's, Gerhardie's, and Maugham's works are all narrated by a self-consciously English male protagonist, who presents himself as a practical figure aiming to bring order to the chaos and absurdity he finds in Russia. Tyrkova's and Williams's novel is unusual in being written in the third person, but their protagonist, Charles Ellis, is cast in the same mould: his salient characteristic is an 'obstinate serenity' that is contrasted with 'the way the Russians complicated everything they took in hand'.²³³ The device of the English narrator enables the authors to draw directly on their own experiences as foreign visitors to Russia: all four narrators make much of the difference between English and Russian personalities, and Walpole even has his narrator begin with a disclaimer: 'Of Russia and the Russians I know nothing, but of the effect upon myself and my ideas of life that Russia and the Russians have made during these last three years I know something'.²³⁴ The English narrator also provides a rationale to explain the political events to British readers, a technique used most extensively in *Hosts of Darkness*, the most propagandist of the four works. For example, at a meeting with the counter-revolutionary group 'The Friends of Liberty' narrated near the beginning of the novel, Ellis confesses, 'I really don't know what the Bolsheviks are, and I

²³¹ John Gould Fletcher, letters to John Cournos, 16 August [1917], [22 September 1917], John Cournos: Letters from various recipients, 1916–36, folder 5, Houghton.

²³² John Cournos, 'Home-Coming', in *In Exile* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1923), pp. 41–2; David Ayers, 'John Cournos and the Politics of Russian Literature in *The Criterion*', *Modernism/Modernity*, 18 (2011), 355–69 (pp. 359–60); John Cournos, *The New Candide* (London: John Lane, 1924), pp. 226–45.

²³³ Ariadna and Harold Williams, *Hosts of Darkness* (London: Constable, 1921), p. 5.

²³⁴ Hugh Walpole, *The Secret City* (London: Macmillan, 1919), p. 3.

should be very much obliged if some one would enlighten my ignorance'. The following five-page debate between the group's members succinctly summarizes not only what Tyrkova and Williams thought the Bolsheviks were, but also explains distinctions between anti-Bolshevik groups, and includes statements to warm British readers to the White Russian cause ('We are Anglophiles pure and simple', Dr Sipiagin tells Ellis, 'England is for us the symbol of liberty and justice... We simply don't believe the Germans').²³⁵

The work of the British Foreign Office in which the authors were involved also provides the rationale for their British protagonists presence in Russia, to a certain extent driving their plots. The narrators of Gerhardt's *Futility* and *The Polyglots*, Andrei Andreiech and Georges Diaboligh, both work for the Military Mission; Tyrkova's and Williams's Ellis and Maugham's Ashenden are British spies. Walpole's John Durward is a partial exception: we are told he worked for the Russian Red Cross, before the story begins, as Walpole had done, but ill-health has forced him to return to Petrograd. Though he is not employed by the Foreign Office, he watches the activities of Walpole's other alter ego, the pretentious young poet Henry Bohun, who has come to work at the Anglo-Russian Commission, and Jerry Lawrence, the strong, silent war hero, assigned to the British Military Mission. All these works incorporate overt discussion of Britain's relationship with Russia and its role in Russia's political affairs. They also all deploy romantic sub-plots to develop their arguments in a more figurative way.

Walpole's *The Secret City* turns on the love of the Russia-raised but emphatically English Jerry Lawrence for the martyr-like Vera, trapped by her marriage to the idealistic, impecunious Nicolai Leontievitch Markovitch, and by the need to protect her wayward sister Nina. The progress of the domestic crisis, aggravated by Vera's malignant uncle Alexei Petrovitch Semyonov, parallels the impending crisis of the February Revolution. Domestically and politically Russia and Britain are depicted as fundamentally different, a fact that, according to Walpole, the revolution makes obvious. In his most explicit political comment, Walpole has his narrator John Durward say:

the great point for us in all this—the great point for our private personal histories as well as the public one—was that it was during these weeks that the real gulf between Russia and the Western world showed itself! Yes, for more than three years we had been pretending that a week's sentiment and a hurriedly proclaimed Idealism could bridge a separation which centuries of magic and blood and bones had gone to build. For three years we tricked ourselves (I am not sure that the Russians were ever really deceived) ... but we liked the Ballet, we liked Tolstoi and Dostoieffsky (we translated their inborn mysticism into the weakest kind of sentimentality), we liked the theory of inexhaustible numbers, we liked the picture of their pounding, steam-roller like, to Berlin ... we tricked ourselves, and in the space of a night our trick was exposed.

Plain enough the reasons for these mistakes that we in England have made over that same Revolution, mistakes made by none more emphatically than by our own Social Democrats. Those who hailed the Revolution as the fulfilment of all their dearest

²³⁵ Williams, *Hosts of Darkness*, pp. 45, 50.

hopes, those who cursed it as the beginning of the damnation of the world—all equally in the wrong. The Revolution had no thought for *them*. Russian extremists might shout as they pleased about their leading the fight for the democracies of the world—they never even began to understand the other democracies. Whatever Russia may do, through repercussion, for the rest of the world, she remains finally alone—isolated in her Government, in her ideals, in her ambitions, in her abnegations. For a moment the world-politics of her foreign rulers seemed to draw her into the Western whirlpool. For a moment only she remained there. She has slipped back again behind her veil of mist and shadow. We may trade with her, plunge into her politics, steal from her Art, emphasise her religion—she remains alone, apart, mysterious...

I think it was with a kind of gulping surprise, as after a sudden plunge into icy cold water, that we English became conscious of this. It came to us first in the form that to us the war was everything—to the Russian, by the side of an idea the war was nothing at all.²³⁶

Here we see Walpole argue strongly against the wartime depiction of Russia as a natural ally for Britain. Though his representation of the revolution is somewhat more ambivalent than this passage suggests, the novel's overall judgement is negative: however noble the revolution's aims, it is betrayed by the violence and egotism of its leaders. These leaders are represented by 'The Rat', a depraved peasant who has 'no redeeming point that I could anywhere discover', Boris Nicolaievitch Grogoff, the anti-English, 'complete egoist' 'internationalist Socialist', and Lenin, who makes a cameo appearance haggling over his cab fare. While for much of the narrative, the novel's values are encapsulated in the selfless, sympathetic, and beautiful Vera, by the end their repository appears to be her husband Nicolai, through whom Walpole provides a long description of the morning of 13 March (28 February OS), the day following the February Revolution. Nicolai walks through the streets of Petrograd, 'when for a brief instant the sun of freedom really did seem to all of us to break through the clouds', but when he hears the speeches at the Duma, especially Boris's, he realizes that 'terrible things are going to happen', symbolized in his simultaneous realization that Boris 'will carry off Nina'—the novel's symbol of Russia's youth, hope, and naïveté. It is Nicolai's patriotic nationalism rather than the revolution's internationalism that the novel ultimately endorses. Bohun tells Durward that listening to Nicolai, 'I saw that patriotism *was* at the bottom of everything, that you could talk about Internationalism until you were blue in the face, and that it only began to mean anything when you'd learnt first what nationality was—that you couldn't really love all mankind until you'd first learnt to love one or two people close to you. And that you couldn't love the world as a vast democratic state until you'd learnt to love your own little bit of ground, your own fields, your own river, your own church tower'.²³⁷

While this might at first seem to be an argument not only against internationalism but also British intervention in the Russian Civil War, the novel's ending suggests just the opposite. It is significant that Nicolai's argument for nationalism is

²³⁶ Walpole, *The Secret City*, pp. 361–2.

²³⁷ Walpole, *The Secret City*, pp. 94, 25, 434, 248, 261, 260, 348.

not conveyed in direct speech, but reaches the reader through Bohun's admiring account. By this point in the narrative, Bohun is no longer the immature poet searching for the Russia he had read about in 'the books of Mr. Stephen Graham'. He has shown courage and humanity during the revolution, and in the last few pages the significance of his name becomes clear. Like Walpole's thirteenth-century ancestor, Henry de Bohun, the fictional Bohun has 'the soul of a knight'. But Durward notes that his quests have not, so far, been successful:

His impassioned devotion to Vera had led to nothing at all, his enthusiasm for Russia had led to a most unsatisfactory Revolution, and his fatherly protection of Markovitch had inspired apparently nothing more fruitful than distrust. I would like to emphasize that it was in no way from any desire to interfere in other people's affairs that young Bohun undertook these Quests. He had none of my own meddlesome quality. He had, I think, very little curiosity and no psychological self-satisfaction, but he had a kind heart, an adventurous spirit, and a hatred for the wrong and injustice which seemed just now to be creeping about the world.

Bohun's final quest is successful: this British knight rescues young Russia (in the form of Nina) from international socialism (in the form of Boris), who has 'beaten her, thrown things at her, kept her awake hour after hour at night making her sing to him'. Bohun 'took her home, and his Knight Errantry was justified at last'. Through Bohun's narrative strand, then, Walpole argues that British intervention does not arise from a 'desire to interfere in other people's affairs' but 'a hatred for . . . wrong and injustice' threatening not just Russia, but 'the world'. The rescue takes place at the same time that Durward and Vera are attending an Allied meeting, in which Allied representatives presented the case for Russia remaining in the war (Buchanan 'beyond them all in distinction, nobility, wisdom', remarks Durward). The meeting is won in an outpouring of sympathy for Belgium's suffering under German occupation. On the following day, 1 May, Nicolai is finally provoked by the goading of Semyonov into shooting him and then himself.²³⁸ The idealistic, patriotic Russian sacrifices himself to eradicate the malignant canker from his nation, thereby enabling Vera, representing all that is best in Russia, to do as she wishes, to marry Jerry. Russia voluntarily allies herself to Britain. Remarkably, Walpole's sensationalist, ill-constructed novel—what Kotelyansky in an intemperate unpublished review called Walpole's 'manufactured Russian sweets'—won the inaugural James Tait Black Memorial Prize for fiction.²³⁹

Williams's and Tyrkova's *Hosts of Darkness* is set in the aftermath of the October Revolution. Charles Ellis is sent to Russia by the War Office to assess the relationship between Germany and the Bolsheviks, and to look into the status of Anglo-Russian commerce. Despite the instruction of his Colonel, 'You'll have to be neutral and keep yourself out of the scrap', he fails to do so both romantically and politically. Ellis falls in love with the Katia, a princess and Red Cross nurse working against the Bolsheviks, and is drawn into a plot to get the tsar's family out of Russia

²³⁸ Walpole, *The Secret City*, pp. 53, 432–3, 437, 442, 423, 445.

²³⁹ Diment, *A Russian Jew of Bloomsbury*, p. 111.

to Britain. Like Walpole's Jerry Lawrence, Ellis is given unequivocal authority by the novel's plot. His British politeness and honesty is admired by all the characters, not only the counter-revolutionaries, but also the opportunist spy Jacob Huhn, his traitorous daughter Klara, and even the villain masterminding the Cheka, Felix Bagrovsky (a portrait of Feliks Dzerzhinsky). But this novel differs from Walpole's in providing a far stronger, more independent female protagonist than Vera or Nina—hardly surprising, given Tyrkova's authorship. Russian Katia, the reader is reminded repeatedly, is the equal of British Ellis. She is intelligent and brave, gaining Bagrovsky's confidence as his secretary, and her patriotism is demonstrated both by her desire to assassinate Bagrovsky, Lenin, and Trotsky and her willingness to repress that desire out of loyalty to her counter-revolutionary organization: 'you and I are soldiers', her friend Alionushka tells her, 'we're under orders. You mustn't assassinate without the consent of the organisation'.

Ellis conceives a plan to marry Katia and take her back to Britain. Though he knows she will refuse to leave Russia, he is confident of his strategy: 'a protecting smile passed over his lips. He felt sure now that he had a right to control her movements. He would convince her'. But the novel criticizes Ellis's protective aims. When Katia falls in love with Ellis, her attraction to him is presented as a desire for assistance, rather than protection: 'The princess realized, to her amazement, that the fierce strain of the last few months, that had compelled her to keep herself in hand like one on the edge of a precipice, was giving place to a vague, and almost forgotten feeling of hope and confidence. The black abyss was still yawning. But some one had stretched out a strong, firm hand. Was it possible to grasp it?'. At the climax of novel, when their hiding place in a convent is discovered by the Bolsheviks, it is Katia who tells Ellis to 'Keep cool'. Though Ellis 'almost smiled at her protective tone', he has finally learned that she neither needs nor wants protection: 'she was a real soldier. They were comrades, comrades and lovers, lovers and comrades. Good'. Katia, and Russia, is not a dependent, but an ally. This ally wants to be independent: it does 'not believe in assistance from abroad... There was more hope in the movement that was developing in the rich corn districts of the south, in the freedom-loving Cossack territory' (that is, the Volunteer Army, led by Mikhail Alekseev and Kornilov). But the novel's plot argues that Russia nevertheless needs help. When the Bolsheviks attack the convent, Katia rings the church bells to bring the people in the surrounding villages to their aid. 'But the peasants gave no answer. They heard the call—they all heard it. In all the villages for miles around they woke from their sleep'... But they did not come out of their cottages. They waited to see what would happen'. The atrocities they have seen have rendered the people terrified and helpless. Russia cannot help itself, Ellis tells Katia: 'But, Katia,' he said gently and very sadly, 'what can you do alone? There's no help anywhere. We rang the alarm and no one came'.²⁴⁰

Though the relationship between Ellis and Katia is clearly an allegory of the relationship between Britain and Russia, the plot of *Hosts of Darkness* is markedly unresolved in comparison to *The Secret City*. Katia's departure for the Volunteer

²⁴⁰ Williams, *Hosts of Darkness*, pp. 35, 305, 214, 190, 351, 318, 359, 374.

Army in the penultimate chapter of the novel leaves Ellis confused: 'she did not want what he could give her—safety, security, protection. She was all for battle and struggle. So was he. That was his job. Only her enemy was not his. He had another duty, another service. Had he? Who was the enemy? What was duty in this big, tangled, troubled world?'. The novel ends in February 1919 with Ellis discovering Katia working as a nurse in Southern Russia. They know the Red Army is approaching, and the novel, published while the Civil War was still under way, could provide no report of success. 'Death was near, and the struggle was about them. But in them life had triumphed. There was a beating as of invisible wings in the expanses of air, and they knew that the hosts of light had come down out of the skies in their victory'. Here the romance plot has to part company with the national allegory: only the former can claim any kind of victory.²⁴¹

Gerhardie's and Maugham's works present more complicated perspectives on Russia and its revolutions, in which the authority of their protagonists and their British nationality is less straightforward. The *Ashenden* stories draw on Maugham's wartime intelligence work in Switzerland and Russia. Although only the last three stories, 'A Chance Acquaintance', 'Love and Russian Literature', and 'Mr. Harrington's Washing' are set in Russia, the previous three—set in 'X', 'the capital of an important belligerent state... divided against itself', where 'there was a large party antagonistic to the war and revolution was possible if not imminent'—also draw on Maugham's experiences in Russia.²⁴² The thin subterfuge in these latter stories was presumably instituted because their subject is Ashenden's encounters with the staff of the British embassy, particularly with the Ambassador, Sir Herbert Witherspoon, in whom Maugham gives an unflattering portrait of Buchanan. Indeed, Maugham delayed publication until 1928—eleven years after the latest events described and four years after Buchanan's death—and reportedly fourteen of the *Ashenden* stories were destroyed at Winston Churchill's request, because they contravened the Official Secrets Act.²⁴³ The manuscript of *Ashenden* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford is undated, though it was clearly produced at a late stage in *Ashenden's* composition, as most emendations take the form of minor restructuring and paring back of the style. However, the text of the final story, 'Mr Harrington's Washing', contains a number of substantial revisions in which discussions of the political situation are deleted. For example, when Ashenden proposes his counter-revolutionary plan to his superiors, the reader is told only that Ashenden 'had at length devised a plan of campaign. It took him twenty-four hours' hard work to code a telegram in which he put his scheme before the persons who sent him to Petrograd'. In the published version we are told no more of Ashenden's scheme: the paragraph continues 'It was accepted and he was promised

²⁴¹ Williams, *Hosts of Darkness*, pp. 377, 389.

²⁴² W. Somerset Maugham, *Ashenden, or The British Agent* (London: Heinemann, 1928), p. 198. Of the stories set in Switzerland, 'The Hairless Mexican', 'The Dark Woman' and 'The Greek' draw not on Maugham's experiences but Gerald Kelly's: see Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham*, p. 237.

²⁴³ Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham*, p. 237.

all the money he needed'.²⁴⁴ The Bodleian manuscript, however, shows that Maugham introduced the latter sentence in place of the detail of Ashenden's plan: 'He had come to the conclusion that the government of Kerensky was doomed. The great danger was from the Bolsheviks, who were energetic, well-organised, & provided with large German funds. It seemed to Ashenden that the only chance for the Allies was to support the Mensheviks, Socialists too, with—was necessary [*sic*]. Anastasia Alexandrovna entered into his plans body & soul'.²⁴⁵

Like Tyrkova's and Williams's Charles Ellis and Walpole's three British protagonists, Ashenden arrives in Russia 'prepared to set about his task with confidence. He believed in his own astuteness'. His first person narration is characterized by an economy and order that is consistently compared favourably to the qualities of his host country: our first view of Russia through his eyes is the railway platform in Vladivostok where 'there was already a seething mob. Whole families, sitting on piles of luggage, seemed to be camped there. People rushed to and fro, or stood in little groups violently arguing. Women screamed. Others were silently weeping. Here two men were engaged in a fierce quarrel. It was a scene of indescribable confusion'.²⁴⁶ Ashenden's task is never fully explained (though it seems broadly consistent with Maugham's own), nor does his work provide the plot structure in the way it had done in the stories set in Switzerland.²⁴⁷ Instead, the Russian stories focus on relationships: Witherspoon's long story to Ashenden about his affair with a French acrobat, Ashenden's account of his pre-war relationship with Anastasia Alexandrovna Leonidov, and Ashenden's and Anastasia's friendship with Mr. Harrington, an American businessman sent by his firm to negotiate a trade deal with the Provisional Government. Anastasia, a portrait of Aleksandra Lebedeva (Sasha Kropotkin), is the embodiment of all that Britain finds captivating about Russia: 'in her dark melancholy eyes, Ashenden saw the boundless steppes of Russia, and the Kremlin with its pealing bells, and the solemn ceremonies of Easter at St. Isaac's, and forests of silver beeches and the Nevsky Prospekt'.²⁴⁸

As in *Hosts of Darkness* and *The Secret City*, the revolution appears in *Ashenden* in the form of arbitrary violence inflicted on ordinary people. The volume concludes with Ashenden's and Anastasia's search for Mr. Harrington, who has been caught in a crowd fired on by soldiers 'for fun, I suppose, or because they were drunk'. Intensifying his characteristic techniques of short sentences and a subdued tone, Maugham has Ashenden record the scene they find:

sitting on the pavement, her head bent right down to her lap, was a woman and she was dead. A little way on two men had fallen together. They were dead too. The wounded, one supposed, had managed to drag themselves away or their friends had

²⁴⁴ Maugham, *Ashenden*, pp. 293–4.

²⁴⁵ W. S. Maugham, 'Ashenden, or The British Agent', MS Eng misc d 341, pp. 354–5, Bodleian.

²⁴⁶ Maugham, *Ashenden*, pp. 250, 252.

²⁴⁷ The brief prefatory statement to the first edition conflates the author and narrator: 'This narrative of some experiences during the Great War of a very insignificant member of the Intelligence Department is dedicated by the author to his friend Mr. Gerald Kelly, an Associate of the Royal Academy of Arts' (Maugham, *Ashenden* [n. pag.]).

²⁴⁸ Maugham, *Ashenden*, p. 274.

carried them. Then they found Mr. Harrington. His derby had rolled in the gutter. He lay on his face, in a pool of blood, his bald head, with its prominent bones, very white, his neat black coat smeared and muddy. But his hand was clenched tight on the parcel that contained four shirts, two union suits, a pair of pyjamas and four collars. Mr. Harrington had not let his washing go.²⁴⁹

This passage illustrates the difference between Maugham's narrative and Walpole's, where the plot is structured around the oppositions of Britain and Russia, order and disorder, love and violence, and both its political and romantic plots are resolved with the success of the values coded British. In contrast, Maugham critiques the national differences he asserts, and the very idea of heroic achievement is mocked in *Ashenden's* last sentence: Mr Harrington achieved his aim of retrieving his washing, and it is no achievement: his determination resulted in his death. Likewise, Ashenden's own mission is nowhere described in heroic terms: the conflict is a 'stupid war', man is a 'trivial creature', spending his life 'in foolishness', and strategic decisions are made on the flip of a coin. If the Bolsheviks are reviled, the Provisional Government—Britain's ally—is also despised: Kerensky is portrayed as vain, insecure, and dangerously ineffective. Nor is the British Foreign Office respected: Ashenden's superior 'R' is astute but unscrupulous, crass, and views his officers as 'instruments', and the British Ambassador—the object of such admiration in *The Secret City*—sees his political career as nothing more than 'a comedy he was playing and sometimes it seemed intolerable to live for ever and ever behind a mask'. The failure of Ashenden's mission to prevent the October Revolution receives no allegorical compensation in a romance plot: where Tyrkova's and Williams's, and Walpole's romance plots endorse the Britain wartime fascination with the Russian soul, Maugham satirizes it: his brief experiment in living with Anastasia turns out, after all, not to be like a Russian novel, 'very dreadful and wonderful and shattering', but to consist primarily of scrambled eggs for breakfast every day. He realizes that 'he had not loved her, but Tolstoi and Dostoievsky, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Stravinsky and Bakst'. Unlike Vera and Nina, but like Katia, Anastasia does not make herself available for British rescue from the Bolsheviks, despite being on their execution list. Indeed, while the practical Ashenden is 'depressed because all his careful schemes have come to nothing', Anastasia 'was excited and she hazarded every sort of guess about the outcome of this new revolution'.²⁵⁰ Like Tyrkova, Williams, and Walpole, Maugham emphasizes Russian and British difference; unlike Walpole, but like Tyrkova and Williams, he portrays the relationship as non-hierarchical.

Gerhardie's novels about the revolutions and their aftermath also critique Britain's relationship with Russia. Like the other novelists discussed, Gerhardie depicts the 1917 revolutions and the Allied Intervention through self-consciously (if complicatedly) English narrators—Andrei Andreiech and Georges Diabologh—

²⁴⁹ Maugham, *Ashenden*, pp. 303–4. Maugham's colleague, the Czech spy Emanuel Voska, recalls this incident in Emanuel Victor Voska and Will Irwin, *Spy and Counter-Spy: The Autobiography of a Master-Spy* (London: Harrap, 1941), p. 201.

²⁵⁰ Maugham, *Ashenden*, pp 247–9, 287–8, 102, 240, 276, 282, 285, 298.

who present themselves as practical figures surrounded by disorder and absurdity in Russia. Like the other novelists, Gerhardie places domestic and political dramas in parallel. When, in *Futility*, Andrei meets the Bursanov family, his first response to their romantic and financial problems is to create a chart and a diagram showing who should marry whom, and how their expenses could be reduced. Andrei begins by matching himself with Nina, the Bursanov's middle daughter: together, the British practical narrator and the innocent future of Russia can 'help the old people out of their muddles. They are obviously unfit to help themselves'. Gerhardie makes clear that Andrei's response to the domestic affairs of the Bursanovs should be read as allegorically prefiguring the Allied Intervention in which Andrei subsequently takes part: his plan for the Bursanovs was, we are told, his 'first experience of "intervention"', he justifies it by asking, 'was it not a worthy task to save these helpless creatures from so much misery and anguish?', and he sees his role in resolving their problems as that of a military commander ('I paced the floor that midnight hour, thinking with a Napoleonic concentration') and an international peacemaker ('was it not a worthy mission? To arbitrate; to *settle* things. I felt as President Wilson must have felt years later when he was laying down the principles of a future League of Nations').²⁵¹ When, in 1918, Andrei is summoned by Admiral Butt to join the British Military Mission to Siberia—as Gerhardie had been summoned by Knox—he is enthusiastic about his and the Admiral's opportunities to organize the chaotic situation in Vladivostok: 'we are the men of the hour', he tells Nikolai Bursanov, The war, he says, will 'be won on the Eastern Front'.²⁵²

The novel does not, however, favour 'interfering, on an international scale, in other people's affairs', as Gerhardie later described the subject of these novels.²⁵³ When Andrei reveals his plan and diagram to Nina, she responds with mockery and indignation: 'pray what *business is it all of yours!*', she asks. Andrei's confidence in his military contribution is also misplaced: Gerhardie makes his point by giving the key speech on the Mission's irrelevance to Uncle Kostia, the character emblematic of inaction and parasitism. During their train journey to Omsk, he tells Andrei:

'There are no motives. The motives are naught. It is the consequences. *Where* are we going? *Why* are we going? Look: we are moving. *Going* somewhere. *Doing* something. The train rushes through Siberia. The wheels are moving. The engine-drivers are adding fuel to the engines. *Why?* Why are we here? What are we doing in Siberia? Where are we heading for? Something. Somewhere. But *what?* *Where?* *Why?*'

I think I must have misunderstood Uncle Kostia's subtle thoughts. Or was it that my commission was continually in my mind? But I asked him:

'Is it that you are doomed by your sense of inutility, Uncle Kostia?'

²⁵¹ William Gerhardie, *Futility: A Novel on Russian Themes* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1922), pp. 63–4, 69. Gerhardie was born 'Gerhardi' and wrote under that version of his name until 1967: see Dido Davies, *William Gerhardie: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 361–2.

²⁵² Gerhardie, *Futility*, pp. 119–20.

²⁵³ William Gerhardie, *Memoirs of a Polyglot* (London: Duckworth, 1931), p. 140.

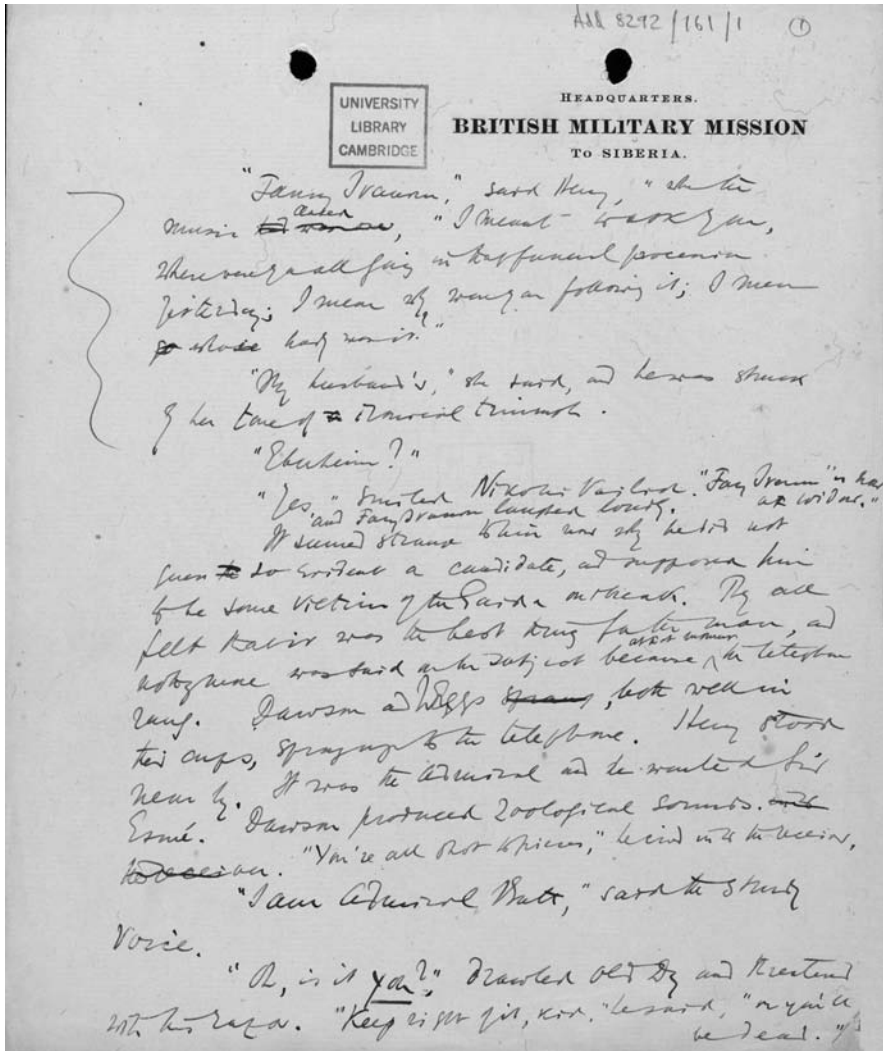


Fig. 14. William Gerhardi, draft of *Futility: A Novel on Russian Themes* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1922), Papers of William Alexander Gerhardi(e), Add. MS 8292/161.1, Cambridge University Library. Reproduced courtesy of Curtis Brown as the literary representative of the Estate of William Gerhardt, and the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

His eyes flashed. He spoke impatiently: 'My inutility! *Your* inutility! What the devil does it matter *whose* inutility? Is your Admiral very *utile*, may I ask? What I was saying was that we all behaved as if we were actually *doing* things, boarding this Trans-Siberian Express as if in order to *do* something at the end of the journey, while actually the journey is in excess of anything we are likely to achieve.'

Onto this irony, Gerhardie piles one more. Uncle Kostia tells Andrei that the main self-deception is not the belief that the activity of war is useful. What is worse is believing that the recognition of that self-deception constitutes a superior activity. 'Can't you understand that it is the very fact of this physical futility that inflates me with a sense of spiritual self-importance?', Uncle Kostia asks, 'We are moving, apparently *doing* something, *going* somewhere. One has a sense of accomplishing something', but in fact 'isn't our journey the kernel of absurdity? And so, by contrast, as it were, I gain a sense of the importance of meditation... That is how we deceive ourselves, Andrei Andreiech'. Reflecting on the conversation, Andrei realizes this is true: 'I thought of the war with its hysterical activity; I pictured soldiers boarding trains, to return to the front; the loading of ships with war matériel; the rush in the Ministry of Munitions. I thought of the Germans seething with energy in just the same way; and I contrasted in my mind this hustling activity, this strained efficiency with the pitiable weakness in the intellectual conception of the conflict, and I understood that the man had been essentially right, that our journeys were in excess of our achievements'. As the Civil War continues, Andrei's criticism of his colleagues sharpens. Following his detailed description of the attempted coup by the Czech general, Radola Gajda, in November 1919, Andrei condemns the inhumanity not only of the Bolsheviks and the White movement, but also his immediate colleagues, epitomized by the gentlemanly Sir Hugo, whose 'chief preoccupation at a conference', Andrei remarks, is not to find grounds for peace but 'by a series of masterful, elaborate and elusive thrusts of speech' to trap one of his Allied colleagues into a contradiction; 'It is what Sir Hugo calls "displaying the good old fighting spirit"'. The British rhetoric, like Andrei's chart and diagram, constitutes an intellectual game that is no more productive than Uncle Kostia's 'meditation' and, like Uncle Kostia's meditation, gains an illusory sense of importance in contrast with the activity it critiques but does not further. Fanny Ivanovna, Nikolai's common-law wife, responds, 'It is a consolation... to think that there are other useless people in the world besides ourselves'.²⁵⁴

Futility explores the lack of change in the Bursanovs' daily lives against the backdrop of potentially transformative political events: looking back on the outbreak of war and the revolutions, Fanny Ivanovna tells Andrei, 'it was the climax, and we held our breath expecting that now... now something *must* happen. Nothing happened... Nothing ever happens'.²⁵⁵ *The Polyglots* deals with a very similar scenario, but it was completed three politically critical years later and acknowledges that the revolution and war had had deeper effects. But those effects only increased Gerhardie's sense of the situation as farcical. *Futility*'s frequent metaphor of life as a play is intensified in *The Polyglots*: Georges describes the British Mission in Siberia as 'one of the really comic side-shows of after-armistice confabulation. It was the poor old sentimental military mind, confronted with the task of saving civiliza-

²⁵⁴ Gerhardt, *Futility*, pp. 68, 156–7, 158, 159, 181–2. On the attempted coup and its aftermath, see Jonathan D. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia: The Anti-Bolshevik Government of Admiral Kolchak, 1918–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 564–70.

²⁵⁵ Gerhardt, *Futility*, pp. 220–1.

tion, forced to draw upon the intellect, and finding that in truth it had no such reserves to draw upon, plunging gallantly into a Russian sea of incoherence... There was really nothing to it but to enjoy the spectacle'. Characterization becomes caricature, where all characters exist on a scale of eccentricity to lunacy, distinguished by the scale of their lunacy's effect. The idiosyncratic Russians who come to visit Georges' family are the 'good, well-behaved lunatics, trim and neat in their diminutive, harmless lunacy compared with our war lords in their raving, disorderly madness. They were floating in a sea of bewilderment and confusion but we who were waging this colossal war with seriousness and with method were more destructively futile in our pretensions, more grievously self-deluded'. Georges himself is absurd, lacking even Andrei's self-knowledge, and insisting in proto-Nabokovian speeches to the reader that, despite his military commission, 'I am an intellectual and do not take wars very seriously'; his main interest is his unpromisingly titled thesis, *A Record of the Stages in the Evolution of an Attitude*. Like Uncle Kostia and Andrei in *Futility*, Georges gains his sense of self-worth from the exercise of irrelevant critique in place of action, as do the departments of the Mission, 'whose heads amused themselves by passing buff slips one to another, the point of which lay in the art of relegating the solution of the question specified to the resources of another department. It was a kind of game of chess in which ability and wit counted for quite a great deal. The department which could not pass on the buff slip to another and in the last resort was forced to take action itself was deemed to have lost the game'.²⁵⁶

The critique of national difference that remained largely implicit in *Futility* constitutes the major argument of *The Polyglots*, as its title suggests. Gerhardie replaces the Russian Bursanovs with a family of far more mixed national allegiances: Georges' Manchester-born, Russia-raised Aunt Teresa and her husband, the Belgian Uncle Emmanuel, move their family from Belgium to Tokyo at the beginning of the First World War. The Diabologh ancestors identified themselves successively as Swedish, Finnish, Teutonic, Estonian, Italian, Scottish, and English (their name shifting from Saataana Perkele, Altteuffel, Diabolo, Diabologh and, in Russia, Diavolo). Yet Georges insists that he is English—his parents were born in Manchester and York—despite his own circumstances: 'International as are my sympathies', he tells the reader, 'If you had been born in Japan and brought up in Russia and called Diabologh into the bargain, you would want to be English'. Nevertheless, he experiences the limitations of such identifications daily: he recognizes 'what a mixture we were, even within each nationality. The Russian batman Stanislav was more of a Pole than a Russian; Brown was more of a Canadian than an American; Gustave more of a Fleming than a Walloon'. He realizes, therefore, that wars, and wartime allegiances, are based on illusions of national identity: 'why the deuce should nations fight? The shallow imbecility of "alliances", of this or that national friendship: all nations were too uncommon and too alike to warrant any natural camping based as it were on personal preference. It was absurd'. In post-revolutionary Russia, the illusory nature of nationality is further problem-

²⁵⁶ William Gerhardie, *The Polyglots: A Novel* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1925), pp. 56–7, 181–2, 184, 57.

atized by the changing understanding of what, who, and where the Russian nation was, which meant that who was perceived to be fighting for the national cause could and did shift—the White movement ‘losing increasingly national colour through support by foreign troops, and the champions of the Revolution gaining it by their defence of the centre, the historic citadels of real Russia against foreign “invaders” ... And one began to ask: Who are the *Russians*?’.²⁵⁷ All war is absurd, Gerhardt argues here and in his autobiography, because it is wanted by only a small number of ‘imbeciles’, yet it is waged in the name of the nation, which bears its high costs. But the Russian Civil War made this absurdity particularly obvious, because the ‘nationalist’ cause was fought by armies of several nationalities against the ‘internationalist’ Bolsheviks, who ‘gradually assumed the aspect of national heroes guarding their land against miscreants who were ready to barter it to foreign foes’.²⁵⁸

Despite the fact that Gerhardt, Maugham, and Walpole all had first-hand experience of Russia, their novels’ treatment of the country is heavily mediated by Russian literature and culture and, more particularly, by its British reception. Walpole’s, Maugham’s, and Gerhardt’s narrators are all writers, and their novels make self-consciously literary as well as political arguments. Both Walpole and Maugham represent Russian literature as seductive, but their narrators are no longer in its thrall, they are able to critique and, in Maugham’s case, satirize their earlier Russophilia. Russian literature and culture provides the foreign but familiar setting against which the narrator distinguishes himself. This is most pronounced in Walpole’s novel, with its use of Chekhovian names for its heroines, and passages filled with references to Russian culture entirely recognizable to its British readers. Bohun, for example attends the ballet and sees ‘Tchaikowsky’s “Swan Lake”; but bearing Diaghilev’s splendours in front of him, and knowing nothing about the technique of ballet-dancing, he was bored and cross and contemptuous’. Durward has ‘a water-colour painted by Alexander Benois’ in his room, which he had bought ‘at last year’s “*Mir Eskoustva*”’, and when he finds himself in ‘some of the meanest streets of Petrograd’, they are conveyed to the reader as ‘the Petrograd of Dostoevsky, the Petrograd of “Poor Folk” and “Crime and Punishment” and “The Despised and Rejected”’.²⁵⁹ British familiarity with Russian literature is deployed in a more complicated way in *Futility*. Recognizing numerous allusions to Chekhov’s *Tri sestry* (*Three Sisters*), the reader initially thinks the novel will be a satire of Chekhovian drama, in which the British narrator and British readers will resolve its characteristic romantic entanglements. But our self-congratulatory interpretation is as naïve as Andrei’s diagram of his friends’ relationships. The novel comes close to metafic-

²⁵⁷ Gerhardt, *The Polyglots*, pp. 21–3, 346, 243, 242, 246.

²⁵⁸ Gerhardt, *Memoirs of a Polyglot*, p. 145.

²⁵⁹ Walpole, *The Secret City*, pp. 55, 100, 138. See Anthony Cross, ‘The Secret City: Hugh Walpole, Russia, and his Novel about Petrograd (1919)’, *Journal of European Studies*, 35.3 (2005), 315–37 (p. 327): ‘It is yet another of Walpole’s characteristic ploys to “lay bare” his reading’. Walpole’s other novels written in Russia are similarly referential: *The Green Mirror* contains a scene staging the now familiar conflict between Francophile and Russophile literary tastes, pitting Maupassant’s ‘sense of Form’ against Tolstoy’s and Dostoevsky’s ‘novel[s] with plenty of real people and real things’: see Hugh Walpole, *The Green Mirror: A Quiet Story* (London: Macmillan, 1918), pp. 35–6.

tion when Andrei articulates the reader's interpretation of the novel as his own: "can't you see that you have been lifted out of Chehov? ... Oh, what would he not have given to see you and use you!", he says to Sonia, Nina, and Vera. "I'll write up such a Three Sisters as will knock old Chehov into a cocked hat. It's so easy. You just set down the facts".²⁶⁰ The entanglements are not resolved, our self-aware narrator turns out to be an egotistic and ineffective meddler, and Chekhov's mastery is endorsed. These novels represent a marked shift in the way Russian literature informed British literature, a reaction against the Dostoevskian psychological novel. In fact, these novels might be said to narrate the shift from Dostoevsky's influence on British literature to Chekhov's.

The beginning of Gerhardie's career as a novelist was closely linked to the British reception of Chekhov. According to his memoirs, Gerhardie's mother read him Chekhov (and Daudet, Dickens, and Gogol'), and his papers in Cambridge University Library reveal that his Military Mission colleagues deemed his distinguishing characteristics to be his alfresco sexual exploits and his literariness, specifically his quoting of 'old Tchekhov and the rest'. As a student at Worcester College, Oxford, he studied English Literature in his first year and changed to Russian in his second, graduating with a BA in Medieval and Modern Languages and Literature (on the short course available to ex-servicemen) in 1922. Chekhov appears continually in his papers. In May 1921 he wrote to his mother, 'I've bought Чехов's Вишнёвый сад [Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*] (in Russian) in a bookshop here and have just received a volume of Chehov's short stories (printed in Berlin). They publish Russian books there. They are quite cheap owing to the rate of exchange'; two days later he received a notice from the Union Society Library to return the copy of 'Garnett Letters of A. Tchekhov' he had borrowed.²⁶¹ In 1921, during the summer term of Gerhardie's first year, John Middleton Murry gave a series of six lectures on 'Style' as part of the English course, and he also gave a talk to one of the college literary societies, which Gerhardie apparently attended.²⁶² In his memoir, Gerhardie recalled that Murry

²⁶⁰ Gerhardi, *Futility*, pp. 68, 69, 71, 72.

²⁶¹ Gerhardi, *Memoirs of a Polyglot*, pp. 76, 164; A. F. Spencer, untitled satirical poem, Vladivostok, May 1919, Add. MS 8292/99.3; Certificates, Add. MS 8292/99.3; William Gerhardi, letter to Charles and Clara Gerhardi, [October] 1921, Add. MS 8292/1.70; William Gerhardi, letter to Clara Gerhardi, 2 May [1921], Add. MS 8292/1.61; Oxford Union Society notice to return a book, 19 May 1921, Add. MS 8292/100; Papers of William Alexander Gerhardi(e), Cambridge; Davies, *William Gerhardie*, pp. 93, 99, 107, 114.

²⁶² Gerhardie probably attended Murry's lectures, since he was an enthusiastic attender of lectures, and his copy of the lecture list for Trinity Term 1921 is marked up with ticks beside the lectures he planned to attend, which include Murry's: see 'Faculty of Medieval and Modern Languages: Lecture List for Trinity Term, 1921. I.—English Language and Literature', Add. MS 8292/100, Papers of William Alexander Gerhardi(e), Cambridge; J. Middleton Murry, *The Problem of Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922). The only talk to a literary society Murry mentions in his letters to Mansfield, which are very detailed about his activities during his stay in Oxford, is a talk on 27 May to 'the College Literary Society'. By the afternoon of the talk, Murry was still 'trying in vain to think out an "address" I have to deliver', and the next day he told Mansfield that his 'speech' was 'an extraordinarily bad one, because I suddenly developed a headache. However, it went down quite well'. See John Middleton Murry, letters to Katherine Mansfield, 27 May 1921, 28 May 1921, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, pp. 339, 340. This is surely Murry's talk on 'Some

spoke very quietly, seated in a low armchair stroking the carpet pensively while he searched for some phrase which, when found, really expressed the secret of Tchekhov's enchantment. He also made some shy allusion to the work of his wife, Katherine Mansfield; and when I read a story of hers I was so pleased with it that I wrote her a letter. The kaleidoscopic exuberance of her "Je Ne Parle Pas Français" increased my admiration. What dash! How supple—acrobatic.²⁶³

The first letter in Gerhardie's warm correspondence with Mansfield, written on 17 June 1921, compared her story 'The Daughters of the Late Colonel' to Chekhov's writing: 'I don't remember ever reading anything so intolerably real—*stifling*—since 'The Three Sisters', he wrote, 'I finished up by translating the end of it into Russian for myself'.²⁶⁴ Gerhardie had just finished writing *Futility*, and was searching for a publisher. After he and his agent, Curtis Brown, had tried seven publishers, and he had also written to Hugh Walpole and Arnold Bennett to no avail, 'it occurred to me that Katherine Mansfield might like my "Futility," and if so, find it a publisher. She was in the mountains of Switzerland, dying of consumption. I was unknown to her. But she replied by return, read my book within a week, and found it a publisher by the end of a fortnight'.²⁶⁵ Gerhardie compresses the timeframe somewhat in this summary from his memoir—he did not send her the novel until November, and though she had read it and suggested her own publisher, Cobden-Sanderson, by the end of the month, the firm did not respond until February 1922—but it was nevertheless the case that Mansfield's enthusiastic recommendation transformed the novel's fortunes.²⁶⁶ *Futility* was, as Gerhardie's biographer has remarked, 'an immediate, almost unanimous, success', highly praised privately and publicly by Constance Garnett, Aylmer Maude, Murry, Michael Sadleir, Wells, and Rebecca

Problems of Modern Literature' at his former college, Brasenose, which was described in the college magazine as the literary society's 'most notable event of the Trinity Term': P. F. S., 'Pater Society', *Brasenose*, 3.5 (November 1921), 167–8. The Minute Book of the Pater Society in Brasenose College Archives (SL 14 C1/1) gives a synopsis of Murry's talk, which refers to Chekhov—though briefly—and a detailed account of the discussion. However, there are two problems with identifying this as the literary society talk Murry described to Mansfield and the one Gerhardie attended. The Pater Society's Minute Book dates the meeting 'Friday 7 May'. It seems likely that this is simply incorrect, and 7 was erroneously recorded in place of 27, since 7 May was not a Friday, and Murry was in France on that date. But a more significant problem is that Gerhardie is not named in the list of attendees.

²⁶³ Gerhardie, *Memoirs of a Polyglot*, p. 172.

²⁶⁴ William Gerhardie, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 17 June 1921, folder 37, MS-Papers-4003, Letters to Katherine Mansfield, Turnbull.

²⁶⁵ Gerhardie, *Memoirs of a Polyglot*, p. 172; Davies, *William Gerhardie*, pp. 112–14. For Chekhovian comparisons, see, for example, [Edward Shanks], 'Futility' (review), *Times Literary Supplement* (20 July 1922), p. 473. For Mansfield's comments on *Futility*, see Katherine Mansfield, letter to William Gerhardie, 12 November 1921, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, iv: 318–20.

²⁶⁶ Katherine Mansfield, letters to William Gerhardie, 23 June, 21 October, 4 November, 12 November, 21 November, 30 November 1921, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, iv: 248–9, 299, 311, 318–20, 323–4, 327; Katherine Mansfield, letter to William Gerhardie, 8 February 1922, in *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, v: 55–6; William Gerhardie, letter to Charles and Clara Gerhardie, 8 February 1922, Add. MS 8292/1.85, Papers of William Alexander Gerhardie(e), Cambridge.

West. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the references to *Tri sestry*, Gerhardie was hailed as 'an English Anton Tchegov'.²⁶⁷

In June of his final undergraduate year, Gerhardie applied for and was accepted onto the Bachelor of Letters course, for which he proposed a dissertation project entitled 'Anton Tchegov: A Critical Study', to be supervised by Nevill Forbes.²⁶⁸ The dissertation was passed the following year, and the project formed the basis of Gerhardie's book, *Anton Chehov: A Critical Study* (1923), the first book on Chekhov in English. It is also a manifesto for the Chekhovian approach to fiction Gerhardie believed he shared with Mansfield and Murry. Indeed, he structured the book under headings derived from 'A Critical Credo', the final essay in Murry's most recent collection of essays, *Countries of the Mind* (1922), which had presented Murry's own manifesto for criticism conceived as personal appreciation.²⁶⁹ Gerhardie, writing with a Russian's perspective on literary history, is critically aware of the anachronism of modernist admiration for Dostoevsky: dismissing the 'inevitable allusion to Dostoevski' in Ford Madox Ford's recent review of *Ulysses*, he remarks that 'when one hears it suggested that Mr. Joyce is fast catching up with Dostoevski, it might be not irrelevant to remark that since the time of Dostoevski psychological literature so-called has taken considerable strides in the method of one Anton Chehov'.²⁷⁰ Tolstoy and Dostoevsky are not 'modern or practical enough' to illustrate Chekhov's "'forward," "healthy" faith', and instead Gerhardie turns to his favourite British writer, H. G. Wells, for an extended comparison. Wells and Chekhov, Gerhardie argues, share 'the same belief in ethical and scientific progress', and if Wells is more optimistic, there is 'no essential difference' in their humanism, their faith in 'the "Spirit of God in Man"': 'If Mr. Wells is the driving force in the direction of salvation, the impatient traveller anxious to set out on the road, Chehov is the servant who packs his bags, turns out the room, anxious that nothing valuable should be overlooked, anxious, too, that the traveller should not set out with too little luggage, lest he should have to come back for it again'.²⁷¹

As well as demonstrating Chekhov's greater tendency to doubt than Wells, this metaphor is designed to illustrate Gerhardie's admiration for Chekhov's 'perfect impartiality': his faith in progress does not preclude, indeed entails, showing the

²⁶⁷ Davies, *William Gerhardie*, pp. 121–2; 'Letters received about Futility', in 'Press notices, series I', Add. MS 8292/185.1, Papers of William Alexander Gerhardt(e), Cambridge; 'New Books: An English Anton Tchegov', *Westminster Gazette* (16 August 1922), p. [12].

²⁶⁸ Approval of BLitt course of study, 23 June 1922, Add. MS 8292/89.17, BLitt certificate (leave to supplicate for degree), 21 June 1923, Add. MS 8292/104, Papers of William Alexander Gerhardt(e), Cambridge.

²⁶⁹ William Gerhardt, *Anton Chehov: A Critical Study* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1923), p. 9; John Middleton Murry, 'A Critical Credo', in *Countries of the Mind: Essays in Literary Criticism* (London: Collins, 1922), pp. 237–46 (pp. 244–5); William Gerhardt, letter to Katherine Mansfield, 2 October 1922, folder 39, MS-Papers-4003, Letters to Katherine Mansfield, Turnbull.

²⁷⁰ Gerhardt, *Anton Chehov*, p. 124.

²⁷¹ Gerhardt, *Anton Chehov*, pp. 47, 49, 56. Gerhardie quotes here from H. G. Wells, *The Undying Fire: A Contemporary Novel* (London: Cassell, 1919), p. 198 and alludes to what Wells later called the 'deified humanism' he set out in that novel and *God the Invisible King* (London: Cassell, 1917): see H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography: Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain (Since 1866)*, 2 vols (London: Gollancz and Cresset Press, 1934), II: 674.

detail of ordinary people's lives, 'their differences and likenesses, the causes of their spiritual ills', and that 'with a little intelligent exertion, so much misery and suffering need not have been'.²⁷² This Gerhardie sees as Chekhov's great contribution to 'modern culture', a term he draws from a letter from Chekhov to Dyagilev, in which Chekhov distinguishes his project from those of the religious symbolists inspired by Dostoevsky: 'Modern culture is the first beginning of the work for a great future, work which will perhaps go on for tens of thousands of years, in order that man may, if only in the remote future, come to know the truth of the real God—that is not, I conjecture, by seeking out Dostoevski, but by clear knowledge, as one knows twice two are four'.²⁷³ Chekhov's impartiality also distinguishes him from Tolstoy for Gerhardie: where Tolstoy's commitment to truth was such that he saw 'the lie in everything', Chekhov 'saw the lie, but he also saw farther and deeper. He saw the truth behind the lie. Life puzzled him, because, given to individualizing, he could always see the circumstantial inevitability of any sort of conduct; and the truth behind the lie evoked pity in him'. Thus Chekhov pioneers a form of fiction in which the complexity and subtlety one admires in the existents and events of Tolstoy's novels are matched by far greater subtlety of plot than Tolstoy's moral purpose allowed him to devise. Chekhov does not dispense with plot, Gerhardie writes, but uses 'a totally different kind of plot, the tissues of which, as in life, lie below the surface of events, and unobtrusive, shape our destiny':

Before Chehov realism was no more than a convention. Realistic literature had begun to bear a closer resemblance to real life as it piled on more and more certain superficial irrelevancies characteristic of real life. But even in Flaubert, even in Turgenev, even in Tolstoy himself, it stuck to the old traditional form of a strong skeleton plot. The 'story' which they endeavoured to soak in reality was the better for it; but it was the 'story' the symmetry, the conclusiveness, the so evidently calculated design of it, that prevented the complete illusion of life... To Chehov literature is life made intelligible by the discovery of form—the form that is invisible in life but which is seen when, mentally, you step aside to get a better view of life. Life, because it has aspects innumerable, seems blurred and devoid of all form. And since literature must have form, and life has none, realists of the past thought that they could not paint life in the aggregate and preserve form, and thus saw fit to express one aspect of life at a time. Until a wholly new aspect occurred to Chehov—that of life in the aggregate: which aspect, in truth, is his form.

The echo of Woolf's 'Modern Novels' (1919), the first version of 'Modern Fiction' (1925) is striking here. Woolf's essay had been published in the *Times Literary Supplement* in April 1919, and though it seems improbable that Gerhardie would have obtained a copy that month in Vladivostok it is hard to believe that he had not seen it by the time he began his study by writing that 'life is more complex, fluid and elusive, not than we had privately suspected (for potentially in a semi-

²⁷² Gerhardi, *Anton Chehov*, p. 54.

²⁷³ Gerhardi, *Anton Chehov*, p. 52. Gerhardi quotes, with slight changes, from Anton Chekhov, letter to S. P. Dyagilev, 30 December 1902, in Anton Tchekhov, *Letters of Anton Tchekhov to his Family and Friends*, trans. by Constance Garnett (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920), p. 404.

conscious, inarticulate way, we are all of us profoundly subtle), but than we had expected to be told by others, much less to see in print'.²⁷⁴ Chekhov, indeed, had been Woolf's example in the essay's discussion of how 'the accent falls a little differently' for the modern writer, and like Gerhardt she attributed the 'honesty' of modern literature ('sincerity' is the word Gerhardt uses) to 'the Russians'.²⁷⁵

Woolf's essay is also echoed in Maugham's 1934 preface to *Ashenden*. Maugham had also come under the influence of Chekhov during his early career, but the later preface belies this. In 1934 Maugham distinguishes himself from 'the school of novelists' that takes life's haphazard, inconclusive structure as a model: 'If life, they say, is arbitrary and disconnected, why, fiction should be so too; for fiction should imitate life. In life things happen at random, and that is how they should happen in a story'. Maugham may be referring directly here to Woolf's injunction to 'record the atoms as they fall upon the mind in the order in which they fall, let us trace the pattern, however disconnected and incoherent in appearance', but Chekhov is the only named writer associated with the 'school'. Though Maugham writes that Chekhov used this method 'with mastery', he nevertheless maintains that it is an inappropriate method for the novel, which requires a plot. He maintains instead that 'fiction should use life merely as raw material which it arranges in ingenious patterns', a method he identifies with Maupassant: 'it does not seek to copy life, but keeps to it closely enough not to shock the reader into disbelief; it leaves out this and changes that; it makes a formal decoration out of such of the facts as it has found convenient to deal with and presents a picture'. In *Ashenden*, Maugham's aim was to turn the 'scrappy and pointless' material gathered during his work for the British and American Intelligence services into fiction that is 'coherent, dramatic and probable'.²⁷⁶

Yet *Ashenden* is not a novel, but a series of linked short stories, and while they are not 'arbitrary and disconnected' as Maugham caricatures the writing of the Chekhovian school, neither are they arranged in 'ingenious patterns'. In particular, they are not individually concluded. In this sense, Maugham's stories actually correspond less to their ostensible Maupassantian model than to Gerhardt's more nuanced account of Chekhov's style. This is more plausible when we remember that the preface records Maugham's aesthetic values in 1934, but the stories belong to an earlier period governed by different literary influences. Maugham's notes on his reading during 1917 record his opinions of Russian novelists as follows:

I read *Anna Karenina* when I was a boy in a blue-bound translation published by Walter Scott, long before I began to write myself, but my recollection of it was vague,

²⁷⁴ Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov*, pp. 58, 106–8, 14.

²⁷⁵ [Woolf], 'Modern Novels', p. 190; Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov*, p. 14. Even so, M. A. Shereshevskaya's and M. G. Litavrina's contention that Gerhardt's whole interpretation of Chekhov was profoundly influenced by the Bloomsbury group, and above all by Woolf, seems to me unlikely and overstated, given Gerhardt's substantial prior knowledge of Chekhov's works: see M. A. Shereshevskaya and M. G. Litavrina, 'Chekhov v angliiskoi kritike i literaturovedenii', in L. M. Rozenblyum, ed., *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, c: *Chekhov i mirovaya literatura* (Moscow: Nauka 1997), 1: 406–53 (p. 411).

²⁷⁶ W. Somerset Maugham, 'Preface', in *Ashenden, or The British Agent* (London: Heinemann, 1934), pp. v–x (pp. v, vi, vii, viii); Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', in *The Common Reader*, p. 190.

and when I read it again many years afterwards, interested then from a professional standpoint in the art of fiction, it seemed to me powerful and strange, but a little hard and dry. Then I read *Fathers and Sons*, in French; I was too ignorant of Russian things to appreciate its value; the strange names, the originality of the characters, opened a window on romance, but it was a novel like another, related to the French fiction of its day, and for me at all events, it had no great significance. Later still, when I found myself definitely interested in Russia, I read other books by Turgenev, but they left me cold. Their idealism was too sentimental for my taste, and unable in a translation to see the beauty of manner and style which Russians value, I found them ineffectual. It was not till I came to Dostoevsky (I read *Crime and Punishment* in a German version) that I received a bewildering and arresting emotion. Here was something that really had significance for me, and I read greedily one after the other the great novels of Russia's greatest writer. Finally I read Chekov and Gorki. Gorki left me indifferent... In Chekov on the other hand I discovered a spirit vastly to my liking. Here was a writer of real character, not a wild force like Dostoevsky, who amazes, inspires, terrifies and perplexes; but one with whom you could get on terms of intimacy. I felt that from him and no other could be learned the secret of Russia. His range was great and his knowledge of life direct. He has been compared with Guy de Maupassant, but one would presume only by persons who have read neither. Guy de Maupassant is a clever story-teller, effective at his best—by which, of course, every writer has the right to be judged—but without much real relation to life. His better known stories interest you while you read them, but they are artificial so that they do not bear thinking of. The people are figures of the stage, and their tragedy exists only because they behave like puppets rather than like human beings. The outlook upon life which is their background is dull and vulgar. Guy de Maupassant had the soul of a well-fed bagman; his tears and his laughter smack of the commercial room in a provincial hotel. He is the son of Monsieur Homais. But with Chekhov you do not seem to be reading stories at all. There is no obvious cleverness in them and you might think that anyone could write them, but for the fact that nobody does. The author has had an emotion and he is able so to put it into words that you receive it in your turn. You become his collaborator. You cannot use of Chekov's stories the hackneyed expression of a slice of life, for a slice is a piece cut off and that is exactly the impression you do not get when you read them; it is a scene seen through the fingers which you know continues this way and that though you only see a part of it.

Tellingly, when Maugham published these remarks thirty-two years later, he added an editorial note: 'In the above I was grossly unfair to Maupassant. "La Maison Tellier" is enough to prove it'.²⁷⁷ His literary models had clearly changed. This is borne out, too, by Maugham's correspondence of the period. Though Ashenden leaves Russia with the words 'I'm fed up with Tolstoi, I'm fed up with Turgenev and Dostoevski, I'm fed up with Chekov. I'm fed up with the Intelligentsia. I han-

²⁷⁷ W. Somerset Maugham, *A Writer's Notebook* (London: Heinemann, 1949), pp. 143–5. Maugham's view of Turgenev changed too: he added a note below his further unfavourable comments on Turgenev from 1917 ('it would be hard to find another writer who has achieved a greater reputation on such slender qualities'): 'This shows very poor judgment. It is true that Turgenev has neither the tortured passion of Dostoevsky nor the scope and the broad humanity of Tolstoy; but he has other qualities, charm and grace and tenderness... He is neither a preacher nor a prophet; he is content to be a novelist pure and simple. It may well be that a future generation will come to the conclusion that he was the greatest of the three' (p. 162).

ker after people who know their mind from one minute to another, who mean what they say an hour after they've said it, whose word you can rely on', Maugham left with his interest in the country intact.²⁷⁸ On 18 January 1918 he wrote to the dedicatee of *Ashenden*, Gerald Kelly, 'I had a wonderful time in Russia & was very sorry to be recalled: I thought it was to be no more than a week in London, but before I arrived the new revolution occurred & all I had been working for came to nothing. It was no use to send me back for the present. But whether during the war or afterwards I mean to return to Russia as soon as ever I can. I was immensely interested'.²⁷⁹

The distinctions here between literary schools and literary styles are fine, and not entirely consistent across different authors and critics. Nevertheless, I want to suggest that there are distinctions to be made that redraw the usual categorizations of modernism in the twenties. The terms in which Gerhardt and Maugham describe the difference between Dostoevsky and Chekhov might suggest that the shift in influence from the former to the latter moved the Russophile tradition towards values much closer to those championed by the Francophiles: for Gerhardt, Chekhov's subtlety of form is what distinguishes him from Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and even Turgenev.²⁸⁰ Certainly, the similarities between Gerhardt's, Maugham's, and Woolf's aesthetic statements suggest that all three are responding to the same insight, which they see as distinctively modern: that life is more complex than fiction previously allowed. But Gerhardt's extended discussion of the difference between Chekhov and James (as well as his admiration for Wells) demonstrates how differently he sees his and Chekhov's method from that of the Francophile tradition. James's fiction, Gerhardt argues, is characterized by a 'misplaced kind of subtlety', 'fine shades and subtle trifles' that cloak 'crude, rounded-off, symmetrical' plots that are not drawn from 'real life': 'A good deal of James's subtlety runs contrariwise to the "feel" of life; it is cold; it cuts across the tissues of organic life; it is like the wrong sort of tonic. And those who regard his psychological manufactures as subtle are really marvelling at the fineness of the needle, forgetting that it is but a crowbar in miniature'.²⁸¹ Maugham disparaged James in similar terms throughout his career. In 'Some Novelists I Have Known', he wrote of James in terms that recall Dorothy Richardson's description of him as a 'sophisticated octopus in a tank he mistook for the universe'.²⁸² Maugham remarked that James 'had certain remarkable gifts, but he lacked the quality of empathy which enables a novelist to feel himself into his characters, think their thoughts and suffer their emotions... The great novelists, even in seclusion, have lived life passionately. Henry James was content to observe it from a window. But you cannot describe life convincingly unless you have partaken of it'. In the same essay, he recalled sitting next to James at the Stage Society's production of *The Cherry Orchard* in May

²⁷⁸ Maugham, *Ashenden*, p. 300.

²⁷⁹ W. Somerset Maugham, letter to Gerald Kelly, 18 January [1918], RP 2505, BL.

²⁸⁰ Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov*, pp. 102, 107.

²⁸¹ Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov*, pp. 103, 104.

²⁸² Dorothy Richardson, letter to Henry Savage, 18 September 1948, in *Windows on Modernism*, p. 589.

1911. James 'was perplexed by *The Cherry Orchard*, as well he might be when his dramatic values were founded on the plays of Alexander [*sic*] Dumas and Sardou', remarked Maugham, 'and in the second interval he set out to explain to us how antagonistic to his French sympathies was this Russian incoherence'.²⁸³ While Gerhardt and, especially, Maugham, value form more than the pre-war Russophiles working under the influence of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, they see this as entirely distinct from the Francophile's emphasis on style. 'The greater writers have never made half the fuss about the difficulties of delivering themselves of their conceptions as do the smaller ones, who suffer torture in the process of cultivating "style,"' writes Gerhardt, and this is because they have something to say: 'The first thing, then, to be said about Chekhov's style, is that he had something to tell, that he was really anxious to tell it, and so told it easily and directly and wholly: in perfectly adequate style. The "problem" of *how* simply did not arise'.²⁸⁴

Gerhardt and Maugham both characterized post-war British literature as consisting of two distinct strands, one that cultivated 'style', and one that understood itself as expressing what it had to say 'easily and directly'. As we saw at the beginning of chapter three, modernism's stylistic experiments have long been explained as a response to the First World War, either as a means of expressing the inexpressible (Bergonzi, Fussell), or as a calculated reaction against the fluency of wartime propaganda (Sherry).²⁸⁵ But the war was not the cause of modernism's linguistic pessimism, it was the consolidation of an already existing animus inherited from French models. Following the war, Francophile modernism established its own masterworks, which were increasingly detached from the pre-war forms of the Flaubertian novel and the French symbolist lyric or dramatic monologue, but nevertheless continued to convey experience obliquely, 'to force, to dislocate if necessary, language into . . . meaning', as Eliot wrote in 1921.²⁸⁶ Though Sherry's main examples of modernist linguistic pessimists are no aesthetes, and all make social and political arguments during the nineteen twenties—Eliot about nationalism, Ford about the war, Pound about economics, and Woolf about gender and class—those arguments are not made discursively (propagandistically, as Ford might say) in their literary works, but are elaborated in their journalism and lectures. Their poetry and fiction by contrast address these issues refracted through analyses of the problems of articulation, whether in thought, speech or writing. It is therefore not surprising that sustained response to the Russian revolutions is

²⁸³ W. Somerset Maugham, 'Some Novelists I Have Known', in *The Vagrant Mood: Six Essays* (London: Heinemann, 1952), pp. 193–41 (pp. 203–4, 199–200). See also W. Somerset Maugham, *Books and You* (London: Heinemann, 1940), pp. 65–8, and W. Somerset Maugham, 'The Short Story', in *Points of View* (London: Heinemann, 1958), pp. 142–88 (pp. 142–6, 159–76).

²⁸⁴ Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov*, p. 101. See Randall Craig, 'The Early Fiction of William Gerhardt', *Novel*, 15.3 (Spring 1982), 240–56, who notes that while 'like Conrad and Ford before him, Gerhardt abandons "the old traditional form of a strong skeleton plot"', unlike them 'he combines differing literary modes rather than experiment with literary techniques—limited point of view, time shift, and so on—in order to convey the sense of life's impinging upon the individual consciousness' (p. 244).

²⁸⁵ Bergonzi, *Heroes' Twilight*, pp. 198–9; Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 174, 310–15; Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism*, pp. 11–14.

²⁸⁶ [Eliot], 'The Metaphysical Poets', p. 670.

absent from the creative writing of canonical modernists during this period. There are brief references, of course: the 'hooded hordes swarming/ Over endless plains' in *The Waste Land* (1922) that Eliot drew from Hermann Hesse's essay on Dostoevsky and post-war Europe;²⁸⁷ the 'blood-dimmed tide' drowning innocence in Yeats's 'The Second Coming' (1920), which replaced an explicit reference to the Bolsheviks' rapprochement with Germany in an earlier draft, and Pound's quotation of Lenin in 'Canto XVI' (1925) via a lecture by Lincoln Steffens, who had witnessed the October Revolution.²⁸⁸

The novels of the Russian revolutions and Civil War described in this chapter inherit the linguistic optimism of the pre-war Russophile tradition, but express it in a somewhat different form. These works are characterized by diegesis rather than mimesis, by the narrator who tells, rather than shows or suggests. At first sight, this narrator might seem to be related to the linguistic pessimist narrators of James's and especially Conrad's frame narratives. Indeed, it is likely (and it was observed by contemporary reviewers) that Walpole's John Durward was modelled on that earlier English observer of a Russian revolution, Conrad's teacher of languages in *Under Western Eyes*.²⁸⁹ But while Conrad's narrator, as we saw in chapter two, was narrating events he had not experienced and, like Ford's John Dowell in *The Good Soldier*, is quick to tell the reader of his limitations, the narrators of this post-war strand are singularly confident about their ability to communicate their experience, even if that ability is undermined by other aspects of the text.

Indeed, it is the distinction between the narrator's confidence and the reader's knowledge of their failings that marks these novels' difference from those of the Russophile modernists, where the confidence of the narrator or protagonist—Courno's Gombarov, Lawrence's Birkin, or Richardson's Miriam—is authorially endorsed. The hopes of the earlier Russophiles, writing under the sign of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, can no longer be seriously proposed, but they remain part of these novels' subject matter. The Russian revolutions thus become emblematic of misplaced hope. It is this presentation of earlier ideals and the measuring of their distance from post-war and post-revolution reality that distinguishes this strand of twenties novels drawing on the Russophile tradition, and it relates them to the

²⁸⁷ In Hermann Hesse's essay on Dostoevsky to which Eliot alludes here, Hesse's word 'Völkermassen', presumably standing behind Eliot's 'hordes' (the word Stephen Hudson (Sydney Schiff) used to translate it in the 1923 translation undertaken at Eliot's instigation), does not refer to Russia, but Japan. Eliot blended this imagery from the earlier part of Hesse's essay with the final paragraph that refers (obliquely) to the October Revolution, which Eliot quotes in the notes to *The Waste Land*. See T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), pp. 44, 62, Herman Hesse, 'Die Brüder Karamasoff oder der Untergang Europas', in *Blick ins Chaos: Drei Aufsätze* (Bern: Seldwyla, 1920), pp. 1–20 (pp. 7, 20), and Herman Hesse, "The Brothers Karamazoff" or the Downfall of Europe', in *In Sight of Chaos*, trans. by Stephen Hudson (Zurich: Seldwyla, 1923), pp. 23, 46.

²⁸⁸ W. B. Yeats, 'The Second Coming', *The Dial*, 69 (November 1920), p. 466; Jon Stallworthy, *Between the Lines: Yeats's Poetry in the Making* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 17–19; Ezra Pound, 'The Sixteenth Canto', in *A Draft of XVI. Cantos of Ezra Pound for the Beginning of a Poem of some Length* (Paris: Three Mountains Press, 1925), p. 64. For a revised version of the lecture material Pound draws on, see Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, II (London: Harrap, 1931), pp. 747–63.

²⁸⁹ 'Life in a Russian Family', review of Hugh Walpole, *The Secret City*, *Saturday Review* (15 March 1919), p. 254.

typical modes and genres of the twenties, such as satire, parody, farce, and the comic turn in detective fiction, where plots revolve around narrators or central characters exposing illusions that run along a continuum from romantic ideals to outright lies and fakes.²⁹⁰ It produces the striking modernity of Gerhardie's style, a style we might most readily associate today with authors whose careers began later in the nineteen twenties, such as Vladimir Nabokov and Evelyn Waugh, but is a feature Gerhardie himself traces to Chekhov:

His is the art of creating convincing illusions of the life that is. And 'the life that is' is what *is* in the material sense of reality, *plus* all the romantic illusions and dreams, *plus* all the sneaking, private, half-conscious perceptions, suspicions, sensations that go side by side with the 'official,' barren life of fact. It is the wanton incompatibility of the reality of life with our romantic, smoother private visions of what life ought to be, and that, together, makes our life seem what it is, with its makeshifts, self-deception, contradiction, and emotional misunderstanding of individual and mutual sensibilities, which has seized him, and because he saw beauty in it, has made him a creative artist.²⁹¹

This quotation, I think, enables us to see why Gerhardie admired Katherine Mansfield's writing so much, and how we might distinguish Mansfield's approach to the raw material of life from Woolf's. In his study of Chekhov, Gerhardie remarks that 'so far it seems that only Katherine Mansfield was alive to the intrinsic value of Chekhov's method. For she alone, with a flavour all her own, invites comparison with Chekhov's method of using psychology for artistic ends. They have shown us that subtlety can be expressed easily and directly. They have none of James's strings of definitions, qualifications, amplifications, ramifications, curtainments, which remind one of a tailor who, fumbling with his scissors, first cuts off a slice but not enough, then cuts off too much and is obliged to add a piece—and yet, perhaps in consideration of the pains he takes, is acclaimed a subtle craftsman'.²⁹² Woolf's break into experimental writing was taking place only just as Gerhardie was writing, but one suspects that Gerhardie found Woolf's writing if not less subtle, at least expressed less 'easily and directly' than Mansfield's: Woolf suggests rather than says.²⁹³ More importantly, Mansfield focused more than Woolf on 'the wanton incompatibility of the reality of life with our romantic, smoother private visions of what life ought to be'.

Another way of saying this is that there is more humour in Mansfield than Woolf, and humour was a quality Gerhardie greatly admired in Chekhov's work.

²⁹⁰ Chris Baldick, *Literature of the 1920s: Writers among the Ruins* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 137–69.

²⁹¹ Gerhardie, *Anton Chekhov*, p. 16.

²⁹² Gerhardie, *Anton Chekhov*, p. 132.

²⁹³ This suspicion is supported by Gerhardie's statement quoted by Davies (without source), that Woolf displayed 'a marvellous gift for observation of little things, but all drowned in a pretentious form of presentation'. Gerhardie wrote a violently negative (and drunken) assessment of *The Years* to his friend Oliver Stonor on 3 October 1940 ('I have never yet read an author that nauseated me to such an extent'): see Davies, *William Gerhardie*, p. 313, and William Gerhardie, letter to Oliver Stonor, 3 December 1940, Add. MS 8292/19.57, Papers of William Alexander Gerhardie(e), Cambridge.

Literature, he argued, 'needs taste and tact and humour...Above all humour, without which the vision of life is devoid of the component that ensures a sane sense of proportion'. Yet it was Chekhov's humour in particular that Gerhardie thought was omitted in translations, and this perhaps accounts for the fact that it was precisely humour that Woolf believed Russian literature lacked.²⁹⁴ In fact, though in 'Modern Fiction' Chekhov is her named example of a Russian writer, her characterization of 'the Russians' owes more to Dostoevsky: 'the conclusions of the Russian mind,' she writes, are 'comprehensive and compassionate' but 'of the utmost sadness'. English fiction 'from Sterne to Meredith', by contrast, 'bears witness to our natural delight in humour and comedy, in the beauty of earth, in the activities of the intellect, and in the splendour of the body'.²⁹⁵ Despite Woolf's comments, the humour that becomes characteristic of twenties British fiction—a darker humour than Woolf associates with the English literary tradition—was at least in part derived from Chekhovian fiction, including indirectly derived via these Chekhov-influenced British novels of the Russian revolutions. Gerhardie 'is our Gogol's *Overcoat*', wrote Olivia Manning, 'We all come out of him'.²⁹⁶

The distinctive character of the novels of the Russian revolutions is brought about by certain historical circumstances—the war, the Russian revolutions, the Russian Civil War—interpreted through a particular, yet collective, national literary experience. British writers and readers experienced the transition from a perspective on Russia informed primarily by Dostoevsky to one informed by more modern, and particularly Chekhovian, sources. This creates a specific and influential narrative viewpoint. For some fiction (such as that of Maugham, Walpole, and also later Rebecca West, in her 1966 novel of the Russian revolutions, *The Birds Fall Down*), this might best be described as an emphatically English narrator confronted by a Dostoevskian world.²⁹⁷ For other works (particularly Gerhardie's) it can be more specifically described as a Chekhovian narrator confronted by a Dostoevskian world. In both cases, the distance between the narrator and the world they encounter results in authorial comment on an early modernist worldview, a comment that can be tragic or, more often, satiric. It is, I think, D. H. Lawrence's preference for the tragic, his essential seriousness, which makes him so resistant to Maugham's writing. His review of *Ashenden* for *Vogue* praised Maugham's powers of observation, but argued that 'as soon as the excellently

²⁹⁴ Gerhardie, *Anton Chekhov*, pp. 127, 8.

²⁹⁵ Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', in *The Common Reader*, p. 194.

²⁹⁶ Olivia Manning, 'Buried Alive', *The Times* (9 November 1961), p. 16. Similar comments were made by Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, and also Anthony Powell and C. P. Snow, whose literary careers began slightly later, at the beginning of the thirties. Greene also testified to Maugham's influence, as did the later major exponents of spy fiction, Eric Ambler, Len Deighton, and John le Carré: see Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham*, p. 241.

²⁹⁷ Rebecca West, *The Birds Fall Down* (London: Macmillan, 1966). In her foreword to the novel, West thanks 'the ghosts of Ford Madox Ford, and his sister, Juliet Soskice, wife of a Russian revolutionary who took refuge in England, and a pioneer translator of Russian literature, from whom I first heard the story which I have transformed into this novel' (n.pag.). The story was that of Evno Azef, discussed in chapter two. See also Peter G. Christensen, 'The Azef Affair and *The Birds Fall Down*: A True Story on a Parallel Universe?', in Bernard Schweizer, ed., *Rebecca West Today: Contemporary Critical Approaches* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2006), pp. 80–96.

observed characters have to move, it is a fake. Mr Maugham gives them a humorous shove or two. We find they are nothing but puppets, instruments of the author's pet prejudice. The author's pet prejudice being "humour," it would be hard to find a bunch of more ill-humoured stories'.²⁹⁸ Maugham and Gerhardie could look on the post-war world with a satirical eye, but for Lawrence, the realization of his prophecies in 'The Crown' was no cause for amusement.²⁹⁹

The terms of Lawrence's criticism here anticipate with striking precision Tyrus Miller's definitions of late modernism. Miller writes that late modernist works demonstrate an 'obsessive depiction of pure corporeal automatism'. His examples include '[Wyndham] Lewis's "puppets"; the wobbly oscillations, semicircular peregrinations, and sudden disequilibrations of Beckett's tramps and clowns; and the bizarre mannerisms and tics of [Djuna] Barnes's "performers"'. Late modernism's characteristic mode is satire or 'bitter comedy', 'what Lewis called "nonhuman, nonpersonal" laughter, what Beckett calls "mirthless laughter"' and which Miller terms 'self-reflexive laughter'. Other characteristics described by Miller also seem prefigured in Gerhardie's and Maugham's texts. Late modernism is a reaction against 'a certain type of modernist fiction dominated by an aesthetics of formal mastery', drawing on 'a marginalized "figural" tendency within modernism as the instrument of its attack on high modernist fiction'. It reveals 'what lay hidden in modernism's genetic past all along—an unassimilated heritage of the continental avant-gardes; a pariahed corpus of works tainted with satirical, documentary, or argumentative elements'. Miller's late modernism begins 'around 1926', the year of the General Strike, designated by Wyndham Lewis as beginning 'a period of a new complexion'.³⁰⁰ Yet all these characteristics appear in Gerhardie's and Maugham's novels written in the early twenties.³⁰¹

The fiction of the Russian revolutions therefore might be seen not only as a direct influence on the twenties comic novel, but also the advance guard of late modernism. The revolutions and their aftermath contributed to a 'vision of general depersonalization and deauthentication of life in modern society', as the General Strike did for Miller's late modernists.³⁰² And like Maugham, Walpole, and above all Gerhardie, late modernism presents that vision through the metaphor of life as theatrical performance. Indeed, as Miller discusses, Lewis's prime example of life

²⁹⁸ D. H. Lawrence, 'Turning Over New Leaves', *Vogue*, 72.3 (8 August 1928), 35, 58 (p. 58).

²⁹⁹ See Lucas, *The Radical Twenties*, pp. 60–1.

³⁰⁰ Tyrus Miller, *Late Modernism: Politics, Fiction, and the Arts Between the World Wars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 63, 25, 63, 18, 10, 27; Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombadiering* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1937), p. 1.

³⁰¹ These characteristics, indeed, are fundamental to Maugham's reinvention of the genre of spy fiction. See Jeanne F. Bedell, 'Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden* and the Modernization of Espionage Fiction', *Studies in Popular Culture*, 7 (1984), 40–6 (p. 45): 'The detached irony with which *Ashenden* views his activities and the consistency with which he emphasizes the relationship between espionage and fiction, create a new atmosphere in the spy story and bring us close to the contemporary world where the agent is more often pawn than hero, where assumed identity makes him, like *Ashenden*, "merely a creature of R.'s facile invention," and where his actions are part of a plot whose outcome he never learns'.

³⁰² See Charles Ferrall and Dougal McNeill, *Writing the General Strike: Literature, Culture, Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

turned into theatrical spectacle in *The Art of Being Ruled* (1926) is Soviet Russia: his sources include Mikhail Farberman's *After Lenin* and Huntly Carter's *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia*.³⁰³ Lewis had first used that metaphor to describe Russia nine years earlier. Unlike most of the writers discussed in this chapter, Lewis never visited Russia, but between May 1917 and May 1918, while in France with the 330th Siege Battery of the Royal Garrison Artillery, he and Pound collaborated on a series of what Lewis entitled 'Letters from Petrograd', published as 'Imaginary Letters' in the New York-based *Little Review*, where Pound was foreign editor.³⁰⁴ Lewis took on the persona of a British soldier and Russophile, William Bland Burn, stationed in Petrograd during the first months of 1917. Undated materials in Lewis's papers at Cornell suggest that Lewis originally located Burn in San Francisco in 1913, but during the writing of the first letters moved him to Petrograd in January 1916, and, sometime before publication in May 1917, moved him again to Petrograd in January 1917.³⁰⁵ Undoubtedly the changes in location and date were due to the opportunities the February Revolution offered as a backdrop for the anti-democratic statements Lewis had Burn and his fellow protagonists make. It was at the end of a late draft of Burn's first letter, written like all the letters in the series to his wife Lydia, that Lewis introduced the characterization of Russia as a stage: 'Much occurs here of the strangest. The Russian factor is quite curious in this game. It is really, much more than the other countries, a theatre to itself, carrying on a play of quite a different description'.³⁰⁶

Although Lewis set some store by the letters, telling Pound in July that 'they are better than the stories (Cantleman & the other) especially the last letters that you will shortly see', the series lacks coherence and it is by no means straightforward to establish their overall purpose.³⁰⁷ In part this is because, between Lewis's first two letters published in May and June 1917 and the final four published in March and

³⁰³ Miller, *Late Modernism*, pp. 42–4. The theatrical nature of post-revolutionary Russia was a common trope of the period: see for example Sorokin's quotation from 'the writer N.' in a chapter entitled 'New Plays' in *Leaves from a Russian Diary*, p. 292: 'our Government provides us with such constant excitement that we can never feel boredom. No cheap *circenses*, mind you, but thrilling tragedies of real life. Arrests, prisons, executions! Not long ago we witnessed "The Kronstadt Tragedy." After that we had "The Tagantzeff Conspiracy," then "The Trial of the Social-Revolutionists," thrillers, all of them'.

³⁰⁴ Paul O'Keeffe, *Some Sort of Genius: A Life of Wyndham Lewis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), p. 185; Wyndham Lewis, letter to Ezra Pound, 17 July 1917, in *Pound/Lewis: The Letters of Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis*, ed. by Timothy Materer (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 88. For discussion of the *Little Review* and the Russian revolutions, including discussion of the 'Imaginary Letters', see Adam McKible, *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Russian Revolution, Little Magazines, and New York* (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 79–109.

³⁰⁵ San Francisco was presumably chosen because it was the location of the *Little Review* between June and September 1916.

³⁰⁶ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, I' (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife), *Little Review*, 4.1 (May 1917), 19–23 (p. 23); Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, I', box 16, folder 2, Wyndham Lewis Collection, #4612, Cornell.

³⁰⁷ Wyndham Lewis, letter to Pound, 17 July 1917, in *Pound/Lewis*, p. 88. 'Cantleman's Spring-Mate' was published in the *Little Review* in October 1917. 'The other' was probably 'A Soldier of Humour', which was published in the *Little Review* in December 1917 and January 1918: see Wyndham Lewis, letters to Ezra Pound, 22 May 1917, 8 June 1917, 1 July 1917, in *Pound/Lewis*, pp. 59, 74.

April 1918, Pound decided to write three himself in the persona of Walter Villerant, Burn's friend, 'to keep the "reader" in mind of the existence of the Burn family', presumably because Lewis was prevented by active service from completing his contributions. Villerant's letters engaged little with Burn's: 'he is not controversing with B. but discussing matters other, and of interest to his effete and over civilized organism', Pound told Lewis.³⁰⁸ Pound also published one further letter from Villerant at the end of the series, and may also have been responsible for including as the third instalment 'The Code of the Herdsman', which Lewis is thought to have written at least two years earlier.³⁰⁹

In his first letter, Burn articulates his scorn for the 'herd' of humanity and the 'gentleman-animal' who flatters himself that he comes from a 'distinguished herd', when in fact he is 'the most cunning effort of society to close its eyes and clog its ears', the 'great sham reconciliation and justifying of ease'.³¹⁰ In 'The Code of the Herdsman', presented as a document by two further characters and enclosed by Burn in a letter to Lydia, Lewis provides a set of rules, a 'Nietzschean manifesto', to keep the people Lewis figures as mountain-dwelling 'herdsmen' of superior intelligence from contamination by the common 'herd' they work among: 'mock the herd', 'eschew all clichés', develop different personalities, 'contradict yourself', and 'do not play with political notions, aristocratisms or the reverse, for that is a compromise with the herd'.³¹¹ Unsurprisingly, when Burn describes the February Revolution in the letter published in April 1918, he is highly critical. Lewis dated the instalment 28 April 1917, and wrote in his cover letter of 17 July 1917 to Pound, 'What was the date of the deposition of the Czar? As you read my last two Petrograd letters keep your eye on the date at top of letter, & modify if essential. = But I think it is all right. = By April 28th the Revolution period was well past the first days'.³¹² Burn's description of the February Revolution is clearly informed by Lewis's knowledge of the later presentation of Bolshevism by the British press: he describes it as overwhelmingly Jewish and remarks that the revolution's Jewish leaders are likely to make a separate peace with Germany, because 'they are consumed with such an antipathy for this country and show such a strange predilection for Germany'. The result for Russia and other countries, he thinks, will be 'more hypocrisy, confusion and vulgarity. After this war, and the "democratisation"

³⁰⁸ Ezra Pound, letter to Wyndham Lewis, [August 1917], in *Pound/Lewis*, p. 93.

³⁰⁹ In a note to his edition of 'The Code of the Herdsman', Alan Munton describes it as having been published in the *Little Review*, 'where it was wrongly included in the "Imaginary Letters" series. A manuscript in the Wyndham Lewis Collection at Cornell University shows that it belongs to the story "The Crowd", part of which was published in *Blast* No. 2 in 1915'. Bradford Morrow and Bernard Lafourcade expand on this in their bibliography of Lewis's writings. See Wyndham Lewis, *The Code of a Herdsman*, ed. by Alan Munton (Glasgow: Wyndham Lewis Society, 1977), p. [8]; Bradford Morrow and Bernard Lafourcade, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Wyndham Lewis* (Santa Barbara, CA: Black Sparrow Press, 1978), p. 229.

³¹⁰ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, I', pp. 22–3.

³¹¹ Lisa Tickner, 'Men's Work? Masculinity and Modernism', in Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, eds, *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), pp. 42–82 (p. 74); Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, III' (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife), *Little Review*, 4.3 (July 1917), 3–7 (pp. 3, 4, 7, 5).

³¹² Wyndham Lewis, letter to Ezra Pound, 17 July 1917, in *Pound/Lewis*, p. 89.

of all countries, no man will ever say what he means, yes, seldomer even than at present. *The thing that is not* will reign in the lands'.³¹³

Like the conservative journalists who wanted to retain their Russian ally, Lewis deployed anti-Semitic rhetoric to detach the deplored revolution from the admired Russian people. But Lewis's motivation was not only to rescue the reputation of Britain's ally, it was also to rescue Russian literature. As we saw in chapter two, Lewis valued Russian literature highly, particularly the work of Dostoevsky, and in the first issue of *Blast* (1914) Russia had been presented to British artists as an example of a great 'Northern Art', whose climate and landscape produced 'extraordinary acuity of feeling and intelligence'.³¹⁴ But after the October Revolution Dostoevskian Russophiles like Cournos, Lewis, and Murry could no longer look to Russia as a corrective to Western materialism and mechanism. 'Imaginary Letters' is an attempt to extract Russian literature from revolutionary Russia, to undo the connection that Kravchinsky and his fellow *chaikovtsy* had so successfully secured in the eighteen nineties. Russian novels are 'better books than any Englishman or Frenchman wrote at the same period', Lewis has Burn write, but living in Russia 'is not like living among their books. Nor are the people around you as prepossessing as the fictitious nation. But where would art be if they were? ... it is only the books that matter'.³¹⁵

Lewis's second letter, published in June 1917, gave an extended consideration of Russian fiction, praising Tolstoy's 'Sevastopol'skie rasskazy' ('Sevastopol Sketches') for 'truth and clearness' in comparison to the Kiplingesque patriotism and 'gush' about heroes published in Britain, and describing Dostoevsky, Gogol', and Turgenev as 'these Christian Demi-Gods of the Steppes'. 'For a single brandyish whiff from one of Dostoevsky's mouths, at some vivid angle of turpitude I would give all English literature back to Shelley's songs', Burn writes. Burn concedes that Shakespeare 'is evidently better than any Russian novelist', but he emphasizes that '*we are not Englishmen of Shakespeare's days*. ... Shakespeare would be an anachronism to-day'. Yet despite the contemporary relevance of Russian writers, Burn notes that few 'educated people' are 'willing to give Russian books their due', because 'all Russian writers insist on discovering America, opening discussions on matters that our institutions, our position in society, our Franco-English intelligence preclude any consideration of'. Indeed, both Lydia and Walter Villerant, Pound's persona, embody precisely this 'Franco-English intelligence'. Burn tells Lydia to 'stick to the gentlemanly silver buzzing of the French critical perfection', while he lives in the 'sanguine, unsavoury fairy-land', where 'every Russian I meet I know to be a post-humous fragment of my favourite Deity', Dostoevsky.³¹⁶ Villerant sympathizes with Lydia: 'Russians! No. William is *matto* over his Russians', while he, Villerant,

³¹³ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, IX' (William Bland Burn to his Wife), *Little Review*, 4.12 (April 1918), 50–4 (p. 52).

³¹⁴ [Wyndham Lewis], 'Manifesto', *Blast*, 1 (1914), 30–43 (pp. 38, 33).

³¹⁵ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, VIII' (William Bland Burn to his Wife), *Little Review*, 4.11 (March 1918), 23–30 (pp. 23–4).

³¹⁶ Wyndham Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, II' (Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife), *Little Review*, 4.2 (June 1917), 22–6 (pp. 23–4, 25, 24–5), Lewis, 'Imaginary Letters, VIII', p. 25.

'mistrust[s] this liking for Russians', and tells Lydia, 'I do not read Dostoevsky'. He favours British literature ('Fielding... was quite as good as the Russians'), and French literature. Villerant ends his third letter mourning the death of one of Pound's literary idols, Remy de Gourmont, who had died two years before, and worrying that France may now cease to be 'the arbitress of our literary destinies, the light we look to', unless saved by 'Dr. Duhamel, with his realism of hospitals, and the brilliant, long silent Romans, the humane Vildrac'.³¹⁷ Three months later, the *Little Review* was given over to Pound's fifty-eight page essay and anthology, 'A Study in French Poets'.³¹⁸

Pound was entirely candid about his use of the *Little Review* to promote a particular canon of contemporary literature. During 1917 and 1918, as well as the 'Imaginary Letters', Pound published four short works by Lewis which, he told the *Little Review's* readers, were to have been published in 'a volume of short stories containing "Inn-Keepers and Bestre", "Unlucky for Pringle" and some others which had appeared in *The English Review* under Ford Madox Hueffer's editorship, and in other English periodicals'.³¹⁹ In the *English Review*, Lewis's stories had been published in the context of Ford's editorial debates about the future of British literature. I argued in chapter two that Lewis's work should be seen as belonging to what Ford described as the school of 'factual literature', written by 'propagandists', which I suggested were also represented by Bennett, Chekhov, Dostoevsky, Lawrence, Tolstoy, and Wells, and placed in the *Review* against the school Ford favoured, that of 'imaginative literature' written by 'artists', represented by Conrad, Ford, France, Hudson, Hunt, James, and Lee.³²⁰ I associated the former group with Russian literature and values that had become associated with it, and the latter with French literature and its associated values. The canon Pound presents in the *Little Review* in 1917, eight years later, is more recognizably the canon of high modernism and, this time, Lewis appears to be central to the favoured group.

In his first editorial, Pound writes that he had accepted the post of foreign editor because 'I wished a place where the current prose writings of James Joyce, Wyndham Lewis, T. S. Eliot, and myself might appear regularly, promptly, and together, rather than irregularly, sporadically, and after useless delays'. He associates the opportunity with the canon-building he had been conducting with Richard Aldington, H. D., and T. S. Eliot in *The Egoist*, to the extent that he writes, 'I should like *The Little Review* to aid and abet *The Egoist* in its work'. That work is described as publishing 'the only translation of Remy de Gourmont's *Chevaux de*

³¹⁷ Ezra Pound, 'Imaginary Letters, V' (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn), *Little Review*, 4.6 (October 1917), 14–17 (pp. 14–15); Ezra Pound, 'Imaginary Letters, VI' (Walter Villerant to Mrs. Bland Burn), *Little Review*, 4.7 (November 1917), 39–40 (p. 40).

³¹⁸ Ezra Pound, 'A Study in French Poets', *Little Review*, 4.10 (February 1918), 3–61. This title is the one given at the head of Pound's article, but the front cover and contents page carried the titles 'A Study of French Modern Poets' and 'A Study of Modern French Poets'.

³¹⁹ Ezra Pound, note to Wyndham Lewis, 'Inferior Religions', *Little Review*, 4.5 (September 1917), 3–8 (p. 3).

³²⁰ [Ford Madox Ford], 'Editorial: The Function of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', *English Review*, 1 (1908), 157–160 (pp. 158–60); E. R. [Ford Madox Ford], 'The Critical Attitude: English Literature of To-day, II', *English Review*, 3 (1909), 655–72 (p. 659).

Diomedes; the best translation of Le Comte de Gabalis, Mr. Joyce's masterpiece *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and . . . Mr. Lewis's novel *Tarr*', and also enabling the book publication of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and Eliot's *Prufrock and Other Observations*.³²¹ As this list suggests, and as we saw earlier in this chapter, *The Egoist* was a profoundly Francophile publication. Under Pound, the *Little Review* also became more Francophile: indeed, he had told the journal's editor the previous year that 'A Better understanding with France is one; if not the first step toward better art conditions in america', and had suggested she 'try DeGourmont instead of, or in addition to Clive Bell'.³²² Russophile Lewis is hardly a natural affiliate to this group, as would become increasingly clear during the nineteen twenties, yet 'Imaginary Letters', in many ways Lewis's post-revolution manifesto, actually contributes to the *Little Review*'s Francophilia. This is achieved entirely through Pound's revision of Lewis's initial conception. Though Lewis insisted, 'The title should be "Letters from Petrograd"', Pound published the first letters before Lewis had revised them and approved their publication, under the 'Imaginary Letters' title.³²³ Though they were envisaged as, and initially subtitled, 'Six Letters of William Bland Burn to his Wife', Pound interpolated three of his own which diluted and—just as in the *English Review*—balanced Lewis's Russophilia with the promotion of a Francophile argument. It is true that 'Imaginary Letters' is a satirical series, and that Burn is not Lewis, nor Villerant Pound, but their arguments are only magnified versions of their own views and predilections. Not only does Villerant assert that contemporary French poetry, such as that of Georges Duhamel, Jules Romains, and Charles Vildrac, might 'save us', and restore France as 'the arbitress of our literary destinies', he concludes the series with a more insidious assertion of Francophile values. In what would have been the end of the series if Lewis's letters had been published alone, Burn responds to Lydia's letter announcing she has sailed to the United States, where she will divorce him, and that he is not the father of her child. But Pound adds a further letter, in which Villerant tells Lydia that her move to suburbia (whether the United States, or—as Burn suggests is actually the case—suburban London) is a mark of her 'stupidity'. In an earlier letter he had remarked that he could not 'be expected to take an interest' in Russia, having 'passed years in one barbarous country', the United States. 'All that is worth anything is the product of metropolises', he writes, 'Swill out these nationalist movements. Ireland is a suburb of Liverpool. And Russia! The aged Findell comes back in ecstasy, saying "It is just like America"'. In the last letter, Villerant revisits this argument, and women, suburbia, stupidity, and Russian literature (Tolstoy's *The Kreutzer Sonata*, 'a second rate novel') are allied in his construction of a final moral for the series around the metropolitan intelligence. 'This fastidiousness of the mind, my dear Lydia, is something which I would

³²¹ Ezra Pound, 'Editorial', *Little Review*, 4.1 (May 1917), 3–6 (pp. 3, 6).

³²² Ezra Pound, letter to Margaret Anderson, 29 November 1916, in *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson: The Little Review Correspondence*, ed. by Thomas L. Scott, Melvin J. Friedman, eds, with the assistance of Jackson R. Bryer (New York: New Directions, 1988), pp. 4–5.

³²³ Wyndham Lewis, letters to Pound, 17 July 1917, 26 July 1917, in *Pound/Lewis*, pp. 88, 90.

recommend to you', Villerant concludes, 'It may be that you have reached your habitat, but into that habitat you need not expect me to follow you. I do not mind your having a new husband, or a dozen new husbands, but that you have an inferior mental object is a desolating and discouraging matter'.³²⁴ As Lydia retreats into suburbia and stupidity, and Burn is left in 'barbarous' Russia governed by its revolutionary 'herd', Villerant remains in the metropolis, his values affirmed not only by concluding the series, but by the *Little Review's* Francophile version of internationalism Pound had established.³²⁵

³²⁴ Ezra Pound, 'Imaginary Letters, X' (W. Villerant to the ex-Mrs. Burn), *Little Review*, 5.1 (May 1918), 52–5 (pp. 53, 55).

³²⁵ Pound returned to his Walter Villerant persona later in 1918, when he published four letters to four imaginary women—none of them Lydia—to discourse on, in turn, contemporary sexual mores, Russians, Christianity, and poetic language: see [Ezra Pound], 'Mr Villerant's Morning Outburst (Four Letters)', *Little Review*, 5.7 (November 1918), 7–12.

Conclusion

A DIFFERENT MODERN

The October Revolution, and the new Russia it generated, inevitably changed the way British literary culture responded to Russian literature. The *chaikovtsy's* presentation of Russian literature in the 1880s and 1890s as the authentic expression of the Russian people, 'the medium for expressing their aspirations, their conceptions of national life, or their ideals', as Kropotkin had written in 1905, had been profoundly attractive to many British writers and critics.¹ In contrast with the highly individualized, stylized products of aestheticism, Russian literature offered a model to renew and update the project of romanticism: it was read as a literature confident of its ability to express national identity, and thereby able to imagine and potentially achieve political change. Over the next thirty years, the *chaikovtsy's* propagandist literary criticism was consolidated, fashioning Russian literature—and Russia—into a repository for a series of related values: life (as opposed to art, style or technique), realism (as opposed to formalism), engagement (as opposed to disinterestedness), nature (as opposed to culture), the rural (as opposed to the urban), the national (as opposed to the international), spirit (as opposed to materialism or the machine), and romanticism (as opposed to classicism). Some of these values were more important at different times and for different writers, and the relationships between sets of values were not stable, but nevertheless until 1917 Russian literature was conceived in Britain as a distinct example of a national literature's ability to represent and achieve social and moral improvement. However, the Soviet Russia that emerged in the 1920s could be associated with few of the values British readers had associated with the Russian people under tsarist rule. The Bolsheviks advocated not the spirit but the machine, not the rural but the urban, and they were not nationalists but internationalists, including in their conception of language. Literature, in early Soviet theory, expressed not a nation but a class and an economic theory.²

¹ Kropotkin, *Russian Literature* (1905), p. vi.

² This statement refers to Bolshevik literary theory as it crystallized during the 1920s, particularly in the writings of Trotsky, and as it was interpreted by pro-Bolshevik British commentators, as described in the previous chapter. It does not describe the variety of ideas about literature that were debated in the Soviet Union during the 1920s. On Soviet Russia and universal languages, see Andrew Wachtel, 'Translation, Imperialism, and National Self-Definition in Russia', in Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ed., *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 58–85 (pp. 71–85); on early Soviet literary theory, see Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution*, pp. 9–15, and throughout.

After the revolutions and during the 1920s, British writers and readers continued to be inspired by pre-revolutionary Russian writing, particularly by the four writers who had become canonical in Britain before the revolutions: Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov. Virginia Woolf's oeuvre is the major example here. Between 1917 and 1922 Woolf published thirteen reviews of Russian literature and biography, including a review of Vera Donnet's production of *The Cherry Orchard* at St. Martin's Theatre in July 1920; ten of these thirteen reviews concerned works by or about the four major realists.³ She collaborated on three translations with Kotelyansky, published by the Hogarth Press in 1922 and 1923, and the Press published a further eleven translations from Russian sources during Woolf's involvement with the firm.⁴ Her articles *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown* (1924), 'Modern Fiction' (1925), and 'The Russian Point of View' (1925) are three of the most astute discussions of early twentieth-century literature by any writer, and all place a high value on Russian fiction (Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekhov are the writers named).⁵ Her novels are profoundly informed by nineteenth-century Russian literature, in their imagery, their structure, and above all their characterization. Yet one could not call any of Woolf's novels Dostoevskian, as one can Lawrence's or Lewis's early work; nor Chekhovian like Mansfield's; and certainly not Tolstoyan, though he was the Russian writer Woolf seems to have admired most.⁶ Other writers for whom the pre-revolutionary Russian writers remained or became important models include H. E. Bates, Mary Butts, Aldous Huxley, and Rebecca West—as well as those already discussed, such as Cournot, Gerhardt, Lewis, Maugham, Richardson, Shaw, Walpole, and Wells.

However, the role assigned to Russian literature, and to individual Russian writers, became less consistent in the literary debates of the 1920s. For example, in 1923 John Middleton Murry argued that two contemporary approaches to fiction had emerged from Dostoevsky's and Tolstoy's explosion of the Flaubertian and

See also Evgeny Dobrenko and Galin Tihanov, eds, *A History of Russian Literary Theory and Criticism: The Soviet Age and Beyond* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011).

³ See Kirkpatrick and Clarke, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf*, pp. 252–68; Rubenstein, *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View*, pp. 4–5. After 1922, Woolf published little directly on Russian literature, but 'A Giant with Very Small Thumbs', review of Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Turgenev: The Man, his Art and his Age*, *Nation & Athenaeum*, 40.26 (2 April 1927), 928, 930, 'The Russian Point of View', in *The Common Reader*, pp. 219–31, and 'The Novels of Turgenev', *Times Literary Supplement*, 1663 (14 December 1933), 885–6.

⁴ F. M. Dostoevsky, *Stavrogin's Confession and The Plan of The Life of a Great Sinner, with Introductory and Explanatory Notes*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Virginia Woolf (Richmond: Hogarth Press, 1922); Leo Tolstoy, *Tolstoy's Love Letters with a Study on the Autobiographical Elements in Tolstoy's Works by Paul Biryukov*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Virginia Woolf (Richmond: Hogarth Press, 1923); A. B. Goldenveizer, *Talks with Tolstoy*, trans. by S. S. Koteliensky and Virginia Woolf (Richmond: Hogarth Press, 1923); Beasley, 'On Not Knowing Russian', 1–29; Laura Marcus, 'The European Dimensions of the Hogarth Press', in Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst, eds, *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 328–56 (pp. 344–56); J. H. Willis, *Leonard and Virginia Woolf as Publishers: The Hogarth Press, 1917–41* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 80–101.

⁵ Virginia Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown* (London: Hogarth Press, 1924), Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', 'The Russian Point of View', in *The Common Reader*, pp. 184–95, 219–31.

⁶ Rubenstein, *Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View*, pp. 14–15, 98.

Jamesian novel of technique. He characterized them as, on the one hand, 'subjectivist novelists [who] seem to be chiefly moved by a desire to express the truth', exemplified by Joyce, Proust, and Richardson, who he saw as working in a Nietzschean and Dostoevskian tradition and influenced by the 'fundamental materialism' of science. And, on the other hand, objective 'story-writers [who] aim at an art which is compatible with the truth', exemplified by Chekhov and Mansfield. He advocated a synthesis of the 'comprehensiveness' of the former approach and the 'lucidity' of the latter.⁷ John Cournos also saw the fundamental opposition in contemporary literature as between Dostoevskians and Chekhovians, but preferred the former. He argued that the artist's 'personality, his poetry, his soul' was the distinguishing mark of the best artists (pre-eminently Dostoevsky, but also Ibsen, Strindberg, and Tolstoy), not 'scientific "detachment"', 'objectivity', and 'impersonality', whose advocates he cited as Chekhov and T. S. Eliot.⁸ Both Murry and Cournos consider the Flaubert-Turgenev-James model—what I have been calling the Francophile model—to have been superseded, but to a certain extent Chekhov assumes the place of those writers in the new oppositional structure, especially for Cournos. Woolf herself divides up the literary scene in the twenties in a variety of ways. In 'Modern Fiction' she opposes 'the Russians' who have 'a natural reverence for the human spirit' to the British writers previously seen as their allies, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, and H. G. Wells, who now appear as 'materialists'. Conversely, her comments on E. M. Forster's *Aspects of the Novel* in 1927 and Percy Lubbock's *The Craft of Fiction* five years before set out the opposition that has become more familiar in the course of this book, between what she calls 'the humane as opposed to the aesthetic view of fiction', which largely corresponds to the opposition between views associated with Tolstoy (and Russian literature more generally) in contrast with Flaubert and James. Though she clearly has more sympathy with Forster's argument that fiction is 'intimately and humbly attached to the service of human beings', she, like Murry, calls for a synthesis and is not prepared to dismiss, as Forster is, the 'pleasure that we get from the pattern in the Golden Bowl'.⁹

Pre-revolutionary Russian literature, then, continued to be an important reference point in the 1920s. Even though the well-documented influence of Eliot's early criticism and *The Criterion* in shaping literary and cultural criticism may lead us to expect a swift progression towards the Russophobic classicism and individualism of 'Cold War modernism', Russophile literary values remained in play in various forms during the decade.¹⁰ On the one hand, they permeated the

⁷ Murry, 'The Break-Up of the Novel', pp. 298, 295, 302.

⁸ John Cournos, 'Introduction', in Edward J. O'Brien and John Cournos, eds, *The Best British Short Stories of 1925* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1925), pp. xi–xix (pp. xvi, xiii, xii–xiii).

⁹ Virginia Woolf, 'The Art of Fiction', review of E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, *Nation and Athenaeum* (Literary Supplement), 42.6 (12 November 1927), 247–8 (p. 247); [Virginia Woolf], 'On Re-Reading Novels', review of *The Novels of Jane Austen, The Novels of Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë, The Works of George Meredith*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 1070 (20 July 1922), pp. 1–2.

¹⁰ Baldick, *The Social Mission of English Criticism, 1848–1932*, pp. 134–61; Chris Baldick, *Criticism and Literary Theory, 1890 to the Present* (Harlow: Longman, 1996), pp. 64–91; Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists*, pp. 138, 174, 177–8; Goldie, *A Critical Difference*, pp. 191–6; Jason Harding,

expressionist late modernism Tyrus Miller describes (as we saw at the end of the last chapter) and, on the other, they informed the romantic and rural modernisms of the same period that have been explored by Kristin Bluemel and Michael McCluskey, Jed Esty, Alexandra Harris, and Dominic Head. The 'anthropological turn' towards 'a resurgent concept of national culture' that Esty identifies in British literature around 1930 seems less of a turn than a slight shift of emphasis if one has been reading *Seed-time's* accounts of the Fellowship of the New Life, Goldring's *The Tramp*, and the Whitechapel Group's Georgian poetry.¹¹

The terms of interest in pre-revolutionary writing at first seem categorically different from the new appeal of contemporary Russian literature during the 1920s. In contrast with the canonical editions of the nineteenth-century authors' oeuvres translated by Garnett and the Maudes (Oxford University Press finally began publication of the Maudes' twenty-one volume edition of Tolstoy's works in 1928), 'the period from the 1920s to the end of the 1950s saw sporadic and somewhat random ventures at translating contemporary Russian literature', as Michael Falchikov has remarked.¹² But by the end of the decade a handful of anthologies had been published that included post-revolutionary writing by both émigré writers and writers in Soviet Russia, notably *Short Stories out of Soviet Russia*, edited and translated by John Cournos, *Russian Poems*, edited and translated by Charles Coxwell with an introduction by D. S. Mirsky, and *Great Russian Stories*, a collection of translations by several translators, edited by Stephen Graham, all three published in 1929.¹³ British publishers also obtained anthologies first published in the United States.¹⁴ Magazines occasionally carried translations or articles containing translations: Soviet literature's relevance to the younger generation was demonstrated by the *Calendar of Modern Letters* (1925-27), edited by Edgell Rickword and Douglas Garman, and *Experiment* (1928-31), edited by the Cambridge students, Jacob Bronowski, William Empson, William Hare, Humphrey Jennings,

The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-War Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 177-226; Louis Menand, 'T. S. Eliot', in A. Walton Litz, Louis Menand, and Lawrence Rainey, eds, *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, VII: *Modernism and the New Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 17-56.

¹¹ Miller, *Late Modernism*, Bluemel and McCluskey, eds, *Rural Modernity in Britain*; Harris, *Romantic Moderns: English Writers, Artists and the Imagination, from Virginia Woolf to John Piper* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010); Dominic Head, *Modernity and the English Rural Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 2.

¹² *Tolstoy Centenary Edition*, 21 vols, trans. by Aylmer Maude and Louise Maude (London: Oxford University Press for the Tolstoy Society, 1928-37); Michael Falchikov, 'Russian: Twentieth-Century Fiction', in Peter France, ed., *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 605-9 (p. 607).

¹³ Cournos, ed. and trans., *Short Stories out of Soviet Russia*; Coxwell, *Russian Poems*; Stephen Graham, ed., *Great Russian Short Stories* (London: Ernest Benn, 1929).

¹⁴ Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky, ed. and trans., *Modern Russian Poetry: An Anthology* (London: John Lane, 1923 [first published by Harcourt Brace, 1921]); Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky, ed. and trans., *Russian Poetry: An Anthology* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1929 [first published by Harcourt Brace, 1927]); Alexander Chramoff, ed., *Flying Osip: Stories of New Russia*, trans. by L. S. Friedland and J. R. Piroshnikoff (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925 [first published by International Publishers, 1925]); Joshua Kunitz, ed., *Azure Cities: Stories of New Russia*, trans. by J. J. Robinson (London: Modern Books, 1929 [first published by International Publishers, 1929]).

and Hugh Sykes Davies. Throughout its run, the *Calendar of Modern Letters* published Russian literature, including recent fiction by Isaak Babel', Leonid Leonov, and Aleksandr Neverov, translated by Alec Brown and Lidiya Zhiburtovicha (yet to adopt her pen name of Elisaveta Fen), who were both at the beginning of their prolific translating careers.¹⁵ *Experiment* published poetry by Boris Pasternak and stories by Vsevolod Ivanov and Mikhail Zoshchenko, translated by George Reavey and Fanya Polanovskaya.¹⁶ In the more widely circulated journals, John Cournos reviewed Russian (Soviet and émigré) periodicals in *The Criterion* from 1926 to 1938; in 1930 E. H. Carr, recently returned from the British legation in Riga, began his literary critical career with two influential articles on Soviet poetry and prose in the *Fortnightly Review* (writing as John Hallett); and most importantly D. S. Mirsky wrote essays and reviews of the writers emerging as the major Russian voices of the twenties—Anna Akhmatova, Isaak Babel', Osip Mandelshtam, Boris Pasternak, Boris Pil'nyak, and Marina Tsvetaeva—in the *London Mercury*, the *Nation and Athenaeum*, *Times Literary Supplement*, and *The Listener*. Mirsky published his highly influential *Contemporary Russian Literature, 1881–1925* in 1926. Pares's *Slavonic Review* (from 1927, the *Slavonic and East European Review*) also published literary reviews and essays for its more academic audience.¹⁷ As we saw in interchapter two, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS) was in contact with journalists such as Huntly Carter during the 1920s, providing information for sympathetic articles in the British press. It also placed articles through the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the USSR, which had been established in 1924 with a first executive committee that included Fedor Rotshtein's son Andrew

¹⁵ Leonid Leonov, 'Three Tales', trans. by Lydia Jiburtovitch, *Calendar of Modern Letters*, 2.7 (September 1925), 15–33; Alexander Nievierov, 'Andron, the Good-for-Nothing', trans. by Lydia Jiburtovitch, *Calendar of Modern Letters*, 2.9–11 (November–January 1925–26), 178–89, 258–68, 345–59; Alexander Nievierov, 'A Tale of Women', trans. by Lydia Jiburtovitch, *The Calendar*, 3.3 (October 1926), 178–204; I. Babel, 'The Letter', trans. by Alec Brown, *The Calendar*, 4.1 (April 1927), 13–16. See also Elisaveta Fen, *A Russian's England: Reminiscences of Years, 1926–1940* (Warwick: Paul Gordon Books, 1976), pp. 24–7, 37; and John Lucas, 'Standards of Criticism: *The Calendar of Modern Letters* (1925–7)', in Brooker and Thacker, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 1: 389–404.

¹⁶ Vsevolod Ivanov, 'Mounds', trans. by G. Reavey, *Experiment*, 2 (February 1929), 47–8; George Reavey, 'First Essay towards Pasternak', Boris Pasternak, 'Four Poems', trans. by George Reavey, *Experiment*, 6 (October 1930), 14–17, 18–20; Michail Zoshchenko, 'A Point of View', 'Nervous People', trans. by Fania Polanovskaya, *Experiment*, 7 (spring 1931), 43–4, 45–6. See also Jason Harding, 'Experiment in Cambridge: "A Manifesto of Young England"', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 27.4 (1998), 287–309; and Scott McCracken, 'Cambridge Magazines and Unfinished Business', in Brooker and Thacker, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 1: 599–622.

¹⁷ Ayers, 'John Cournos and the Politics of Russian Literature in *The Criterion*', pp. 360–9; John Hallett [E. H. Carr], 'The Poets of Soviet Russia', *Fortnightly Review*, 127 (February 1930), 241–50; John Hallett [E. H. Carr], 'The Prose Fiction of Soviet Russia', *Fortnightly Review*, 127 (March 1930), 362–72; Smith, *D. S. Mirsky*, pp. 91–124; Mirsky, *Contemporary Russian Literature*. However, a letter to Pares from his co-editor Seton-Watson written at some point during the Second World War discusses criticism from their colleague at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Gleb Struve, that the journal neglected literature and literary criticism: Seton-Watson Collection (SEW 18/2/3), SSEES.

Rothstein, Zinaida Vengerova, and Leonard Woolf.¹⁸ In the 1930s, a new generation of British writers began to look to Russian literature and Soviet literary theory for models for their own writing. By that time, more Soviet literature was becoming available. The Communist Party's publishing house, Martin Lawrence, had begun its fiction list; between 1932 and 1945 *Internatsional'naya literatura* (*International Literature*), the journal of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers (from 1936 the Union of Soviet Writers) published an English edition (as well as editions in Russian, French, German, and, for a time, Chinese); and in 1933 the Soviet Press and Publisher Literary Service (PresLit) appointed John Rodker as its British agent, with the remit to arrange the publication in Britain of 'literary and other material (playscripts, scenarios, musical manuscript) from the USSR'.¹⁹

It would be incorrect, however, to see younger British writers' engagement with Soviet literature as entirely distinct from that of the pre-war and wartime modernist Russophiles discussed in this book. The modernism institutionalised during the Cold War left as effective a legacy in its disdain for realism as in its admiration for formal experiment, but reappraisals of 'the long 1930s' have shown that there was more diversity of style, and more continuity with conceptions of literature before and after the decade, than has previously been allowed.²⁰ Part of that diversity and continuity derives from writers' different responses to Russian literature and Soviet literary policy. Janet Montefiore, discussing the socialist historical fiction of Jack Lindsay, Naomi Mitchison, and Sylvia Townsend Warner, points out that the advocacy of socialist realism at the 1934 Soviet Writers' Congress 'only directly affected Party writers; and in any case, both Marxist realist writing and the arguments for realism were much more various and artful than commonly supposed'.²¹ More recently, Glyn Salton-Cox has argued that Edward Upward's reputation has

¹⁸ See Emily Lygo, 'Promoting Soviet Culture in Britain: The History of the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the USSR, 1924–1945', *Modern Language Review*, 108 (2013), 571–96 (pp. 574, 576–77), David-Fox, *Showcasing the Great Experiment*, pp. 81–4, and Stern, *Western Intellectuals and the USSR*, pp. 133–8.

¹⁹ John Connor, 'Anglo-Soviet Literary Relations in the Long 1930s', in Benjamin Kohlmann and Matthew Taunton, eds, *A History of 1930s British Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 317–30 (p. 323), Christina Lodder, 'From Futurist Iconoclasm to Socialist Construction: *Futurist: Pervyi zhurnal russkikh futuristov* (1914), *Leif: Levyy front iskusstv* (1923–5); *Novyi Lef* (1927–8); and *Internatsional'naya literatura* (1933–45)', in Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker, and Christian Weikop, eds, *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, III: *Europe, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1299–318 (p. 1313–18); Elinor Taylor, *The Popular Front Novel in Britain, 1934–1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 28–32; 'Contract [between A. Marinsky, Press and Publishing Literary Service, and John Rodker, British Representative]' (1934), box 15, folder 1, John Rodker Papers, HRC; Patterson, 'The Translation of Soviet Literature: John Rodker and PresLit', pp. 188–208. Victor Gollancz's Left Book Club (1936–1948) published books by Russians and about Russia, but no Russian literature: see John Lewis, *The Left Book Club: An Historical Record* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1970), pp. 139–56.

²⁰ See, for example, Christopher Hilliard, 'Producers by Hand and by Brain: Working-Class Writers and Left-Wing Publishers in 1930s Britain', *Journal of Modern History*, 78.1 (March 2006), 37–64; Leo Mellor and Glyn Salton-Cox, 'The Long 1930s: Introduction', *The Long 1930s*, special issue of *Critical Quarterly*, 57.3 (2015), 2–9; Taylor, *The Popular Front Novel in Britain*, pp. 1–23.

²¹ Janet Montefiore, *Men and Women Writers of the 1930s: The Dangerous Flood of History* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 142.

suffered at the hands of both detractors and admirers, the former assuming his work 'slavishly imitate[s] Soviet models', and the latter presenting him as 'a eccentric English modernist whose work should be viewed outside of aesthetic models associated with the Soviet Union'. In fact, Salton-Cox argues, Upward's archive shows that he 'worked tirelessly through the implications of different models of Marxist aesthetics for the particular circumstances of the English left, and his work during the thirties exemplifies neither a "party line" dogmatism nor an essentially Western late modernism, but rather a curious mix of internationalism and localism'.²² Similarly, Elinor Taylor has recently argued for the intellectual complexity of John Sommerfield's 'paradigmatic Popular Front novel', *May Day* (1936), characterising it as 'a site of important and formal and critical debate, not merely a statement of defiance', which gives 'a politicised, materialist orientation to modernist themes and strategies not obviously compatible with the propagandist interpretation of socialist realism'.²³

More generally, the 'democratization of writing in Britain' during the nineteen twenties and thirties was nourished by Russian literature and what I have called throughout this book the Russophile tradition. Hugh MacDiarmid's admiration for Russian literature and philosophy is perhaps the most well-known instance, but there are many others.²⁴ Like Salton-Cox and Taylor, Christopher Hilliard argues that 'while 1930s ideas about "documentary" influenced many texts by worker-writers, such writers also worked with nineteenth-century and even modernist narrative structures. They wrote short fiction in a tradition influenced by Guy de Maupassant and Anton Chekhov and associated in Britain with authors such as a Katherine Mansfield, A. E. Coppard, and H. E. Bates'. Hilliard tells the story of Leslie Halward, who 'wanted to write "in my own language about my own people", but his people did not provide him with many literary models'. An early influence was Chekhov, who he encountered first in a literary weekly, prompting him to read 'all the books by Tchekhov that I could lay my hands on'.²⁵ Jonathan Rose cites the example of the future journalist John Macadam practicing his writing while an office boy for a Clydeside shipping firm by beginning an industrial novel, inspired by Gorky.²⁶ When Harold Heslop attended the Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov as the British representative, it was through the lens of Dostoevsky's novels that he interpreted the Soviet Union. His first novel, about the mining community of South Shields, had been published there

²² Glyn Salton-Cox, 'Literary Praxis Beyond the Melodramas of Commitment: Edward Upward, Soviet Aesthetics, and Leftist Self-Fashioning', *Comparative Literature*, 65.3 (2013), 408–28 (p. 409).

²³ Taylor, *The Popular Front Novel in Britain*, p. 71.

²⁴ Hugh MacDiarmid, *Lucky Poet: A Self-Study in Literature and Political Ideas* (London: Methuen, 1943), pp. 110, 160, Patrick Crotty, '“Like Pushkin, I”: Hugh MacDiarmid and Russia', *Scottish-Russian Literary Relations Since 1900*, special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 44.1 (2019), 47–89; Peter McCarey, *Hugh MacDiarmid and the Russians* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987).

²⁵ Hilliard, 'Producers by Hand and by Brain', p. 61; Christopher Hilliard, *To Exercise our Talents: The Democratization of Writing in Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 150, 153; Leslie Halward, *Let Me Tell You* (London: Michael Joseph, 1938), p. 165.

²⁶ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 417, John Macadam, *The Macadam Road* (London: Jarrolds, 1955) p. 19.

eight years before appearing in English, through the intervention and translation of Garnett's and Kravchinsky's friend, Zinaida Vengerova.²⁷ Jack White, one of the founders of the trade unionist Irish Citizen Army, built on his love of Tolstoy by reading Emerson, Edward Carpenter, and Whitman, then Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Bergson, before arriving at Marx in around 1912, and by 1930 writing that he had followed two 'lines in my life... the lines of Christ and Lenin'.²⁸

It may have seemed, at times, that this book would have been better titled 'Russophobia'. One could read its narrative as the story of British modernism's formation by writers, such as Henry James, Ford Madox Ford, Richard Aldington, and T. S. Eliot, in reaction against the model of Russian literature and against their Russophile contemporaries' regeneration of British romantic and realist traditions. But that title would be appropriate only if we identified modernism solely with their values, and a homogenized, simplified version of them, at that. In common with many recent critics, I identify modernism instead with the diverse debates over values and models that characterised the literary culture of the early twentieth century, and with a variety of experimental literature produced, published, and read. Looking forward from early twentieth-century literary debates rather than back from our post-war institutionalized modernism shows that Russomania produced modern writing too, writing that should not have to be defended as less romantic or realist, or more cosmopolitan, to be considered as modern. Russophile modernism was, simply, a different response to modernity, and one without which the history of modernism is incomplete.

²⁷ Harold Heslop, *Out of the Old Earth*, ed. by Andy Croft and Graeme Rigby (Newcastle: Bloodaxe, 1994), pp. 208, 244, 11–13, 169–72; G. Gezlop, *Pod vlast'yu uglya* (Leningrad: Priboi, 1926), Harold Heslop, *Goaf* (London: Fortune Press, 1934).

²⁸ J. R. White, *Misfit: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1930), pp. 136–7, 140–1, 7.

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Berg	The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations
BL	The British Library
Bodleian	The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
Brunel	Special Collections, Brunel University Library
Cambridge	Cambridge University Library
Cornell	Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library
Hoover	Hoover Institution Archives
Houghton	Houghton Library, Harvard University
HRC	Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin
Leeds	Leeds Russian Archive, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
Northwestern	Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University Libraries
Notre Dame	Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries, University of Notre Dame
Parliamentary Archives	Parliamentary Archives, UK Parliament
Reading	Special Collections, University of Reading
SSEES	School of Slavonic and East European Studies Archive Collections, University College London
Stanford	Special Collections, Stanford University
Taylor Slavonic	Taylor Bodleian Slavonic Library Special Collections, University of Oxford
TNA	The National Archives
Tower Hamlets	Tower Hamlets Local History Library & Archives
Turnbull	Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa
UCLA	Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA
Washington	Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries

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